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THE SYNTAX

OF THE

BOEOTIAN DIALECT INSCRIPTIONS

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THE SYNTAX

OF THE

BOEOTIAN DIALECT INSCRIPTIONS

BY

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ABBREVIATIONS.

All references, unless otherwise indicated, are to the *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis.* Vol. I, ed. Dittenberger. 1892.

L. = Larfeld. *Sylloge inscriptionum Boeoticarum. Praemittitur de dialecti Boeoticae mutationibus dissertatio.* 1883.

C. = Cauer. *Delectus inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium*, ed. II. 1883.

M. = Meister. *Die böotischen Inschriften*, in Collitz's *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.* Vol. I. 1884.

Meyer, or Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* = Meyer. *Griechische Grammatik.* 1896.

Meisterhans = Meisterhans. *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, ed. III, besorgt von Ed. Schweizer. 1900.

Herwerden = van Herwerden. *Lapidum de dialecto Attica testimonia.* 1880.

Geyer, or Geyer, *Observ. epigraph.* = Geyer. *Observationes epigraphicae de praepositionum Graecarum forma et usu.* 1880.

Lutz = Lutz. *Die Präpositionen bei den attischen Rednern.* 1887.

Dyroff = Dyroff. *Geschichte des Pronomen Reflexivum*, in Schanz's *Beiträge.* 1892–93.

INTRODUCTION.

The unique value of the testimony of inscriptions for the study of the Greek dialects, especially in the case of those dialects of which little if any literature is extant, has long been recognized. Indeed, the foundation of scientific dialectology was laid in 1839, when H. L. Ahrens published the first volume of his notable treatise, *De Graecae linguae dialectis*, based on the *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, so far as this had been already published, and dedicated to August Boeckh. Since Ahrens's time, works on the Greek dialects, both general treatises and special monographs, have multiplied, and, in nearly all, the evidence of inscriptions has formed an important and solid substructure, if not, as in some cases was inevitable, the only basis of research. By means of these various essays, the study of the Greek language has been broadened so effectively that the more recent Greek grammars are not, to so great a degree as formerly, merely grammars of the Attic dialect, and that, too, in its literary manifestation only, but are more truly representative of the Greek language as a whole.

Until the present time, however, the field of research has been mainly confined to the morphological side of the language—the Laut-und-formenlehre of the numerous German monographs of which the *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*[1] and *Der delphische Dialekt*[2] are typical.

The assistance that inscriptions might give in the province of syntax has been hitherto comparatively neglected. With few exceptions,[3] such material as has been published is to be found in scattered notes of editors and writers whose main theme lies in other fields. Only in the case of the Attic dialect have there been any considerable systematic researches in inscriptional syntax. And even in Attic, the syntactical study has been rather incidental to grammatical study in the narrower sense, than essential and independent. In 1880, van Herwerden appended to the ety-

[1] Ed. Schwyzer, 1898. [2] Valaori, 1901.

[3] The *Observationes epigraphicae de praepositionum Graecarum forma et usu*, Diss. Lips. 1880, M. Geyer, includes syntax.

mological part of his treatise entitled *Lapidum de dialecto Attica testimonia*, a chapter on syntax, in which he treated of final conjunctions and other conjunctions and particles. This beginning was followed by the publication of the essays of Schmolling on the use of pronouns in the Attic inscriptions.[1] Such essays as these may be regarded as preliminary studies for a grammar of the Attic inscriptions, such as we have in the well-known *Grammatik* of Meisterhans, now in its third edition, which was first published in 1885.

Furthermore, the authors of special treatises on various subjects in the domain of Greek syntax have in recent years felt it essential to pay at least some attention to inscriptions, especially the Attic inscriptions. So in Schanz's *Beiträge*, Dyroff,[2] Weber,[3] and Keck[4] have included the Attic inscriptions in their treatment. And in a recent dissertation on the syntax of the κοινή at a special period[5] the testimony of inscriptions is called upon as subsidiary to that of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

The syntax of Greek dialect inscriptions other than the Attic has, however, received little attention. It is the aim of the following study to supply this lack, so far as Boeotian is concerned, by setting forth the syntax of this dialect as we find it in the inscriptions.

The *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis*, Vol. I (ed. Dittenberger), 1892, has been made the basis of the collection of material, and all citations by numbers only refer to this work. The earlier collections of Boeotian inscriptions, Larfeld,[6] Cauer,[7] and Meister[8] have also been taken into consideration. The Nicareta inscription has been cited according to Cauer's lines which represent the true order of the documents which make up that inscription, while the numbering in the

[1] Königliches Marienstifts-Gymnasium zu Stettin, *Oster-Programm*, 1882. *Über den Gebrauch einiger Pronomina auf attischen Inschriften.* Dr. Ernst Schmolling, II Teil, 1885.

[2] *Geschichte des Pronomen Reflexivum. Zweite Abteilung*, Cap. VII, § 1.

[3] *Entwickelungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze. Zweite Abteilung*, Cap. VII, § 2.

[4] *Über den Dual bei den griech. Rednern mit Berücksichtigung der attischen Inschriften.*

[5] *De Sermone Graeco volgari Pisidiae Phrygiaeque meridionalis (de verborum structura).* Diss. Bonn, 1895.

[6] Larfeld: *Sylloge inscriptionum Boeoticarum*, 1883.

[7] Cauer: *Delectus inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. II, 1883.

[8] Meister, in Collitz's *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, 1884.

Corpus follows the original error in their arrangement.[1] Where, however, the text differs materially from that of Dittenberger, a citation from the *Corpus* is given.

The arrangement of the *Corpus* is, in some respects, not such as to facilitate a work of this character. Amid the mass of more than 4000 inscriptions, ranging from the earliest times to the fourth or fifth centuries of the Empire, and largely composed in the κοινή (or in the case of those of Megara and Oropus, in Doric and Attic), are scattered the Boeotian dialect inscriptions. A chronological arrangement would have grouped the dialect inscriptions together. Dittenberger has, however, in following the plan of the original *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, rather than that of his own *Sylloge*, adopted an arrangement not according to chronology, but according to subject matter. Within the groups thus formed a chronological order has, as a rule, been followed, yet not with complete consistency. The advantages of this arrangement are, of course, obvious; but it is hardly convenient for the student of the Boeotian dialect as such, and the greatest care has been necessary in order not to overlook any of the dialect inscriptions.

The value of the testimony of inscriptions as to syntax, is, in some respects, far less than we could wish. This is due, on the one hand, to the paucity of material, especially of the earlier period, and on the other hand to the limitations of language largely conventional and official. Though the formulas of decrees and other documents vary from town to town, even those of the same town varying in small points, still the long series of decrees conferring the honor of προξενία, such, for instance, as those of Tanagra, or the Manumission Documents of Chaeronea, follow one another with a regularity of expression which leaves the field of syntactical variation somewhat narrow. Some towns, as Orchomenus and Thebes, furnish longer inscriptions of an individual interest, yet others, like Hyettus, have left to posterity only a succession of lists of recruits, each headed by the invariable formula, τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο ἐν πελτοφόρας, or the like. Of the earlier period, before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet (c. 350 B. C.), little has survived except dedications, military lists, and epitaphs. Of the remaining inscriptions the great majority fall in the period between 250 and 150 B. C.

[1] *Vide* Ditt. *ad loc. C. I. G. S.* p. 581, col. II.

Yet, in spite of these limitations, the evidence of the inscriptions is by no means to be neglected, especially as there are reasons for thinking that the official style may sometimes come nearer than the literary language to the living speech of the people.[1] And in the case of a dialect that has shown so great a tenacity in clinging to its own phonetic peculiarities as the Boeotian, and so independent a disposition in representing the cantonal pronunciation by phonetic spelling, it seems fair to presume that a similar spirit may have informed official syntax, so that the inscriptions, though on the whole rather late, may give us some idea of Boeotian syntax of an earlier as well as a later day.

The plan of this study is to give a complete view of the syntax of the Boeotian dialect inscriptions. Meisterhans, in dealing with the great mass of the Attic inscriptions, has, in the part devoted to syntax, noted peculiarities and special points of interest in the Attic dialect of the inscriptions, rather than attempted a systematic exposition. In treating of a more limited field and of a dialect where the number of inscriptions is comparatively small, it has seemed to me more satisfactory to present a general view of the syntax of the dialect as a whole, rather than a mere summary of peculiarities. I have, therefore, endeavored to include all constructions of any syntactical interest, and, in the case of the more important constructions, to cite all the instances of their occurrence. Where a phrase occurs constantly in a certain class of inscriptions I have thought it sufficient to give a few examples and then refer to the class.

To facilitate such reference, a classified list of the inscriptions has been prefixed. This list is intended to include all the inscriptions of the dialect given in the *Corpus*, except inscriptions containing nothing but names in the nominative (chiefly grave stele inscriptions) and some mere fragments. In the Chronological Table I have usually followed Dittenberger where he assigns dates, but I have also compared and sometimes adopted the dating of other authorities, especially Larfeld (*Dissertatio* and *Tabula*).

[1] *Cf.* Schmolling, *l. c.* Teil I, p. 1.

LIST OF THE BOEOTIAN DIALECT INSCRIPTIONS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SUBJECT MATTER.

I. Proxeny Decrees.

504–526, 529, 531, 1664, 1665, 1721–1733, 2223, 2224, 2383, 2385, 2386–2388, 2407–2409, 2708, 2848, 2849, 2858, 2859–2869, 3166–3168, 3287, 4127, 4128, 4259–4261, 280, 283, 290, 352, 393.

II. Other Decrees.

1719, 1739, 2406, 3054, 3055, 3169, 207.

III. Financial Transactions.

3171, 3172, 3173.

IV. Accounts of Treasurers, *etc.*

1737, 1738, 1740, 1741, 1742, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 3193.

V. On Letting of Land.

3170, (1739), *cf.* II.

VI. Manumission Documents.

1778–1781, 2228, 3080–3083, 3198–3204, 3301–3406.

VII. Military Lists.

1747–1757, 2389, 2390, 2427, 2429–2439, 2707, 2715–2721, 2781–2789, 2809–2832, 3065–3070, 3174–3176, 3178–3181, 3184, 3185, 3190, 3292, 3293, 4172.

VIII. Other Lists.

1745, 1746, 2428, 3191, 3192.

IX. Musical Contests.

2410, [3195].

X. Vase Inscriptions.

1685, 1874, 1875, 2245, 2246 (tile), 3467, 3468.

XI. Artists' Signatures.

530, 1873, 2229, 2532, 2471, 2729.

XII. Superscripture (?).

2526.

XIII. Uncertain.

3283, 4143.

XIV. Dedications.

a) honorary: 528, 552, 556, 557, 558, 1807, 1816, 1817, 1831–1833, 2465, 2466, 2471–2475, 2487, 2533, 2795, 2714 (?), 2835, 2876, 3087, 3090, 3091, 3206, 3210, 3211, 3215, 3223, 3408, 4160, 4174, 4175, 4177.

b) non-honorary: 550, 551, 554, 555, 1671, 1672–1674, 1792, 1793, 1795, 1796–1805, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1814, 1815, 2229–2232, 2384 (?), 2455–2459 a, 2463, 2464, 2467, 2468, 2723–2724 e, 2729–2735, 2875, 3086, 3088–3094, 3205, 3207–3209, 3213, 3214, 3407, 3410, 3411, 3413, 3564, 3575–4123,* 4137, 4155–4159, 4249.

XV. Termini.

546, 547, 1782, 1783, 1785, 1786, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 2452, 2453, 2792, 2793, 4153, 4154, 4178.

XVI. Grave Steles.

a) simple ἐπί with dative or ἐπὶ . . . εἰμί: 586, 589–611, 1623, 1689, 1891–1894, 2738–2740, 2883, 2884, 3112, 3228, 3229, 3502–3504.

b) longer inscriptions with ἐπί and dative: 1890, 3113, 610 (?).

c) χαῖρε-inscriptions: 843, 871, 1056, 1431, 1704, 2033, 2042, 2070, 2089, 2263, 2277, 2284, 2293, 2294, 2320, 2352, 2353, 2355, 2356, 2855, 2920, 2964, 3017, 3021, 3025, 3251, 3264, 3269.

d) χρηστός-inscriptions: 775, 923, 932, 1050, 1184, 1243, 1312, 1360, 1423, 1453, 1454, 1488, 2085, 2115, 2631, 3514, 3543.

* Except a few καλός-names on vases, *etc.*

e) name with father's name in genitive: 1548, 1690, 2115 (also *χρειστά*), 2116, 2117, 2347, 2560, 3470, 596 (*cf.* a).

f) metrical inscriptions: 579, 1880, 2247, 2852.

g) other stele inscriptions: 685–687, 1562, 3233.

XVII. Responses of an Oracle.

4136.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE BOEOTIAN DIALECT INSCRIPTIONS.

	Ante a. 350 B. C.	*a.* 350–250 B. C.	*a.* 250–150 B. C.	*inc. aet.*
Tanagra	546	552	504–519 (*c.* 222–205 B. C.)	871
	547		520	923
	550		522–526	1184
	551 *saec.* VI		528–531	1423
	579, 586, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 600, 601, 605 *saec.* VI *et* V		554–556	1453
			557 (*c. a.* 100 B. C.)	1454
			558	1488
			685–687	1548
			775	3514
			843	3543
			932	3547
			1050	
			1056	
			1243	
			1312	
			1360	
			1431	
	597		1562	
	598		1623	
	599			
	602			
	603			
	604			
	606			
	607			
	608			
	609			
	610			
	611			
	3502–3504			
Plataeae	1671		1664–1665	
	1685		1672–1674 (250–200 B. C.)	
	1689–1690		1704	
Thespiae	1782	1747	1719	1783
	1792	1751	1721–1733	1791
	1793	1795	1737–1738	1810
	1874	1831	1739	1816
	1875 *saec.* V	1832	1740–1742	2042
	1880 " "	1873	1745–1746	2070
	1890 *saec.* V *v.* VI		1748–1750	2115–2117

	Ante a. 350 B. C.	*a.* 350–250 B. C.	*a.* 250–150 B. C.	*inc. aet.*
Thespiae	1891–1894		1752–1753 1755 1756–1757 (200–150 B. C.) 1778–1781 1785–1786 (200–150 B. C.) 1788–1790 (200–150 B. C.) 1796–1805 (200–150 B. C.) 1807 (200–150 B. C.) 1809 (200–150 B. C.) 1811 (200–150 B. C.) 1814–1815 1817 1833 2033 2085 2089	
Thisbe	2229 *saec.* V 2230 *saec.* V *v.* VI 2245 2247		2223–2224 2228 2231–2232	2246 2263 2277 2284 2293–2294 2320 2347 2352–2353 2355–2356 3564
Chorsiae			2383 2385–2388 2389–2390 } *c. a.* 200	
Thebes	2407 (366–360 B. C.) 2408 (364–363 B. C.) 2427 (*c.* 400–350 B. C.) 2452 2455 *saec.* VI 2456 *saec.* V *v.* VI	2418 (*c. a.* 350 B C.) 2419 (*c.* 285–247 B. C.) 2428 2429–2431 (*c.* 325–275 B. C.) 2432 (*c. a.* 250 B. C.) 2453 (*c. a.* 350 B. C.)	2406 2409 2410 (200–150 B. C.) 2420 (*c.* 250–200 B. C.) 2421 (*c. a.* 250 B. C.) 2433–2437	2464

	Ante a. 350 B. C.	*a.* 350–250 B. C.	*a.* 250–150 B. C.	*inc. aet.*
Thebes	2457	2463 (*c.* 300–250 B. C.)	2466	2465
	2458	2467 (*c. a.* 250 B. C.)	2473–2475	2468
	2459	2471 (*paullo ante* 250 B. C.)	2487	
	2459 a	2472 (*c.* 300–250 B. C.)	2631 (?)	
	2526	2532–2533 (*c. a.* 300 B. C.)		
	2560			
	3575–4123 *			
Acraephia	2729 *saec.* VI	2723	2707 (200–150 B. C.)	
	2730 *saec.* VI?	2724 } *c.* 312–304 B. C.	2708 (200–150 B. C.)	4153 } *c.* 350–
	2731 *saec.* VI	2724 a	2714 (200–150 B. C.)	4154 } 200 B. C.
	2732 *saec.* V	2724 b	2715 (200–150 B. C.)	
	2733 " "?	4155 (*c. a.* 350 B. C.)	2716–2721	
	2734 " "	4160	2724 c, d, e.	
	2735 " "		4127 } *c.* 200–	
	2738		4128 } 150 B. C.	
	2739 " "		4136–4137	
	2740		4143 (*ante a.* 171 B. C.)	
			4156–4159 (*c. a.* 230 B. C.)	
Copae		2781	2782–2785 (250–200 B. C.)	2792
			2786–2789 (200–150 B. C.)	2793
			2795 (200–150 B. C.)	
Hyettus			2809–2832 } *c.* 223–197 B. C.	
			2835 }	
Haliartus	2852 *saec.* V		2848 } *ante a.* 168 B. C.	
			2849 }	2855

* Except nos. 3578, 3583 (*c.* 230–150 B. C.), 3595, 3710, 3735, 4117.

	Ante a. 350 B. C.	*a.* 350–250 B. C.	*a.* 250–150 B. C.	*inc. aet.*
Coronea	2883 2884	2875	2858–2869 2876	2920 2964 3017 3021 3025
Lebadea	3086 3112 3113	3055 (*c. a.* 350 B. C.) 3087 (*c. a.* 250 B. C.) 3091 (*c. a.* 250 B. C.)	3054 3065, 3066 (*c. a.* 230 B. C.) 3067–3069 (*paullo ante a.* 200 B. C.) 3070 3080–3083 3088 (*c. a.* 230 B. C.) 3089–3090 3093	3092 3094
Orchomenus	3205 3228 3229 3233 *saec.* V ?	3175 (*c. a.* 290 B. C.) 3176 3191, 3192 (*c. a.* 250 B. C.) 3206 (*a.* 329 B. C.) 3208 3214	3166 (*c.* 222–205 B. C.) 3167 3168 (*c.* 230–200 B. C.) 3169 3170 3171 (*c.* 225–200 B. C.) 3172 (*c.* 222–200 B. C.) 3173 (*c.* 240–230 B. C.) 3174 (*c.* 240–230 B. C.) 3178–3181 (*c.* 222–200 B. C.) 3184–3185 3193 (*c. a.* 200 B. C.) 3198–3199 3200–3201, 3203–3204 (*c. a.* 200–150 B. C.) 3207 (*c. a.* 230 B. C.) 3209 3210 (*c. a.* 200 B. C.) 3211 (*c. a.* 200 B. C.)	3251 3264 3269 3283

	Ante a. 350 B. C.	*a.* 350–250 B. C.	*a.* 250–150 B. C.	*inc. aet.*
Orchomenus			3213 3215 3223 (*c. a.* 150 B. C.)	
Chaeronea			3287 (*c. a.* 200 B. C.) 3292–3293 3301–3406 (200–100 B. C.) 3407 (*c.* 200–150 B. C.) 3408 (*c.* 200–150 B. C.) 3410 (*c.* 200–150 B. C.) 3411 (*c.* 200–150 B. C.) 3413 (*c.* 200–150 B. C.)	
Anthedon		4178 (*c. a.* 350 B. C.)	4172 (*c.* 240–230 B. C.) 4174–4177	
Tit. Boeot. Orig. Incert.	3467 3468 4249 *saec.* V	3470 (*c. a.* 350 B. C.)		
Oropus		280 (*c.* 270–246 B. C.)	283, 290 } *c.* 250–230 B. C. 352 (221–199 B. C.) 393 4259, 4260, 4261 } *c.* 230–200 B. C.	
Aegosthena			207 (223–201 B. C.)	

TABLE OF PARALLEL REFERENCES.

I. G. S. = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis.*
L = Larfeld: *Sylloge inscriptionum Boeoticarum.*
M = Meister: *Die böotischen Inschriften*, in Collitz's *Sammlung.*
C = Cauer: *Delectus inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. II.
The table does not include grave stele inscriptions.

I. G. S.	L	M	C
207	Append. 1	1145	283
280			
283			
290			
352			
393			
504–509	489–494	935–940	363–365
510–512	504–506	947–949	
513–514	499–500	941–942	
515–516	487–488	943–944	
517	497	951	369
518	498	952	370
519	503	954	
520	502	953	
522–524		956 a b c	
525–526			
528–529	501	955–956	
530–531	495	945–946	
546	382	883	360
547	338	907	
550	335	869	359
551	278	692	
552	496	950	366
554	486	958	
555	484	959	367
556			
557			
558	485	957	
1664			
1665			
1670	270	860	
1671	271	861	284
1672	274	865	
1673	273	864	
1674	275	866	
1685	271 a	863	
1719			

I. G. S.	L	M	C
1721	248	809	
1722			
1723–1724			
1725	246	807	
1726	245	806	
1727	247	808	342
1728	250	812	341
1729			
1730			
1731			
1733			
1737			
1738	239 b	804	
1739	240	802	
1740	239	801	
1741			
1742	239 a	803	
1745		807 b	
1746			
1747	237	798	338
1748			
1749			
1750			
1751			
1752			
1753			
1755	244	815	
1756–1757	251–252	813–814	
1778–1779			
1780	241	811	340
1781			
1782	231	772	
1783			
1785	243	800	339
1786	242	816	
1788–1789		805 a	
1790			
1791			
1792			
1793	219	770	336
1794	193	797	
1795		807 a	
1796–1805	238	805	
1807		799 a	
1809	264	832	
1810			
1811	252 a	817	
1814			
1815			
1816	269	857	346
1817		812 a	
1831	268	855	345
1832	238 a	799	337
1833	249	810	

I. G. S.	L	M	C
1873	219 c	794	333
1874	219 g	795	
1875	219 a	793	334
1880	212	765	
1890	218	774	
2223		747 d e	
2224			
2228		747 c	
2229		744 a	
2230	191	743	
2231		747 a	
2232		747 b	
2245	191 a	745	335
2246		747 f	
2383	190 a b	737	
2385		736 a	
2386–2388	186–188	732–734	377
2384		736 a	
2389–2390	189–190	735–736	378
2406	315	712	
2407	316	719	
2408	317	720	
2409			
2410	333	717	
2418	309	705	353
2419			
2420			
2421	313 a	714	
2427	307	700	350
2428			
2429	311	706	352
2430	310	708	351
2431	312	707	
2432	313	709	
2433	332	713	
2434	318	715	
2435			
2436			
2437	327	724	
2438			
2439			
2452			
2453			
2455	286	1132	347
2456	276	665	348
2457			
2458			
2459			
2459 a			
2463			
2464			
2465	314	718	354
2466	319	716	
2467			

I. G. S.	L	M	C
2468			
2471	321	722	356
2472			
2473	320	721	
2474			
2475			
2487	322	723	
2526	279	668	
2532	326	711	
2533	325	710	
2707	185	575	
2708	185	576	
2714	184	573	
2715	184	574	
2716		571 a	
2717–2721			
2723	181	570	280
2724	182	571	281
2724 a b			
2724 c d			
2724 e			
2729			
2730			
2731			
2732			
2733	178 a	567	374
2734	178 b	568	375
2735		569	
2781	169	553	307
2782	170–171	554	
2783–2785			
2786–2789	172–175	555–558	308–311
2792			
2793		560	
2795	176	559	312
2809	156	529	
2809–2832	144–153 155–168	528–551	302–306
2835	154	527	
2848			
2849			
2858			
2859–2869			
2875		652	
2876			
3054			
3055	65	413	
3065	66 a	426	
3066	66 a	427	
3067–3069	67–68	417–420	322
3070			
3080	72 b	430	329
3081	72 a	429	328
3082			

I. G. S.	L	M	C
3083	71	425	325
3086	60	407	
3087	66	414	324
3088	72	424	
3089	69	421	
3090	70 a	423	327
3091	70	422	323
3092	92	415	
3093			
3094	93	416	
3166	14	493	297
3167	26	492	299
3168			
3169	36	495	
3170	35	491	
3171	33	489	298
3172	16	488	295
3173	20	482	
3174	21	483	
3175	13	476	292
3176			
3178	22	484	
3179	17	485	293
3180	18	486	294
3181	19	487	
3184			
3185			
3190	34	490	
3191	12	474	
3192	12	475	
3193	23	502	296
[3195	32	503	301]
3198	30	500	
3199	31	501	
3200	27	497	300
3201		499 a	
3203	29	499	
3204	28	498	
3205	5	463	289. 7
3206	11	470	291
3207	15	494	282
3208			
3209	38	505	
3210	24	477	290
3211	25	478	
3213			
3214	49 d	506	
3215	37 b	496	
3223	39	504	
3287	53 a	380	315
3292			
3293		379	
3301–3406	53 b–57	381–406 et Add.	316–320

I. G. S.	L	M	C
		384–406 o	
3407	51	376	
3408	58	375	
3410	52	377	
3411	53	378	314
3413			
3467		1133	
3468	573	1131	286
3564			
3575–4123			
4127			
4128			
4136			
4137			
4143			
4153			
4154			
4155			
4156			
4157			
4158			
4159			
4160			
4172			
4174			
4175			
4177			
4178			
4249			
4259			
4260			
4261			

§ 1. Omission of the Subject.

The subject is not omitted,[1] except the pronominal subject in short ascriptions or descriptions, as *ὅρια Κ[ω]πήων = τάδε ἐστὶν ὅρια Κωπήων* 2792. 1; *Ἀπόλλωνος Δαφναφορίω = τόδε ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος* 3407. So *Δαμάτρα[ς] Ταυροπόλω* 2793,[2] *Τῶ Πτωϊεῖο[ς]. Εὐϝειτίας ἀνέθεικε* 2730 (*cf. Τῶ Πτωϊεῖος ἰαρόν, sc. τόδ' ἐστίν*, 2735), *Ὅρος τᾶς γᾶς τᾶς [ἰα]ρᾶς* 1785. 1–3; *Ὅρος* 549, 1791, 2458. In a series of military lists, with the form *τοὶ ἀπεγράψαντο ἐμ πελτοφόρας* (2809–2832 and 2781–2789) one (2810) omits *τοί*.

§ 2. Omission of the Predicate.

1. Verb of Being.
   a) In Gravestone Inscriptions: *ἐπ' Ἀρισστοδίκαι, sc. εἰμί*, 3228 (*cf. ἐπὶ Προκλεῖ εἰμί* M 408, and § 10, *ἐπί* 2) a)), *Μνᾶμ' ἐπὶ Γάθωνι χἀριστοκράτει, sc. εἰμί*, 1890, *Σύρος χρειστός* 2085, *Ἀνιόχα Δαμοφάωντος χρειστά* 2115, 775, 890, 923, 932, 1050, 1488, 2631, 3543.
   b) In brief Legal Phraseology, in giving
      α) Names of Sureties: *ἔγγυος Νικεία[ς . . . .* 1740. 8.
      β) Names of Witnesses: *Ϝίσ[τ]ορε[ς· Θ]νάσ[ιμ]ος, κτλ.* 3173. 12 *sqq.*; *Ϝίστωρ ὁ αὐτός* C 295. 68.
      So 3080 *ad fin.*; 3081 *ad fin.*; 1779. 7–10; 1780. 25 *sqq.*; C 295. 64, 68, 71–72, 74.
      γ) The Date: *χρόνος ὁ αὐτός* C 295. 72.
      δ) The Name of the Secretary: *τῶν τεθμοφυλάκων γραμματεὺς Σα . . . .* C 295. 77.
      ε) Amounts of Money: *τὰ ππάματα μούριη ὀγδοείκοντ[α] πέντε δίου ὀβολίω, κὴ τῶ τεθμίω Ϝίστωρ Ἀριστόνικος Πραξιτέλιος* C 295. 62–64, 67, 70–71, 73–74.
   c) In Military Lists: *τοὶ ἀπειλθείον[τες ἐς τῶν] ἐφείβων ἐν τάγμα· . . . .* (list of names) 1748. 3–4; 1749. 1–3; 1756. 1–4; (*cf.* 1757. 1–2; 3065–3068); *Σφοδρίαο ἄρχοντος ἀπόλυπυ·* (followed by list of recruits) 3181.

[1] In n. 4136. 2–3: *ἀνάγειλε Λεπάδειαν τοῖ Δὶ τοῖ Βασιλεῖι ἀνθέμεν κὴ τοῖ Τρεφωνίοι, κτλ.* either the subject or the object of *ἀνθέμεν* must be supplied. The language of the oracular response is ambiguous. It is, however, doubtless the indefinite subject of the infinitive that is left unexpressed, *Λεπάδειαν* being the object. *Cf.* Paus. I. 34, 2: *τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνάκειται πόλεις . . . . Λεβάδεια Βοιωτῶν Τροφωνίῳ.*

[2] *V.* Ditt. *ad loc.*

d) In Accounts of Offerings, *etc.*, in giving
   a) the Weight: *Αὐταρξία . . . πόρπαν χρουσίαν, ὁλκὰ δύ' ὀβολοὶ τρῖ(ς) χάλκιοι* 2420. 7–9. So *ὁλκὰ δραχμὴ πέντε ibid.* 23, *ὁλκὰ τρῖς δραχμή ibid.* 28, *ὁλκὰ χρούσιος ibid.* 18–19 and 38.

e) In general, the Copula, when it can be readily understood: *δύ(λ)αν, ἢ ὄνιουμα Σωσίχα* 3386. 6–8; *ά γᾶ ἰαρὰ Διονούσω κὴ τᾶς πόλιος* 1786. 1–4.

2. Various verbs in Legal or Conventional Expressions.
   a) Parts of *τίθειμι*: *τὸ ὁμόλογον παρ* ['*Ο*]*νάσιμον Θιογίτονος, sc. ἐτέθει*, 3173. 16–17; *ά σούγγραφος πὰρ Ϝιφιάδαν* C 295. 122 (*cf. σούγγραφον . . . θέσθη . . . πὰρ Ϝιφιάδαν* C 295. 143–146).

Here, apparently, belongs a condensed expression in the accounts of the *τεθμοφυλάκων γραμματεύς* of Thespiae, in the Nicareta inscription: *τὸ σουνάλλαγμα· Νικαρέτα Θέωνος τ*[*ᾶ*]*ς πόλιος Ἐρχομενίων* [*κὴ*] *τῶ ἐγγούω Θίωνος Σουννόμω, sc. παρκατέθεικε*, C 295. 65–67, *i. e.* Nicareta deposited the note (*τὸ σουνάλλαγμα*) of the city of Orchomenus and its surety with the board of *τεθμοφύλακες* or Registrars of Loans. The same expression occurs *ibid.* ll. 61–62, 69–70, 72–73. *τὸ σουνάλλαγμα* is expressed only in the passage cited and in l. 69 and in l. 75, where the entry is incomplete.

   b) In Superscriptions, the optative of a verb of Giving: *Θιὸς τούχαν ἀγαθάν* 3166. 1; so 3301, 3302, 3351, 3082, 3176, 3167; or of a verb of Presence: *Θεός· τῶ δ. ἀρχῶ* 3386, 3191. 1; [*θ*]*εός, τύχα* 2407, *Θιός, Τιούχα ἀγαθά* 2809, 3083, 1780, 2780, *Θιός*, at the head of a series of Lists of Recruits, 2809–2832 (in 2810, 2819, 2822, and 2824, *Θιός* is omitted), also at the head of a similar series, 2781–2789 (except 2782, 2784, and 2785); 3090, 3092, 3093, [*θ*]*εοί* 1739.

   c) *ἀντίθειμι*: Forms of this verb are very frequently omitted in dedicatory inscriptions on statues, tripods, or other offerings to the gods, or in accounts of offerings. So
      a) *ἀνέθεικε*: *Λἐσχρώνδας Λἐγιτ . . . Διωνύσοε* 550, 1874, (*cf. Κορρινάδα*[*ς*] *ἀνέθεικε*[*ν*] [*τ*]*οῖ* [*'*]*Ερμα*[*ῖ*] 1793, *Κίδος ἀνέθεικε τὼπόλλωνι* 2732, 2729, 2730, 2731, [. . . *τόν*]*δ' ἀνέθεικεν Ἀθάνᾳ* 2230, 1792, (*ante* 350 B. C.); 1786, 1788–1789, 3210, 3211, 3213, 3091, *cf.* 3093, App.).

Omitting *ἀνέθεικε*: *Φίλων τοῖ Κυπαρίσσοι* 3205, 3215 (*cf.* 3216), *Ἀγεισὶς Ματέρι μεγάλη* 1811, *Θοινίας Ἀμουνίαο Ἀρτάμιδι Σωτείρη*

2232, *Πάτρων Διοκλίδαο Σαράπι, Ἶσι, Ἀνούβι* 3375. 1–2 (sim. 3308, 3380. 3; 3319. 4; 3347. 2), 1832, 3223, 528, 1809, 1810, 1814, 2231, 554, 3169. 4, 3214. 2, 2734, 2456, 2458, 2465, 2467, 2468 a, 2472, 3090. In Accounts of Offerings there is some indication of the verb. In n. 3055, *ἀνέθεικε* is expressed at the beginning, and is inserted occasionally in a list consisting of nominatives of the person and accusatives of sums deposited as offerings. In n. 2420, the heading *ἐπάνθετα*, ll. 7, 17, 33, introduces a similar list of nominatives and accusatives without a verb. Some such heading is probably lost in the mutilated inscription n. 2421. *ἐπάνθετα· Αὐταρξία Δάμωνος Θεισπικὰ πόρπαν χρυσίαν, κτλ.* 2420. 7–9; *Ἰράνα σινδόνα . . . θιυζότα σχιστὸν περιπόρφυρον* 2421. 7–8.

β) *ἀνεθέταν* or *ἀνέθεαν*. *Κρίτων καὶ Θειόσδοτος τοῖ Δὶ τὠπωρεῖι* 2733 (6th cent.?), *Ἰαρώνυμος, Καλλὶς Κλιηνέτω μναμεῖον νικάσαντος Βασίλεια τῦς θιῦς* 552, *Ἀθανίκκει, Ἀϊμνὼ Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθυίῃ* 555, 2420. 17–18, 2795, 2835, 2471, 2487. *Cf.* 2229 and 3211, where *ἀνεθέταν* is expressed, and 2455 and 1831, where *ἀνέθεαν* is written with two subjects.

γ) *ἀνέθεικαν* or *ἀνέθειαν*. In a series of seven dedicatory inscriptions to the Ptoian Apollo, the verb is omitted in four cases, and expressed in two; one is uncertain: *Βοιωτοὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰτῶϊοι* 2724 a. 1; 2724 b. 1; 2724 c. 2; 2724 d. 1; *Βοιωτοὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰτῶϊοι ἀνέθιαν* 2723. 1; *ἀνέθειαν* 2724. 2; *cf.* 2724 e. *Βοιωτοὶ Δὶ Ἐλευθερίοι τὸν* [*τρίποδα*] *κατὰ τὰν μαντείαν, sc. ἀνέθειαν*, 1672. 1–2; (*cf. Βοιωτοὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθεικαν τῆς Χαρίτεσσι* 3207. 2; . . . *ἀνέθειαν ταῖ Δάματρι* 1671 (*ante a.* 350), 3087 (*ἀνέθιαν*)); *Θεισπιέες* [*Μώσης Ἑλ*]*ι*[*κ*]*ωνιάδε*[*σσι*] (on nine stones once forming a base for a group of statues of the Muses, formerly restored: [*τ*]*άδε Θεισπιέες* [*ἀνέθειαν Ἀπόλλ*]*ωνι*) 1796–1805 (*cf.* 1788–1789); *Καλλινίκα, Κριτόλαος, Ἀριστίων, Καλλίς, Καλλιπίδας Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθίῃ* 3410 (sim. 3411, 1815).

δ) *ἀντίθειτι*. *Εὐανδρίδας Πασικρίτα Δωπύραν Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθείῃ ἰαρὰν εἶμεν, sc. ἀντίθειτι*, 2228. 2–4 (Thisbe). This is the only instance that I have found among the numerous Manumission inscriptions (3301–3406, 3198–3203, *etc.*) in which the verb, *ἀντίθειτι*, is omitted.

The present tense is less readily supplied than the aorist. *Cf.* § 12. 2.

d) In Military Lists: ἐ σ τ ρ ο τ ε υ ά θ η . *τυὶ πρᾶτον· Ἀντιγ . . . . κτλ.* 3184. 6 (*cf.* 3179, 3180). ἀ π ε γ ρ ά ψ α ν θ ο . In a series (2809–2832) of Lists of Recruits with the form *τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο ἐν πελτοφόρας*, one (2810) omits *τυί*, another (2819) omits *ἐν πελτοφόρας*, and a third (2825) omits the whole expression and consists of a simple list of names following the name of the secretary. *Cf.* 3293. So . . . *δαο ἄ*[ρχ]*ο*[ντ]*ος τυὶ ἐσς ἐφήβων*, *sc. ἀπεγράψανθο*, 2721 (*cf.* the full formula in 2715–2720 and 2781–2789).

e) In Comparative Sentences: *ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς πολίτης*, *sc. ὑπάρχι*, C 283. 13. So in Proxeny Decrees: *τἄλλα πάντα καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κὴ εὐεργέτης*, *sc. γέγραπτη*, 504. 4–5 (*cf.* 3166. 9–10 and 529. 5 where *γέγραπτη* is expressed; in all other Proxeny Decrees the verb is omitted). Similarly, *κὴ τὰ ἄλλα ὁπόττα* [*κ*]*ὴ τῦς ἄλλυς* 3167. 14–15; *ὅσα κὴ τῦς ἄλλυς* 2708. 6 (Dittenberger's reading).

f) Some verb of Payment or the like, in a list of money transactions: *Ἀμινοκλίη Ἀριστίωνος Ϝίκατι δίου, πέτταρες ὀβολοί, ἑπτὰ χάλκι*[*οι· θ*]*ιουτίμυ θιογίτονος ὀκτό, πέτταρας ὀβολώς, ἕνδεκα χαλκίως·* C 296. 1 *sqq.*

g) Some verb of Hiring, in three lists (1740–1742) of persons hiring Sacred Land: *τὰν ἄμπελον Ῥεγκίας Φιλογίτωνος* 𐅄𐅄ϟ 1740. 5.

h) *ἐ ν ί κ α σ ε :* . . . . . *ς Πουθιῆος τὸ* [*δεύτερον*] *π*[*αῖδας*] *Πούθια παγκ*[*ράτιον*] 2533.

i) Any Predicate, if placed shortly (1) before: *Ἀναχτοριεῖες τριάκοντα μνᾶς· sc. συνεβάλονθο*, 2418. 7, in a list of Contributors to the expenses of the Sacred War (*cf.*, at the head of the inscription, [*Τοὶ χρεί*]*ματα συνεβ*[*άλονθο*; so in the same inscription the predicate is omitted ll. 9–11, 16–17, and 14–15 (sing.); but ll. 20–21: *Βυσζάντιοι* [*συνεβάλ*]*ονθο ἄλλως, κτλ.*) or (2) after: *Ἀλυζῆοι* [. . . . . *π*]*ρισγεῖες Χάροψ Δάδωνος, Ἀριστο . . . . . Ἀναχτοριεῖες τριάκοντα μνᾶς· πρι*[*σγεῖες . . . .*] *Φόρμω, Ἄρκος Τειρεῖος* 2418. 5–8 (*cf.* εἰ[*νιξαν*] *πρισγεῖες* l. 17–18, *σύνεδροι εἴνιξαν* l. 24).

3. Omission of the Participial Predicate.

[*Τὸν δεῖνα ὁ δεῖνα . . .*]*ίω τὸν ἀδελφὸν* [*κὴ Ἀμ*]*μόα τὸν υυἱόν·*

Βασίλεια, i. e. νικάσαντα Βασίλεια, 2487 (*cf.* *Ἰαρώνυμος, Καλλὶς Κλιηνέτω μναμεῖον νικάσαντος Βασίλεια τῦς θιῦς* 552, and § 2. 2. h). *Cf.* *Ξενοκρίτω Ἀλαλκομενίω, etc.* in the Nicareta inscr., *i. e.* *Ξενοκρίτω ἄρχοντος.* *V.* § 9. 23, a) *ad fin.*

§ 3. Omission of the Object.

1. In dedicatory inscriptions on bases of statues, or other offerings to the Gods, the object of the verb is regularly omitted, being indicated by the offering itself: *Σαυμείλα Πούθωνος Δαμάτερι Κρισήῃ ἐπιδάμυ ἀνέθεικε* 3213. 1-2; 3210, 3211, 1671, 1792, 1793, 2229, 2723. . . . *ρων ἀνέθεικε τοῖ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι τοῖ Πτωϊεῖι.* . . . *οτος ἐποίϜεισε* 2729, 2730, 2732. So, too, when the verb is omitted: *Θυνοκλίδας Διονυσίω Διὶ Μιλίχυ κὴ Μιλίχη* 1814. So, also, in artists' signatures: *Κάνθαρος ἐπόεισεν* 2471. When expressed, the object is either the accusative of the pronoun of the first person: *Τιμασίφιλός μ' ἀνέθεικε τὠπό[λ]λωνι τοῖ Πτωϊεῖι* 2731, or the accusative of the name of the offering: *Βοιωτοὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθεικαν τῆς Χαρίτεσσι* 3207. So 1672. 1; 2724. 2.

2. When the statue dedicated is one of an individual, the object must, of course, be expressed: *Λουσὶς Πεδαγενεία τὸν ἀδελ[φὸν] Ἱππόκριτον τοῖς θεοῖ[ς]* 1832, 1831, 528, 3223, 2795, 2835, 2471, 2472, 2473.

In n. 552: *Ἰαρώνυμος, Καλλὶς Κλιηνέτω μναμεῖον νικάσαντος Βασίλεια τῦς θιῦς*, the accusative *μναμεῖον* is probably to be regarded as an appositive to the implied object, rather than as itself the object (*cf.* the inscription: *Μνᾶμ' ἐπ' Ὀλιγε[ί]δαι μ' ὁ πατὴρ [ἐ]πέθηκε θανό[ν]τι* 1880, on a grave stele. In another stele inscription: *Ἀμφάλκεις [ἔ]στασ' ἐπὶ Κιτύλοι ἠδ' ἐπὶ Δέρμυι* 579, the object is probably omitted). So in *[Ἄρι] στόκλα[ρος] Φίλωνος Ἑρμῇ εὐχάν* App. 3093, *εὐχάν* is appositive to the omitted object.

3. Any object of a verb may be omitted when it can be readily supplied from the context: *σύνεδροι εἶνιξαν (sc. τὸ χρυσίον) Σῶσις Καρατίχου, [Π]αρμενίσκος Πυράμου* 2418. 24-25 (*cf.* *σύνεδροι Βυζαντίων [εἶνιξαν] τὸ χρυσίον Κερκῖνος Εἰροτίμω, Ἀγ . . . ibid.* ll. 11-13, *cf.* 17-19 and 5-8). *τὰμ προτηνὶ ἐμβάντα, sc. τὰγ γᾶν*, 1739. 14 (*cf.* *ὁ ἐμβὰ[ς τ]ὰγ γᾶν ibid.* l. 5).

§ 4. Omission of Other Parts of the Sentence.

1. Other parts of the sentence may be omitted when they can be readily supplied from the context or from a familiar formula.

a) Prepositional Phrases.
[Ξε]νοκρίτω ἄρχο[ντος] [ἀ]πειλθείοντες ἐς [ἐφ]είβ]ων· (*sc.* ἐν τάγμα)· Ἀντίγων ..... 1749. 1–3 (*cf.* τοὶ ἀπειλθείον[τες ἐς τῶν] ἐφείβων ἐν τάγμα· 1748. 3–4 and 1756. 1–4; 1757. 1–2); τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο, *sc.* ἐν πελτοφόρας, 2819. 4 (*cf.* the complete formula τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο ἐν πελτοφόρας 2809. 5–6, and in other inscriptions of the series 2809–2832 and 2781–2789); .... δαο ἄ[ρχ]ο[ντ]ος τυὶ ἐσς ἐφήβων, *sc.* ἐν πελτοφόρας, 2721 (*cf.* 2715–2720). *Cf.* 520, where an appositive is apparently omitted, and 1740–1742.

b) Conditional Relative Clause.
παραμείναντας ἀσαυτῦ ἂς κα ζώει ἀνεγκλείτως κὴ τῦς γονέϋς αὐτῶ, *sc.* ἂς κα ζώωσι, 3348. 4–5.

§ 5. Peculiarities of Concord.

A. Of the Subject and Predicate in Number.

1. The predicate (both verbal and adjectival) is often in the singular, when preceding, even if the subject is plural or if there are several subjects: κούριος ἔστω ὁ ἰαρεὺς κὴ τὸ ἰαράρχη κὴ τὸ σούνεδρυ σουλῶντες κὴ δαμιώοντες 3200. 12–14. This construction with either two or three sets of subjects is regular in the Manumission inscriptions of Orchomenus, 3198–3203. ἀπ[ο]καρυξάτω ... Ἐπίτιμος κὴ Σάμιχος κὴ Καλλικράτης 1780. 19–22. *Cf.* κὴ σούνδικος Ξενοκλίδα[ς] Μνασι[ξέ]νω, Φήδιμος Φιλομεί[λ]ω, Ἀγεισίλαος Φιλίππω, κτλ. 3173. 9 *sqq.* So in the Genitive Absolute: μαντευομένω Ὀνυμάστω ... Θεισπιεῖος, Πάτρωνος ... Ἐρχομενίω 2724 a *ad fin.*; παρι[ό]ντος αὐτῆ φίλων Κάλλωνος Τιμιάδαο, Δαμαγείτω Καφισοδώρω 3329. 3–5 (*cf.* 3202. 2 *sqq.*).

2. A neuter plural subject, denoting persons, may take a plural verb: τὰ δὲ γεννηθέντα ἐξ αὐτῶν ... ἔσστωσαν δοῦλα 3322. 11–13; but πα[ραχατα]τίθεται οὗτα τὰ σώ[μ]α[τα] 1780. 10–11.

3. With two subjects, the verb is sometimes dual, sometimes plural:

a) dual: Ὑπατόδωρος, Ἀρισστο[γίτων] ἐποεισάταν Θειβαίω M 1130 (400–350 B. C.), [Ἀρι]στόγ[ιτ]ος καὶ Κο[μ]αιθ[ὼ] [τοῖς] θεοῖς ἀνεθέταν 2229 (*c.* 400 B. C.), Καφισόδωρος Μαντιξένιος κὴ Κρίτις Κόραν Ὀφελειμίδα Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰτωΐοι ἀνεθέταν *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 14. p. 6 (*ante a.* 250 B. C.).

b) plural: Ἰτωΐων, Μάστος τοῖ Ἰσμεινίοι ἀνέθεαν 2455 (6th cent. ?), Ἀρχίας Θρασυμάχιος, Fαναξαρέτα Χαρμίδαο Θρασύμαχον Χαρμίδαο τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνέθεαν 1831 (*c.* 350 B. C.).

In one instance, the verb is dual and the modifiers plural: *Ἀλεύας Νίκωνος, Καφισόδωρος Ἀγλαοφαΐδαο ἄνδρεσσι χοραγίοντες νικάσαντες Διωνύσοι ἀνεθέταν* 3211. 2 (*c.* 200 B. C.).

These, and the instance cited § 5 D a), are the only occurrences of the dual number in either verbs or nouns, except the following: [. . . . *το*]*ῖν Διοσκόροιν ἀ*[*νέθεικεν*] 1792 (*ante a.* 350 B. C.), . . . *ας κὴ Εὐκ . . . . . ον Διοσκόροι*[*ν*] 2875 (350–250 B. C.). In a later epoch we find *Διοσκόροις* 554 (250–150 B. C.).

4. In the formula of the Proxeny Decree, as *πρόξενον εἶμεν . . . Κτήσωνα . . . , αὐτὸν κὴ ἐσγόνως, κὴ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς γᾶς κὴ Fυκίας ἔππασιν, κτλ.* 504. 2–4, the pronoun *αὐτοῖς* is made to agree in number with the plural appositive to the subject, *αὐτὸν κὴ ἐσγόνως*, rather than with the subject itself. This construction is regular in the Proxeny Decrees (504–529 *etc.*), but occasionally the singular is found, in strict reference to the subject: *πρόξενον εἶμεν . . . Ἀντίγονον . . . , αὐτὸν κὴ ἐσγόνως, κὴ εἶ*[*μεν*] *αὐτοῖ γᾶς κὴ Fοικίας ἔππασιν, κτλ.* 506. 5. So the sing. 1721. 6–7; 1725. 4; 1726. 5; 280. 4–5; 393. 7; 4260. 6.

B. Of the Predicate Adjective and Predicate Participle in Gender.

1. A predicate adjective or participle in the plural is masculine, when the substantives to which it refers are of two genders, masculine and feminine, or feminine and neuter denoting a masculine person: *Ἐπίτιμος κὴ* [*Εὐ*]*φρυσύνα . . . ἀν*[*τ*]*ίθεντι . . . τὰν ἀνιάρωσιν ποϊόμενει* 3315. 2–5. So 3317. 1–4; 3321. 1–4; 3325. 1–5; 3328. 3–10; 3352. 2–7; 3358. 2–3. *Πουθίνας* [. . . *ἀν*]*τίθειτι τὰν Fιδίαν θεράπην*[*αν . . .] κὴ τὸ* [*παιδά*]*ριον τὸ ἐξ αὐτᾶς . . .* [. *ἰαρ*]*ὸς τεῖ Σαράπει* 3313. 2–5 (*cf. ἀνατίθησι τὰς ἰδίας δούλας Καλλίδα καὶ Πῦθιν καὶ τὸ . . .παιδάριον, ᾧ ὄνομα Νίκων, ἱεροὺς τῷ Σεράπιδι* 3322. 5–7).

2. A predicate adjective or participle is neuter, when its substantive is neuter denoting a feminine person: *ἀνατιθέασιν τὸ δουλικὸν αὐτῶν κοράσιον Σωσίχαν ἱερὸν τῷ Σεράπι, παραμῖναν, κτλ.* 3325. 3–4 (*cf. ἀναίεροῖ τὸ . . . κοράσιον, ᾧ ὄνομα Νικώ, ἱερὸν τῷ Σεράπι* 3331. 5–8).

3. In the Manumission inscriptions, a masculine noun with its predicate complements is regularly used to include masculine and feminine persons: *Μηλὶς . . . ἀνατίθητι τὼς Fιδίως δούλως Σώτιμον κὴ Σωτη*[*ρί*]*χαν ἰαρὼς τεῖ Σεράπι παραμείναντας, κτλ.* 3314. 2–3. So 3365. 2; 3201. 5–6.

C. Of Case.

In n. 3349, *Εὔδαμος . . . ἀντίθειτι τὸν Ϝίδιων δοῦλον Μελίτωνα ἰαρὸν τεῖ Σαράπι . . . μὲ ποθείκοντι μειθενὶ μειθέν*, the predicate participle *ποθείκοντι* is apparently attracted into the case of the pronoun *μειθενί*, from the accusative, in agreement with its substantive *δοῦλον*, into the dative case.

D. Of Attributive and Substantive.

a) in Number.

With *δίου* or *διοῦ* (*δύο*), the dual number is found once: *δίου ὀβολίω* C 295. 63; several times the plural: *διοὺ ὀβολοί* M 502. 4, 5, and 8; *ὁλκὰ δύ' ὀβολοὶ, τρῖ(ς) χάλκιοι* 2420. 6–9 (*c.* 200 B. C.); *ἐγγύων ἐναντί]ον δυοῖν* 1739. 6–7, is doubtful.

b) in Gender.

An attributive adjective is neuter, when it belongs to substantives of different genders denoting things: *Ὠκυθόα ἀστραγάλως πέτταρας, στρόβιλον, μάστιγα, δαῖδα, ἀργούρια, sc. ἀνέθεικε*, 2420. 21–23 (*cf.* . . . *μανος κὴ Μένανδρος χειριπέδας κὴ πεδίσκας* [*ἀρ*]*γουρίας ibid.* 26–28). An apparent violation of Concord or variation of Gender in n. 2421, *Ἰράνα σινδόνα παρραπτὼς πορ*[*φύρας ἔχωσαν*], *πουρείνια ὀκτό, sc. ἀνέθεικε*, l. 7–8 (*cf. ibid. infra, Τελεσίππα Ἀριστοδά*[*μω σινδόνα παρραπ*]*τὼς πορφύρας ἔχοντα* l. 9–10), seems to arise from an erroneous supplement.

E. Of the Relative.

In the sentence, *Νικόδαμος τρεπεδ*[*δ*]*ίτας* (*sc. ἀνέθεικε*) *τὰν παρκαταθείκαν ἃν ἔλαβεν πὰρ Πουθιάνος Πουθιήω, ὃ ἔπραξε Δάμων, δραχμὰς Ϝίκατι πέτταρας, κτλ.* 2420. 33–37, the antecedent of the relative pronoun *ὅ* is, of course, not *παρκαταθείκαν*, but the general idea of a sum of money, implied in the context. The relative clause thus defines *παρκαταθείκαν*, "Nicodemus, a banker, contributed the deposit which he had received from Pythion, consisting of the sum which Damon collected, twenty-four drachmas, *etc.*" There is, therefore, no violation of Concord.

§ 6. Adjectives and Adverbs.

1. Agreement of Adjectives. Adjectives follow the usual rules of agreement. On peculiarities of agreement, *v.* § 5.

2. Comparison. The inscriptions offer little material for study of the syntax of comparison. The comparative degree is followed by the genitive in C 298. 47–48: *πλίονα τῶν γεγραμμένων*. Other comparatives that occur are *μῖον* (=*μεῖον*) in 1739. 14: *κὴ ὅσοι*]

κα [μ]ῖον εὕρει, and the comparative forms cited in § 7. 10. g) and § 6. 5. b).

3. Patronymic Adjectives. In inscriptions of the period before *c.* 250 B. C., patronymic adjectives are regularly used instead of the father's name in the genitive case (except with names in *-δας*, which do not form patronymic adjectives): *Ἱππαρχίοντος Δεξίππω Σαυκρατείω, Φιλαρχιόντων Μύτωνος Θρασωνίω, Ἐπιτίμω Σαυκρατείω* 3087. 3–4; *Λουσὶς Πεδαγενεία* 1832. So 537, 538, *et passim*.

About the middle of the third century B. C., the genitive of the father's name begins to be used side by side with the patronymic adjective, and soon afterward the use of the genitive prevails to the exclusion of the patronymic adjective.[1] This gradual change is well illustrated in the series of inscriptions nos. 2429–2437.

4. Adjectives Used Substantively.

Adjectives are freely used as substantives, either with or without the article. So

a) Masculine or feminine adjectives as personal substantives: *τᾶς θρεπτᾶς* 3301. 2.

b) With ellipsis of a masculine substantive:

χιτών. *Θιοξότα σχιστὸν* (*sc.* *χιτῶνα*) *περιπόρφυρον*, [. . . *ἔχον]τα ἐξ*. 2421. 8–9.

μείν (*μήν*). Ellipsis of *μείν* is common: *Ἀλαλκο[μ]ενίω πετρ[άδι ἀ]πιόντος* 504. 1; 508. 5–6; *Ὁμολῴω τρισκηδεκάτη* 510. 1; 522. 3–4; *Θιουίω* C 295. 65 (*cf.* C 298. 1–2). *Cf. μεινὸς Δαματρίω νιομεινίη* 505. 1; 523. 1; 524. 1; *μεινὸς Ἱπποδρομίω προτριακάδι* 531. 1; *μεινὸς Ἀλαλκομενίω πετράδι ἀπιόντος* 506. 1. After the preposition *ἐν*, however, *μείν* is never omitted: *ἐν τοῖ Δαματρίοι μεινί* 1739. 6; *ἐν το]ῖ Προστατειρίοι μεινί* 2406. 13.

? χάλκιος, a copper coin ($\frac{1}{12}$ of an obol): *πέτταρας ὀβολώς, ἕνδεκα χαλκίως* C 296. 2 *et saepe ibid.*; 2420. 37; also a weight: *ὁλκὰ δύ' ὀβολοὶ τρῖ(ς) χάλκιοι* 2420. 9.

στατείρ (*?*). *χρούσιος ἐνκονιστάς, ὁλκὰ χρούσιος* (*sc.* *στατείρ*) 2420. 38.

? ἀμφίθιουρος. *τό τε πρόθιουρον ἐπεσκεύαξε καὶ τὸν ἀμφίθιουρον* (*sc.* *οἶκον?*) *ἀνέθεικε* 2876.

[1] In certain inscriptions (*e. g.* n. 2782), where the use of the genitive is fully established in the body of the document, the patronymic adjective remains in the genitives absolute of the heading. This was probably due to a desire to avoid an accumulation of nouns in the genitive (*v.* Dittenberger's notes on n. 2715 and n. 2782).

ἱππεῖς. *τῶν ταραντίνων* (*sc.* *ἱππέων*) *ἀναγεόμεν(ος)* 2466. 6–7.

c) With ellipsis of a feminine substantive:
θεά. *Διὶ Μιλίχυ καὶ Μιλίχῃ* (*sc.* *Ἀρτάμιδι?*) 1814.
ἁμέρα, regularly omitted (*v. supra* 4. b)), expressed in *μεινὸς Ἀλαλκομενίω δευτέρω ἁμέρῃ ἐνακηδεκάτῃ* C 295. 171–172.
μερίς. *δεκάταν δὲ οἴσυνθι* 1739. 15; *ἀπὸ δεκά[τας]* 2456.
?πετράμεινος, a period of four months: *τὸν ταμίαν τὸν προάρχοντα τὰν τρίταν πετράμεινον* C 295. 14 and 52.
?παρραπτός, a fringe or border of a garment: *Ἰράνα σινδόνα παρραπτὼς πορ[φύρας ἔχωσαν]* 2421. 7–8 (*cf.* *παρρα-π]τὼς πορφύρας* *ibid.* ll. 9–10). So the feminine adjective *κυνῇ* (*κοινῇ*) is used adverbially in the dative: *ἀγιρέμεν . . . τὰ ἰαρὰ χρείματα κυνῇ* 4136. 4–5; *ξυνῇ* (= *κοινῇ*) . . . *ἀνέθηκαν* 4249.

d) Neuter adjectives in various relations:
Most common is *τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν*, the Boeotian Confederacy: *εὐεργέταν τῶ κοινῶ Βοιωτῶν* 280. 4; *ibid* l. 2; 283. 2; 352. 3; 393. 5; and in other Proxeny Decrees. Then, *τὸ ὁμόλογον*, the thing agreed to, the contract: *κάτ τὸ ὁμόλογον* C 295. 26, 168–169.
τὸ ἀντίγραφον, the copy: *τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶ ὁμολόγω* *ibid.* l. 36.
τὸ κατάλυπον, the remainder: *ταμίας ἀπέδωκε . . . τὸ κατάλυπον* C 298. 15–17.
ἀγαθόν, a benefit: *τὼς . . . .*] *ἀγαθόν* [*τι ποιέο*]*ντας αὐτά*[*ν* 2383. 18.
μέττον, the middle: *Σκόπας ἴασπιν ἔχωσαν χρυσίδιων διὰ μέττω* 2420. 19–20.
ἐπάνθετα, additional offerings: *γραμματίδδοντος Καφισοδώρω Ἀχαστίδαο, ἐπάνθετα· Αὐταρξία . . . πόρπαν χρυσίαν*, *κτλ.* 2420. 6–9; so *ibid.* l. 17 and l. 33.
Βασίλεια, the festival in honor of Zeus Basileus, 552, 2487.

e) With ellipsis of a neuter substantive:
ἱμάτιον. *Ἐρετριεῖς . . . . . Κῶων* (*sc.* *ἱμάτιων*) *ἐπάρ*[*γυρον*] 2419. 5–7 of Col. II; *Ταραντῖνον πα*[*ρπόρφυρον* 2421. 4; *Ταραντῖνα* *ibid.* l. 3.

5. The principal adverbs in use are as follows:

a) Adverbs of Manner.

οὕτω. οὕτω ἀπέδομεν 1737. 14 (*cf.* l. 11 and l. 17).

εὐνόως. παρα[μει]νάντεσι εὐνόως 1780. 7–8.

ἀνεγκλείτως. παραμείναντας αὐτῆ [ἀ]νεγκλείτως 3314. 3, and usually in the Manumission Documents of Chaeronea, 3301–3406.

εὖ. τὸ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ[σ' . . . 2852.

b) Adverbs of Time.

πρότερον. τὰ γε]γραμμένα πρότερ[ον 2410. 10.

πρωτηνί. τὸμ πρωτηνὶ ἐμβάντα 1739. 14.[1]

πρῶτον. τοὶ πρᾶτον ἐστρυτεύαθη C 292. 6; C 293. 6; C 294. 13.

ἀεί. χρείσιμός ἐστι τοῖς ἀὶ δειμένοις 2858. 3–4.

ἔτι. ἢ δέ κα ἔτι δώει Ἀθανοδώρα 3083. 14; ἔτι ζώσας Παρθένας 3377. 12.

ἔπιτα. ἔπιτα ἰ[α]ρὸς ἔστω 3083. 19–20; 3082. 5.

παραχρῆμα. κατέβαλε . . . . δραχμὰς Ϝίκατι παραχρεῖμα 3303. 5–6.

c) Adverbs of Degree.

ἔτι. ἐπιδεὶ Ϝ[π]πων . . . . κατέστασε . . . . ἔτι δ[ὲ] κὴ . . . . εὐχ[ρ]εισττίω[ν] διατελ[ῖ] 2383. 2–16.

d) Adverbs of Inference.

νυ. τὴ ὑπεραμερίη ἄκουρύ νυ ἔνθω C 295. 165.

ὦν. ὅπωτ ὦν φανερὸν ἴει, ... δεδύχθη C 283. 8–11; ὅπως ὦν κὴ ἁ πόλις φήνε[ιτη] εὐχάρι[στο]ς ἐῶσα 2383. 16–17.

§ 7. The Article.

1. With Names of Divinities.

With names of divinities the article is freely used and as freely omitted.[2] No distinction of meaning is observable. In the earlier inscriptions (6th to 3rd cent.) the use of the article slightly predominates. The presence or absence of epithets has no effect on the employment of the article.

a) With the article: *Κρίτων καὶ Θεισόδοτος τοῖ Δὶ τὠπωρεῖι* 2733 (6th or 5th cent.), . . . *ρων ἀνέθεικε τοῖ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι τοῖ Ἰτωϊεῖι* 2729 (6th cent. or earlier), so 2730, 2731, 2732, (of about the same date), 2735 (5th cent.), . . . *ἀνέθειαν*

[1] *Cf.* Eur. *Rhesus*, 512 *sqq.* and schol., and n. 2406, l. 6.

[2] *Cf.* Meisterhans, § 86. 2 and 3.

ταξ Δάματρι 1671 (*ante a.* 350), *Κορρινάδα*[ς] *ἀνέθεικε*[ν][τ]*οῖ* [*Ἑρμα*[*ῖ*] 1793 (5th cent.), *Ἰτωΐων, Μάστος τοῖ Ἰσμεινίοι ἀνέθεαν* 2455 (6th cent. or earlier), *Δαιτώνδα*[ς] *ἀνέθεικε τοῖ Καβίροι* 2457 (5th cent.), *Ἀνθέμα τοῖ πάϊ*[*δι*] *τῶ Καβί-ρ*[*ω*] 2458 (5th cent.), 3985, *Ἰαρὸς τῶ Καβίρω* 3585 (5th or 6th cent.), *Ἰαρὸς τῶ Καβί*[*ρω*] 3942 (6th cent.), so 3943, 3944, *Τῶ Καβίρω* 3756, 3859, 3898, 3900, 3909, 3919, 3926, 3928, 3929, (*ante a.* 350), *τοῖ Καβίροι* 3578 (*inc. act.*), 3600, 3655, 3661, 3665, 3676, 3685, 3708, 3709, 3711 (right to left), 3717 (boustrophedon), 3722, 3736, 3682, (all *ante a.* 350), *τοῖ πάϊδι* 3579, 3626, 3628, 3634, 3643, 3736, (all *ante a.* 350), *τᾶ Ἀρτάμ*[*ι*]*δι τᾶ Εἰλιθέᾳ* 3386. 9–10; so 3385. 2; 3391. 4–5 (230–150 B. C.); *τῦ Δὶ τεῖ Βασι-λεῖ κὴ τεῖ Τρεφωνίει* 3054. 15; so 3081, 3083, 3080. 2 (2d cent.); 4136. 2–3 (*c.* 230–150 B. C.); *τοῖ* [*Δὶ*] *τοῖ Βασιλε*[*ῖι*] *κ*[*ὴ τᾷ*] *πόλι* 3091. 4–7; *τῶ Διὸς τῶ Βασιλεῖος* 4136. 6–7; *τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ κὴ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος* 1779 (*c.* 230 B. C.); 1672. 2; 1674. 2; *τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι* 2724. 2 (*c.* 300 B. C.); *κατ τὰν μαν-τείαν Ἀπόλ*(*λ*)*ωνος τῶ Ἰτωΐω* 2724 c (*c.* 250 B. C.); *τῶ Ἀπόλω*[*ν*]*ο*[*ς τ*]*ῶ Ἰτωΐω* 4153. 2–3 (*c.* 350–200 B. C.); *τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι τοῖ Ἰτωΐυ* 4136. 3; *τᾶς Μ*[*ώσ*]*ης* 1790. 3–4; *τᾶμ Μωσά*[*ων τῶ*]*ν Εἰσιοδείων* 1785. 4–6; *τᾶς Μώσης τᾶς Ἑλικω-νιάδεσσι* 1788, 1789, *τοῖς θεοῖς* 2472, 2473 (early 3d cent.), 2471 (*c. a.* 250), 4177 (*c.* 230–150 B. C.).

b) Article omitted: *Δὶ Ὁμολωΐοι Ἀγειμώνδας ἀπὸ δεκά*[*τας*] 2456 (*ante a.* 350 B. C.), *Δὶ Σωτῆρι* 3206. 3 (329 B. C.), *Το*[*ὶ*] *συν*[*θό*]*τη Ἀθάνη α . . . . ἀνέθεαν* 2463 (*c.* 300 B. C.), *Ἔρωι Ἰτωϊ*[*εῖ*]*ι* 2734 (5th cent.), *Ἰαρὸς Καβίρω* 3586 (right to left), 3945, 3946, *Καβίρω ἰαρό*[*ς*] 3753 (5th cent.), 3587, 3588, 3805, (*ante a.* 350), *Ἀργεία Καβίροι* 3611, so *Καβίροι* 3577, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3611, 3654, 3659, 3668 (5th cent.), 3675, 3738 (boustrophedon), *etc.* (all *ante a.* 350), *Καβίρω* 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593 *et multa alia*, (*ante a.* 350), *Κάβιρος* 3599 (*ante a.* 350) black-figured vase, *Πάϊδι Κ*[*αβίρω*] 3986, *Βοιωτοὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰτωΐοι ἀνέθιαν* 2723. 1; so 2724 a. 1; 2724 b. 1; 2724 c. 2; 2724 d. 1; 4155. 2; 4156. 2; 4160. 3; [*Βοιω*]*τοὶ Ἰτωΐοι Ἀ*[*πόλλωνι* or [*Βοιωτοὶ τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι*] *τοῖ Ἰτωΐοι ἀ*[*νέθειαν* 2724 e (300–250 B. C.), *Ἀκρηφιεῖες Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰτωιΐοι τὸν τρίποδα κατ τὰν μαντειΐαν τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶ Ἰτωιΐω* 4157. 1–3;[1] *Θυνοκλίδας*

[1] *Cf.* § 7. 8.

Διονυσίῳ Διὶ Μιλίχυ κὴ Μιλίχῃ 1814 (230–150 B. C.), *Διὶ Ἐλευθερίωι* 1672. 1 (*c. a.* 200); *Διὶ Τρεφωνίωι* 3090. 2; *Τρεφωνίωι* 3087. 1 (*c. a.* 250); *Θεοκλῆ Ἑρμαΐω ἱάρει[α] Ποτειδάωνι Ἐμπυλήω[ι]* 2465, *ἁ γᾶ ἱαρὰ Διονύσω κὴ τᾶς πόλιος θεισπείων* 1786 (230–150 B. C.), *Μίτα Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθυίῃ* 3214, 555, 2228. 3–4, 4175, 4174, *Ἀρτάμιδι* 1809, *Ἀρτάμιδι Σωτείρῃ* 2232, *Δάματρι Θεσμοφόρῳ* 2876. 2–3; *Δειξίας Ἀσκλα[πιῶ κὴ] Ὑγίῃ* 2231, *Διοσκόροις* 554, (all *c.* 250–150 B. C.), *Ἀγεισὶς Ματέρι μεγάλῃ* 1811 (230–150 B. C.), *Ἀγαθοῖ δήμων[ι]* 1815 (*c. a.* 230 ?), *Καβίροι κὴ πάϊδι* 2467 (*c. a.* 250), 3583 (230–150 B. C.), 3584 (*ante a.* 350), *Διογιτα πάϊδι Καβίρῳ* 3620, 3621 a, 3622, so *πάϊδι* 3635, 3639, 3644, 3649, 3734. *Θεοί* or *Θιός*, at the head of Decrees and other Public Documents, or *Θιός, Τυύχα Ἀγαθά*, 1739. 1; 2809–2832.

2. With Names of States.

With names of states the article is almost invariably not used: *ἁ πόλις Ἀθανήων* 1738. 4; *ὑπὲρ τῶ δάμω Ἀθανήων* 1737. 3–4; [*Ἁ*] *πόλις Ὀρχομενίων* 3223, *κατὰ τὸν νόμων Χαιρωνέων* 3376. 7–8; *εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος Ταναγρήων* 504. 2–3; 505. 3–4; 506. 3; 509. 2, *et al.*; *τᾶς πόλιος Ἁριαρτίων* 2848. 5; *Θεισπιέες* 1796–1805, *σύνεδροι Βυζαντίων* 2418. 11; *πρισγεῖες Ἀλυζαίων ibid.* l. 18; *τοῖ κοινοῖ Βοιωτῶν* 280. 2; *εὐεργέταν τῶ κοινῶ Βοιωτῶν* 2858. 5; 2861. 4; 2864. 2; 393. 5; 352. 3, *etc.*; only once, *τῶ κοινῶ*] *τῶν Βοιωτῶν* 352. 7–8. In the very fragmentary n. 4143, Ditt. reads *τοὶ Ἁριάρτιοι* l. 7. So *τοὶ Σιφεῖ-[ε]ς* C 283. 5.

With *δᾶμος* and *πόλις* the article is regularly used, *cf. supra* and the formula *προβεβωλευμένον εἶμεν αὐτῦ πὸτ τὸν δᾶμον* 522. 8, *et al.* (but *ποτὶ δᾶμον* 2848. 2; C 295. 11, 43; and always *ἐπὶ πόλιος*, *cf.* § 10, *ἐπί* 1) b)).

With *Βασιλεύς* and *Βασίλισσα* the article seems to be sometimes used, sometimes omitted: *Τοὶ βασιλ[εῖες . . .] τᾶ πόλ[ι . . . . .]* 2419 Col. II, ll. 19–20; *Βασίλι[σσα . . . . ibid.* l. 21; *Βασιλ . . . .* l. 23.

3. Before the name of the father.

The article is not used before the father's name, even when the personal name is in the Genitive Case.[1] *Ex. passim.* An apparent exception is *Εὐχάρι τηὐτρητιφάντω* 3467. 2 (*ante a.* 350). So, perhaps, *Μ[ιλί]χω τῶ Μενεσθένειος* 1674 *ad fin.*

[1] The contrary is the case in the Attic inscriptions. *V.* Meisterhans, § 86. 8 and n. 1781.

The article is found once before the patronymic adjective in an archaic dedicatory inscription, according to Kretschmer's reading (*Hermes* XXVI p. 123 *sqq.*): *Τιμασίφιλός . . . . ὁ Πραόλλειος.*

The influence of the Boeotian custom is seen in an inscription in the *κοινή*, n. 3202, where we find *Φιλοξένου Εὐνόμου* and two other instances of the omission of *τοῦ* before the father's name after a name in the Genitive. Conversely, in the archaistic n. 3195, the article in *Εὐάριος τῶ Πάντωνος*, l. 3, betrays the influence of the *κοινή*. *V.* Ditt. *ad loc.*

So, also, when two sons are mentioned, *οἱ* is not inserted before the father's name (as in the *κοινή*): *Ἀριστοκλεῖς κὴ Νί[καν]δρος Καλλικράτιος* 3309. 3–4 (*cf. Ζώϊλος καὶ Εὔβουλος οἱ Καφισίου* 3363. 2; 3372. 4–5; 3376. 17).

4. As Equivalent to a Possessive Pronoun.

The article is often used as the equivalent of a possessive pronoun in expressing personal relationships: *Μογέα δίδωτι τᾷ γυναικὶ δῶρον* 3467, *[π]αρι[όν]τος αὐτῆ τῶ [υ]υ[ἱ]ῶ* 3204. 6–7; so *ὁ ἀνείρ* 3199. 15; 3317. 2; 3365. 1–2; *Ἀριστοτέλεις ὁ πατείρ, Πουθυγίτα ἁ μάτειρ Θοινέαν τοῖς θεοῖς* 2471, *Ἐπήνετ[ος . . . .] τὰν θουγα[τέρα . . .] Διωνού[σοι . . .* 2474. 1–2; 2475. 1–3; *τὰς θου[γ]ατέρας* 4175, *[Τὸν δεῖνα ὁ δεῖνα . . . .]ίω τὸν ἀδελφὸν [κὴ Ἀμ]μόα τὸν υἱόν* 2487, 2795, 4177, *Μνᾶμ' ἐπ' Ὀλιγε[ί]δαι μ' ὁ πατὴρ [ἐ]πέθηκε θανό[ν]τι* 1880. 1–4; *οὕτ[ως δ]ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν κὴ [ἐπι]μέλεσθαι [ὅ]πως βεβεία εἲ αὐ[το]ῖς ἁ ἐλευθερια,* 'their freedom,' 1780. 14–17.

5. With Names of Months.

Names of months are sometimes conceived as adjectives, and are then used with the article in the attributive position: *ἐν τῦ Δαματρίυ μεινί* C 295. 54–55; *ἐν τῦ Ἀλαλ[κυ]μενίοι μεινί* C 295. 141–142; sometimes as nouns, and are then used without the article either alone or in apposition with *μείν*: *μεινὸς Ἀλαλκομενίω δευτέρω ἀμέρη ἐνακηδεκάτη* C 295. 171–172; *Ἀλαλκομενίω Ϝικαστᾶ κὴ ἕκτη* C 295. 7–8; *Δαματρίω νιουμεινίᾳ πετράτη* C 295. 40–41.

6. The Attributive Position.

With the article in attributive position are used

a) Adjectives: *τὰν ἀγαθὰν μαντείαν* C 281. 3.

b) Participles: *ἐν τῦ γεγραμμένυ χρόνυ* C 295. 155; *ἐν τῦ χρόνυ τῦ γεγραμμένυ ibid.* 159.

c) Possessive Genitives: *ἀ]νεγράψαμεν τὸ Τιμύλλω Ἀμινοκράτε[ι . . .* 1737. 19; *ἐπὶ τᾶς Πιστοκλεῖος τραπέδδας* C 295. 172–173 (*cf. διὰ τραπέδδας τᾶς Πιστοκλεῖος ibid.* l. 170); *Ὁ ἐμβὰ[ς τ]ὰγ γᾶν τῶ Ἡρακλεῖ[ο]ς τῶ ἰαρῶ τῶ [. . . .* 1739. 5.

d) Prepositional Phrases. This usage is very frequent: *Τὸ ἀγώναρχυ τὸ ἐπὶ Πολέ[α]ο ἄρχοντος* 1817. 1–2; *κατ [τ]ὰν στάλαν τὰν ἐν 'Ασκλαπ[ιεί]οι* 1780. 23–25; *τῶ ἰ]αρῶ τῶ ἐμ Βελφοῖς* 2418. 22–23; *τὰς οὐπεραμερίας . . . τὰς ἐπὶ Ξενοκρίτω ἄρχοντος ἐν Θεισπιῆς πάσας* C 295. 150–152; *τὰ πὰρ τᾶς πόλ[ιος . . .* 2410. 12; *τὸ [παιδά]ριον τὸ ἐξ αὐτᾶς* 3313. 4; *τό τε φάφισμα οὗτο κὴ τὸ οὐπὲρ τᾶς ἀποδόσιος* C 295. 31; 3209 (?).

From the examples given above it will be seen that the article is commonly repeated before the attribute. In some instances it is twice repeated, thus supplying two qualifications: *τὰς ὑπεραμερίας τὰ(ς) κὰτ τᾶς πόλιος τὰς Λ[ι]καρέτας* C 295. 32–33; sim. *ibid.* l. 75 *sqq.* and ll. 22–23; or the noun in the attributive phrase has itself an attribute with repeated article: *ἐν τὸν ὅρο]ν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶ χαράδρ[ω] τῶ ῥί[ο]ντος ἐκ τᾶς Βου . . . .* 3170. 9; *ἐν τὸν ὅρον τὸν ἐ(ν) τᾷ ὁδῦ τᾷ [ἐ]πὶ . . . . ibid.* l. 10; or, again, the article may be used only before the attribute, as *ἀν]τίθειτι παιδάριον τὸ γενόμενον αὐτῷ ἐκ τᾶς θρεπτᾶς* 3301. 2; *διὰ τραπέδδας τᾶς Πιστυκλεῖος* C 295. 170; *κατ τὰν μαντείαν 'Απόλ(λ)ωνος τῶ Πτωΐω* 2724 c. 2; 3223.

7. The Article with the Participle.

The article is often used with the participle without a substantive; the participle may then have an object or other modifier: *π]οτ τὼς ἀσεβίοντας τὸ ἰαρὸ[ν* 2418. 3; *[τοὶ] καταλειφθέντες ἐν τοῖ Πειρα[εῖι . . . . .* 2406. 2; *. . . οι τῦς νικώντεσσι* 2410. 6; *χρείσιμός ἐστι τοῖς ἀὶ δειμένοις* 2858. 3–4; *τ]ὸς χρ[εί]αν ἐχόντ[υς] εὐχ[ρ]ειστίω[ν]* 2383. 14–16; *τοὶ ἀπειλθείον[τες ἐς τῶν] ἐφείβων ἐν τάγμα·* 1748. 3–4. But compare *[Ξε]νοκρίτω ἄρχο[ντος] [ἀ]πειλθείοντες ἐς [ἐφείβ]ων·* 1749. 1–3; so, without *τοί*, 1756. 1–4; 1757. 1–2 (*κοινή*); *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον [. . . .* 2406. 16.

8. Deictic Article.

The article is used to indicate a person or thing that is well known or has just been mentioned: *μαντευσαμένω τῶ θεῶ καὶ ἀποδόντος τὰν ἀγαθὰν μαντείαν* C 281. 3 (*cf.* l. 2, *τοῖ 'Απόλλωνι τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθειαν*); 4157. 1–3 (quoted under § 7. 1. b)). So, especially, of visible offerings, where English idiom requires 'this,' *e. g. τὸν τρίποδα* C 281. 2 (*v. supra*); and *'Αθανοδώρα . . . . . Δάματρι Θεσμοφόρῳ τό τε πρόθυυρον ἐπεσκεύαξε καὶ τὸν ἀμφίθυυρον ἀνέθεικε* 2876, 3209. *παρεῖς τᾷ Εὐ[κλεί]η κὴ τᾷ 'Αρίστ[η . . .* 3198. 7 and *παρεῖαν τᾷ Κλειῶι . . . . κὴ τᾷ Τιμ[ῶι]* 3199. 13–14, referring to persons previously mentioned without the article. 1739. 18; 3377. 3–4.

9. The Article with certain Proper Names.

τοὶ] *καταλειφθέντες ἐν τοῖ Πειρα*[*εῖι* . . . . 2406. 2; . . . . .] *ἀποδόμεν τὰμ Μωνυχίαν κομι*[*ττάμενοι* . . . . 2406. 3; *κὴ τοὶ Ἀρεοπαγῖτη* 2406. 14; *το*]*ὶ ἐν τὰν Ἀσία*[*ν*] *στ*[*ρατευσάμενοι* 3206. 1.[1]

10. The Article with Special Words.

a) *πᾶς* and *ἅπας*. *πᾶς* and *ἅπας* are regularly used with the article, in the predicate position: *κὴ τἄλλα πάντα* 504. 4–5; 505. 7; 506. 6; (frequent in Proxeny Decrees), *τὰ λυπὰ πάντα* 1725, 1727, 1728, 1731, *ἅπαν τὸ ἀργούριον* C 295. 158; *τὰς ἐ*[*σ*]*πράξις . . . πάσας* C 295. 55–57, 60, 150 *sqq.*; *τὰ ἄλλα φιλάνθρωπα πάντα* 4127. 5. An exception is made in the phrase (*ἐν*) *τὸν πάντα χρόνον* 'to all time,' in which *πᾶς* has always the attributive position, 1788, 1789, 1780. 18; 1781. 2–4; 3080. 2–3; 3081. 3; and in the phrases *ἐν παντὶ καιροῖ* 'on every occasion' 280. 3; 2383. 16; 3059. 13; *κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν* 'through every land' 4136. 5–6.

b) *οὗτος*, *etc.* *οὗτος*, when used with a noun, has always the predicate position: *οὕτω τῶ ἀργυρίω* 1738. 6; [*ο*]*ὗτα τὰ χρήματα* 1737. 6; 1780. 11, 22–23. So *ὅδε* in prose: *ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς ἁμέρας* 3080. 3. *Cf.* § 8. IV. 2.

c) *ἕκαστος*. *ἕκαστος* is found without the article: *ἐν τοῖ Δαματρίοι μεινὶ ἑκάστω ἐνιαυτῶ* 1739. 6; *κὰτ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον* C 298. 42–43; *καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν ibid.* ll. 51–52; *κατὰ μεῖνα* [*ἕκασ*]*τον* ll. 53–54. But *τᾶς μνᾶς ἑκάστας ibid.* l. 53.

d) *αὐτός*. *αὐτός*, meaning 'the same,' always has the article before it: *Ϝίστωρ ὁ αὐτός* C 295. 68, 72, 74.

e) *Ϝίδιος*. *Ϝίδιος* 'own,' regularly takes the article, *ὁ Ϝίδιος* = 'his, her, or their own': [*ἀντί*]*θειτι τὰν Ϝιδίαν θεράπηναν* 3302. 3; *τὸν Ϝίδιον Ϝυκέταν* 3198. 2; and so regularly in the Manumission inscriptions.

f) *ἄλλος*. *ἄλλος* is used in the attributive position to mean 'the other,' and without the article to mean 'other': *κὴ τἄλλα πάντα καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις* 504. 4–5; 505. 7; 506. 6–7; 507. 5–6; 4127. 5; (a frequent formula in Proxeny Decrees), *Βυσζάντιοι* [*συνεβάλ*]*οντο ἄλλως πεντακατίως στατεῖρα*[*ς* . . . . 'other five hundred staters' 2418. 20–21; *Ἀλυ*[*ζῆοι*] *ἄλλας τριάκοντα μνᾶς* 2418. 16–17.

g) *νιώτερος*, *etc.* The article is used with *νιώτερος*, *οὔστερος*, and with the ordinal numerals, in giving the

[1] *Cf.* Meisterhans, § 86. 15.

names of officials: *καβτριαρχιόντων . . . . . 'Ασωπίχω Καφισοδώρω τῶ νιωτέρω* 2420. 14–15; *'Απολλοδώρω ἄρχοντος τῶ οὐσστέρω* 522. 1–2; 2821. 3–4; [*Φ*]*αείνω ἄρχοντος τῶ πέμπτω* 1725. 1; *Τιμασιθίω τῶ δευτέρω* 2814. 3.

h) *μέττος*. *μέττος* 'middle,' is found alone without the article: *ἴασπιν ἔχωσαν χρουσίδιον διὰ μέττω* 2420. 19–20.

§ 8. Pronouns.

I. Personal and Reflexive Pronouns.

Instances of the use of the personal pronouns are rare. We find

(1) First Person: *μ ε*, used as an ordinary personal pronoun: *Χάρεις ἔδωκε Εὐπλοΐωνί με* 3468, *Ποιμανορίδας μ' ἐπέδωκε* 2245 (*ante a.* 350 B. C.), 2731 (6th cent.), . . . *ς με ἀνέ*[*θεικε*] 4008, 1880, (*ante a.* 350 B. C.).

ἁμέων, used instead of the possessive pronoun *ἁμέτερος*: *τῆ πό*[*λι*] *ἁμέω*[*ν* 2383. 8–9 (*c.* 230–150 B. C.).

(2) Second Person: *τύ*, expressed with the imperative because emphatic: *Καλλία Αἰγί(θ)θοιο· τὺ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ*[*σ' ὦ*] *παρυδῶτα* 2852.

(3) Third Person: *Ϝοι*, used as an ordinary personal pronoun, not reflexive:[1] *πρόξενον εἶμεν Βοιωτῶν καὶ εὐεργέταν Νώβαν 'Α*[*σδρ*]*ούβω Καρχαδόνιον, καὶ εἶμέν* [*Ϝ*]*οι γᾶς καὶ* [*Ϝ*]*οικίας ἔ*[*π*]*πασιν* 2407. 3–8 (366–365 B. C. Köhler, Ditt.; *c.* 175 B. C. Larfeld, Meister) Larfeld: (*αὐ*)[*τ*]*οῖ*; Meister: [*αὐτ*]*οῖ*.[2] *Cf. αὐτοῖ*, l. 5 of n. 2408 (of same tenor and date).

The reflexive pronouns of the third person, *ἀσαυτῦ*, *αὐτάν*, *αὐτοσαυτῶ*, *αὐτυαυτῶν*,[3] are found in both singular and plural, referring to the subject of the sentence: *Πούριππος Προξένω ἀντίθειτι ἰαρὰν . . . 'Αφροδιτίαν τῦ Σαράπι, παραμείνασαν ἀσαυτῦ κὴ τῆ γου*[*νηκ*]*ὶ αὐτῶ* 3303. 2–4; *'Αρτάμων Ζωπούρω ἀντίθειτι . . . 'Αγεισίαν κὴ Παράμονον ἰαρὼς τῦ Σαράπι, παραμείναντας ἀσαυτῦ . . . κὴ τῦς γονέῦς αὐτῶ* 3348. 2–5. *ἀσαυτῦ* in these phrases is, in effect, an indirect reflexive, since the participle is the equivalent of a clause. Instead of it, the personal pronoun is sometimes used: *παραμείνασαν αὐτεῖς* 3315. 5–6; *αὐτῆ* 3314. 3; *παρμίναν*]*τα αὐτῦ κὴ τῆ γουνηκὶ* 3082. 4; or the name repeated: *παραμείνασαν Παρθένᾳ* 3321. 3. So

[1] The prevailing use except in Attic prose, *cf.* Dyroff, *Geschichte des Pronomen Reflexivum* II pp. 120, 125, 129–130.

[2] *Ϝοι* fits the space, as *αὐτοῖ* does not, and Dittenberger considers the reading certain: neque de ullius vocis lectione dubitari licet. Ditt. *ad loc.*

[3] On the Boeotian reflexive forms, *v.* Meister, *Griech. Dial.* I p. 274; Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* 436; Dyroff (in Schanz's *Beiträge*) II pp. 114, 138.

αὐτάν: [Ἀ] πόλις Ὀρχομενίων [Ἰ]ππαρέταν [Εἰρ]οδότω εὐνοίας τᾶς ἐν αὐτάν 3223.[1] Also, as direct reflexive, αὐτοσαυτῶ: ὑπὲρ αὐτοσαυτῶ ἀνέθεικε 3055. 9; and αὐτὸ αὐτῶν: τάν τε σύνγραφον, ἃν ἔδωκαν . . . κατ' α[ὐ]τὸ αὐτῶ[ν] 3172. 120–121; *ibid.* 148–149.

II. Intensive Pronoun.

The intensive pronoun αὐτός is found with the usual distinctions of meaning: (1) with preceding article, meaning 'the same': Ϝίστωρ ὁ αὐτός C 295. 68, 72, 74; χρόνος ὁ αὐτός C 295. 74; τὰς αὐτὰς τιμάς C 283. 5–6. (2) standing alone in the nominative, or in the predicate position, meaning 'himself', *etc.*: τοὶ Ἀθ]ανᾶοι τοῖς στροτιώτης αὐτοὶ αὐ[τοῖς? . . . . 2406. 4 (*c.* 229 B. C.); μὲ ποθίκοντα μείτε αὐτεῖ Σάωνι μείτε ἄλλει [μ]ειθενὶ 3080. 3–4. (3) in the oblique cases, as a personal pronoun, 'him, her, it': ὁ δεῖνα ἔλεξε· προβεβωλευμένον εἶμεν αὐτῦ πὸτ τὸν δᾶμον 522. 6–8; 1728. 1–2; 1730. 4–5; 2848. 2; *etc.* οὕτ[ως δ]ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν κὴ [ἐπι]μέλεσθαι [ὅ]πως βεβεία εἶ αὐ[το]ῖς ἁ ἐλευθερία 1780. 14–17; ἄρχει[ν] δ' [α]ὐτὰ . . . . . 1739. *ad fin.* (*c.* 230 B. C.); 3082. 4.

III. Possessive Pronouns.

The possessive pronouns of the first and second persons do not occur.[2] For the possessive pronoun of the third person the genitives αὐτῶ, αὐτᾶς, in the predicate position, are used: παραμείναντας ἀσαυτῦ . . . . κὴ τῦς γονέϋς αὐτῶ 3348. 5; παραμεινασαν ἀσαυτῦ κὴ τῆ γου[νηκ]ὶ αὐτῶ 3303. 4; τ]ὰν [Ϝ]ιδίαν ἀπε[λε]ύθερον α[ὐ]τῶ Εὐ. 3360. 5–6. The possessive is not elsewhere expressed in this phrase (*cf.* τὸν ἴδιον ἀπελεύθερον Δ. 3318. 5–6; τὸν Ϝίδιον θεράποντα Ἀ.[3] 3083. 6–8). συνευδοκίοντος κὴ τῶ ἰουΐῶ αὐτᾶς Εἴρωνος 3377. 5–6.

IV. Demonstrative Pronouns.

1. τοιΐ. The demonstrative pronoun most commonly found is τοιΐ (τυΐ), the article with the intensive iota, which is used always at the head of lists, in the sense of οἵδε, 'these', 'the following': τοιὶ [συ]νεβάλονθο ἐν [τ]ὸν ναὸ[ν . . . 3191. 2; 3192. 1; τοιὶ [ἀπεγράψαντο ἐς τῶν νε]ωτέρων ἐν τὼς ὁπλίτας 1747. 2–3 (*c. a.* 300–250); 3292. 3–4 (*c. a.* 230–150); τοιὶ πρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη

[1] In 512. 3—Θιόδωρο[ς ἔλεξε· προβεβωλευμένον] ἦμεν αὐτῦ πο[τὶ δᾶμον—Dittenberger writes αὐτῦ, elsewhere, in the same formula, αὐτῦ.

[2] *Cf.* § 8. I (1), *ad fin.*

[3] The possessive phrase with Ϝίδιος (ἴδιος) which is in regular use in Boeotian in the period of the Manumission Documents (*c.* 230–150 B. C.) is noted in the Attic inscriptions only after 69 B. C. *V.* Meisterhans, p. 235.

C 292. 6; C 293.6; C 294. 13–14 (*ante a.* 223). So in other military lists: *τυὶ ἀπεγράψαντο ἐμ πελτοφόρας*, followed by a list of names, 2809–2832, 2715–2721, 2781–2789, (*a.* 250–200).

2. *ὅδε*. *ὅδε* occurs a few times in poetical inscriptions; perhaps twice in prose: [*Δ*]*άματρο*[*ς*] *τόδ' ἄγαλμ'* [. . . . 1670 (*ante a.* 350), *Εὐχὰν ἐκτελεσάντι Διωνύσῳ Νεομήδης ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε* 1794 (*ante a.* 350), [*φέρ*]*ω, Κάβιρε, τόνδε τ*[*ὸν* . . . . 3598 (*ante a.* 350). *Μελίτωνος ἄρχοντος οἵ*[*δε*] *ἐσσεγράφε*[*ν*] *ἐν* [*π*]*ελτοφόρας·* 2389 (*c. a.* 200). Larfeld would emend (*τ*)*οἵ. ἱαρὸν εἶμεν τὸν πάν*[*τα χ*]*ρόνον ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς ἁμέρας* 3080. 3.

3. *οὗτος*. *οὗτος* is used both substantively and adjectively. When used as an adjective it takes the predicate position: [*ο*]*ὗτα τὰ χρήματα* 1737. 6; *οὗτα τὰ σώ*[*μ*]*α*[*τα*] 1780. 11, 22–23 (*c. a.* 230); *ἄρχι τόχω οὗτω τῶ ἀργυρίω* 1738. 6 (*c. a.* 229); *τῶν θιῶ*[*ν*]<*ων*> *οὕτων* 3083. 25–26; *Ἐπὶ Λυκάωνι· οὗτον ἔθαφαν τὺ Ἀθαναίστη* 685 (*cf.* 686, 687), *Νικόδαμος . . . . δραχμὰς Ϝίκατι πέτταρας πέντ' ὀβ*(*ολ*)*ὼς ἐννία χαλκίως· ἐν οὗτο χρούσιος ἐνκονιστάς, ὁλκὰ χρούσιος, κὴ τριώβολον Ἀττικόν* 2420. 33–39 (*c. a.* 230); *οὗτο* [. . . . *τοῖ*] *δαμοσίοι* 1738. 5–6; *οὗ*[*τως δ*]*ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν* . . . 1780. 14–15; 4136. 4 (*bis*). Once *οὑτί* is found: . . . . *κ*]*οντα ἐννέα· οὑτὶ γίνυτη* (*ἀρ*)*γ*(*υρ*)*ίω Ἠγινήω* [. . . *πετταρ*]*ες·* 1737. 5–6 (*c. a.* 229). In all these examples *οὗτος* refers back to something already mentioned.

4. *ἐκεῖνος*. *ἐκεῖνος* occurs once in the form *κεῖνος* in a fragmentary inscription: . . . .]*τε κείνως παρκαλ*[. . . . . 2410. 13 (*a.* 200–150).

5. *ταυτί·* is read by Dittenberger in 1739. 5.

V. Relative Pronouns.

1. The definite relative *ὅς* (once *τόν*), is found in its ordinary use referring to a definite antecedent with which it agrees in gender, number, and person. In the case of the neuter relative *ὅ*, meaning 'what,' the antecedent is regularly omitted. *ἐν τὸ*[*ν*] *πόλεμον, τὸν ὑ*[*πὲρ τῶ ἰ*]*αρῶ τῶ ἐμ Βελφοῖς ἐπολέμιον Βοιωτο*[*ί*] 2418. 22–23 (*a.* 355–346); *τάν τε σύγγραφον, ἃν ἔ*[*δω*]*καν* C 295. 19; *τὰν συγγραφὰν, ἃν ἔχι* C 295. 58; *ἐσλιανάτω N. τὰς οὐπεραμερίας ἃς ἔχι* C 295. 151; *Ὀσθίλος, ὃ*[*ι*] *πένθος θῆκεν ἀποφθίμενος* 1880. In the following sentence the relative has a connective force; *ά γᾶ ἱαρὰ Διονύσω κὴ τᾶς πόλιος θεισπείων, ἃν ἀνέθηκε Ξενέας Πυύθωνος* 1786. 1-8 (*c. a.* 230–150). *Νικόδαμος τρεπεδ*[*δ*]*ίτας τὰν παρκαταθείκαν ἃν ἔλαβεν πὰρ Πουθίωνος Πουθιήω, ὃ ἔπραξε Δάμων, δραχμὰς Ϝίκατι, κτλ.* 2420. 33–37 (*c. fin. saec. tert.*); *ἀποδόμεν—ἀπὸ* [*τ*]*ᾶν ὑπε*[*ρ*]*αμε-*

ριάων . . . . ὃ ἐπίθωσε αὐτὰν ἁ πόλις C 295. 15–16; *ἀποδόμεν τὰν πόλιν . . . Νικαρέτη . . . . ὃ ἐπίθωσαν ibid.* 135.

2. *ὅς* may be used where the antecedent is indefinite: *ἐγγυώς, ὥς κα δοκιμάδδῃ Νικαρέτα* C 295. 145–146; *ibid.* 48–49 (3172. 149–150); *θυσίας, ἃς δαίζοι ἁ πό[λ]ις* C 283. 12–13.

3. Attraction of the Relative.

Of the attraction of the relative into the case of the expressed or omitted antecedent, several instances occur,—all of attraction from the accusative into the genitive: *τὰν διαγραφὰν τῶν χρειμάτων ὧν [παρ]έγραψαν αὐτῇ* C 295. 37–38; *τῶ*] *τελευτήω ὦ ἐλάβομ[εν* 1738. 3 (*c. a.* 229); *Κεφαλὰ ὧν ἀνεγράψατο ἁ πόλις* 1737. 9 (*c. a.* 229); *τάν τε σύγγραφον, ἃν ἔ[δω]καν . . . κὴ ὁ ταμίας κὴ ὧν ποθείλετο Νικαρέτα δέκα* C 295. 21.

4. Indefinite Relatives.

The indefinite relatives which occur are *ὅστις* and *ὁπόττος*. For examples, *v.* Conditional Relative Sentences, § 13. 6 *sqq.*

VI. *ἀμφότερος* is found in apposition with *οὗτος*: *οὕτως* [*δ*]*ὲ ἀγιρέμεν ἀμφοτέρως τὰ ἰαρὰ χρείματα* 4136. 4–5. *ἄνφω* occurs in an archaic inscription attributed to Boeotia: [*Γόργος Ἴων τ'*] *ἄνφω ξυνᾶ πρωροὲ ἀνέθηκαν* 4249.

§ 9. Cases.

Nominative.

1. In Lists. *Ex. passim.*

The Nominative is sometimes used loosely for another case in Lists.[1] So

a) for the Accusative: *Εὐφάμη Καφισοδώ[ρω πέτ]ταρας, τρῖς ὀβολοί, πέντε χαλκίως·* C 296. 3–4 (*cf.* l. 6: *πενταχατίας τριάκοντα, πέντε ὀβολοί, ὀκτὸ χάλκιοι*). In this inscription the nominative varies with the accusative in the numerals throughout. *Cf.* 2420. 33–39 (§ 8. IV. 3).

b) for the Genitive: *ἀφεδριατευόντων· Δωρόθεος Ἀριστέαο Πλατηεύς, Ἐ . . . Ἰσμηνίχω Θειβᾶος*, and three other names in the nominative, 1672. 4–8.

c) for the Dative: *ἐγγύοι*[*ς*] . . . *Μνάσων Μέχγαο, Τελεσίας Μέχγαο, Λασίππω*, κτλ., followed by a list of names in the dative, C 295. 84 *sqq.*

2. In Titles of Documents, *etc. ὁμολο*[*γί*]*α Νικαρέτη . . . . κὴ τᾷ πόλι* C 295. 124 *sqq.* (*cf.* C 298. 27–28); *Διαγραφὰ Νικαρέτη διὰ*

[1] *Cf.* Meisterhans, § 84. 3.

τραπέδδας C 295. 170; *τὸ συυνάλλαγμα ibid.* 65, 69, 75; . . . *τω προξενία* 512, *Προξενίη·* 2708 (at the head of a List of Proxeny Decrees, of which all but one are lost), 4127, 513, 529.

3. As the subject of a verb not expressed

a) in Invocations: *Θιός·* (at the head of Lists of Recruits of Hyettus and Copae, a List of Contributors to the Treasury of Aesculapius at Orchomenus, *etc.*) 2781–2789, 3191. 1; (at the head of a Proxeny Decree) 2858. 1; *Θιός· τούχα ἀγαθά* 3083. 1–2 (Manumission inscription of Lebadea); 2809, 1780. *Cf. Θιὸς τούχαν ἀγαθάν* 3166. 1, 3167. 1–2 (Proxeny decrees of Orchomenus); 3082. 1; 3301. 1, 3302. 1 (Manumission inscriptions of Chaeronea); *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ* 3287.

b) in Concise Legal Phraseology. (§ 2. 1. b)).

Χρόνος ὁ αὐτός C 295. 72 (in a series of dates expressed by the genitive) is practically equivalent to a Genitive of Time. So *τῶν τεθμοφυλάκων γραμματεὺς Σα . . .* C 295. 77, takes the place of the usual Genitive Absolute—*γραμματεύοντος τῶ δεῖνα.*

c) in Dedications. (§ 2. 2. c)).

Vocative.

4. The Vocative is found in grave-stone inscriptions with *χαῖρε* (*χῆρε*): *Ἀριστονύα χαῖρε* 2920, *Ἰάρδαλι χαῖρε* 3004, 2964, 3017, 3021, 3025, 2952, *et saepe.*

In similar inscriptions in the Ionic (*κοινή*) dialect the nominative is found as well as the vocative,—*Ἐφήβος Λακεδαιμόνιος Χὴν χαῖρε* 2936, *Διονύσιος χαῖρε* 2937, (*cf. Δεξίθεε χαῖρε* 2933, 2959, 2967). As the forms of the nominative and the vocative in so many names are identical, this may also be the case in some of the Boeotian dialect inscriptions.[1] It is difficult to say whether this usage is to be regarded as another instance of the general loss of perception of case distinctions in late Greek (*cf.* the use of the genitive and even of the nominative with *ἐπί*, in late grave-stone inscriptions, of which examples are cited by Dittenberger *ad* n. 1713), or whether a full stop should be understood between the nominative and the imperative.

The Vocative (probably with *ὦ*) is also found with the Imperative in a grave-stone inscription of the 6th or early 5th century: *Καλλία Αἰγί(θ)θοιο· τὸ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ[σ' ὦ] παρυδῶτα* 2852. *Καλλία* also may be regarded as a Vocative, if, with Roehl (*I. G. A.* 149), we suppose the inscription to embody a colloquy between the de-

[1] I have found only one certain example: *Κερείσιχος χῆρε* 2033 (*c.* 230–150 B. C.).

parted Callias and a passer-by who calls upon him and whom he bids farewell. It is possible, however, to take *Καλλία* as a genitive (*cf.* *Δϝεινία τόδε [σᾶμα]· τὸν ὤλεσε πόντος ἀναι[δής]* Roehl *I. G. A.* 15), the monument itself being represented as speaking: "I am (or, this is) the tomb of Callias."[1] With the former interpretation the connecting *δέ* seems more harsh. But *cf.* § 9. 13.

Accusative.

5. The Predicate Accusative is used proleptically in the phrase *ἀντίθειτι . . . ἰαρόν* in Manumission inscriptions: *Εὔδαμος Ὁμολ[ω]ῖχω ἀντίθειτι τὸν Ϝίδιον δοῦλον Μελίτωνα ἰαρὸν τεῖ Σαρά[πι]* 3349. 2–4. In the Manumission inscriptions of Lebadea and Orchomenus, the Infinitive *εἶμεν* is always expressed after *ἰαρόν*; in those of Chaeronea, *ἰαρόν* is used alone.

6. The Accusative of the Inner Object is found in the phrase *εἴ ἄλλο τι ἀδικῖ* 3081. 5; 3080. 4; also in the language of the Games: *νικάσαντες ἱππασίᾳ Παμβοιώτια* 3087. 2; *ἀγωνοθετεί[σας] τὰ Βασίλεια* 3091. 3; 552. 3; *Βασίλεια* 2487 (with verb unexpressed, *cf.* § 2. 3.), ... *ς Πουθιῆος τὸ [δεύτερον] π[αῖδας] Πούθια παγκ[ράτιον]* 2533. *Cf.* *τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμαϝυδός* 3195.

7. The Adverbial Accusative is used regularly in the phrase *μεὶ ποθείκοντα μειθενὶ μειθέν* occurring in the Manumission inscriptions of Chaeronea.

This phrase is, however, chiefly found in those inscriptions of Chaeronea that are written mainly in the Common Dialect (*cf.* 3321. 3–4; 3326. 6–7; 3328. 6–7 and 3329. 7–8; 3349. 5–6), and in one of the inscriptions where it occurs in its Boeotian form, the Adverbial Accusative *μειθέν* is omitted (*μεὶ ποθίκοντα μειθενί* 3350. 4), while in another we find the Common forms *μηθενὶ μηθέν* added to the Boeotian *μεὶ ποθείκωσαν* 3329. 7–8. Hence, we might infer that this particular use of the Adverbial Accusative was borrowed from the Attic. It occurs, however, in a purely Boeotian Manumission inscription of Lebadea, *με[ὶ] ποθ[ί]κων μειθενὶ μειθέν* 3083. 21, beside the equivalent phrase *κατὰ μειθένα τρόπον* used in two other Manumission inscriptions of the same town (3080. 4; 3081. 4).

An interesting use of the Adverbial Accusative occurs in the Nicareta inscription of Orchomenus: *ἀποδόμεν τὰν πόλιν Ἐρχομενίων Νικαρέτᾳ . . . ἀργουρίω δραχμὰς μουρίας . . . . ἔσχατον* ('at the latest') *Ὀνασ[ί]μω ἄρχοντος ἐν τῦ Ἀλαλ[κο]μενίοι μεινί* C 295. 133–142.

Also: *ἄρχοντος τὸ πέτρατον* 3176. 2 (*cf.* . . . *Πουθιῆος τὸ [δεύτερον] π[αῖδας] Πούθια παγκ[ράτιον]* 2533).

[1] *Cf.* Wilamowitz, *Lectt. Epigr. Gött.* 1885, p. 13, and § 2. 1. a).

8. The Accusative of Duration of Time is used chiefly in Manumission inscriptions, in the phrase *ἰαρὸν εἶμεν τὸν πάντα χρόνον* 3080. 2–3; 3081. 2–3; and with the verb *παρμένω*: *παρμείναντα . . . Ϝέτια δέκα* 3083. 10–12; *παρμενῖ . . . τὸν περιττὸν χρόνον* 3083. 17–19.

In 3391. 6, *παρμείνασαν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅστις κα μετ' Εὐβοΐσχον ἄρχει*, we find the Accusative of Duration of Time modified by a relative clause that defines it more closely.

In the phrase *παραμείναντας—πάντα τὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον* 3322. 9–10 (*cf.* 3324. 3–4, *πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον*), the accusative with its limiting genitive takes the place of a temporal clause in the usual formula, *παραμείναντα—ἃς κα ζώει* (frequent in the inscriptions of Chaeronea 3301 *sqq.*), in which the clause may be regarded as an Accusative of Duration of Time.

Also: *τὸν προάρχοντα τὰν τρίταν πετράμεινον* C 295. 14 and 52; 1788. 8–9; 1790. 7–8.

9. Two Accusatives are used with *πιθόω* (= *πείθω*): *ὃ ἐπίθωσε αὐτὰν ἁ πόλις* C 295. 15–16;
and with *πράττω*: *πραττώσας τὸ δάνειον τὰν πόλιν* C 295. 45; and *ἀφίημι*: *τῶν πολιτάων πιθόντων αὐτὸν ἀφῆκε τὰν πόλιν δραχ[μ]ὰς [π]εντακατίας* 2383. 13–14.[1]

10. Accusative by Attraction.

Δαματρία κὴ Σατύρα πόρπαν χρουσίαν, ὁλκὰ χρούσιος. Σκόπας ἔασπιν ἔχωσαν χρουσίδιον διὰ μέττω, ὁλκὰν ὀβολόν, κὴ ἄλυσιν χαλκᾶν 2420. 17–21. In this list, *ὁλκὰν ὀβολόν* is attracted into the accusative by the force of its environment (*cf.* *ὁλκὰ χρούσιος* *supra*, and § 9. 1. a)).

11. Accusative on Grave Steles.

The simple accusative is not found in grave stele inscriptions.[2]

Examples which have been cited are rather to be regarded as nominatives of feminine names, derived from neuter adjectives. On *Παύσιλλαν* (n. 4211) *v.* Dittenberger, *ad loc.*: sic ea casuum confusione, quam recentiore tempore magis magisque grassatam esse exposui ad n. 1713, pro *Παύσιλλα* exaratum existimo. Namque legitimum esse meri accusativi usum in titulis sepulcralibus nunquam credam. Editores Americani (C. D. Buck et F. B. Tarbell, *Am. Jour. of Arch.* V (1889) pp. 457, 458) miro errore huc rettulerunt . . . *Λίγουρον* (n. 1775, 3556), *Εὔκηρον* (n. 997) *etc.*

[1] This unusual construction with *ἀφίημι* (which regularly takes either an accusative of the person with a genitive of the thing, or an accusative of the thing with a dative of the person, *v.* L. & S. *s. v.* *ἀφίημι* and *cf.* Kühner-Gerth, *Gr. Gr.* 2,[1] § 411) is, perhaps, to be explained by the analogy of the same construction with *πράττω*, the opposite of *ἀφίημι* in this sense.

[2] *Cf.* § 9. 13.

Genitive.

A. Genitive with Substantives.

12. The Possessive Genitive is often used alone in inscriptions on statues or other dedicatory monuments to denote the Divine Possessor: *Ἀπόλλωνος Δαφναφορίω*, *Ἀρτάμιδος Σωδίνας* 3407, 3564, 546, *Δαμάτρα*[ς] *Ταυροπόλω*[1] 2793, 2464, *Καβίρω* 4121, *Τῶ πάϊδ*[ος] 3974, 3980, 3981, *Παΐδυ*[ς] 3988, *Ϙώρω* 3992, *Μναμοσύνας* 1782. *Cf.* *Ϝαστουκρίτω* (on a tile) 2246.

In an inscription of Acraephia, this independent Possessive Genitive is used where we should expect a dative depending on *ἀνέθεικε*: *Τῶ Πτωϊεῖο*[ς]. *Εὐϝειτίας ἀνέθεικε* 2730 (*cf.* *Κίδος ἀνέθεικε τὼπόλλωνι τυ*(ῖ) *Πτωιεῖι* 2732). In the former inscription we have a form of Parataxis. Sometimes *ἰαρόν* is appended to the genitive: *Τῶ Πτωϊεῖος ἰαρόν* 2735, 2452, 2453; and so very frequently in the *Κάβιρος*-inscriptions: *ἰαρὸς τῶ Καβίρω* 3585 (early 5th cent.).

13. The Possessive Genitive is not found in grave stele inscriptions bearing the name alone in the Boeotian dialect. *Cf.* § 10, *ἐπί* 2) a).

It occurs occasionally in late inscriptions in the *κοινή*, *e. g.* *Ἑρμαίσκου* 2949, *Καλλιστῶς* 2694. In the early metrical grave stele inscription: *Καλλία Αἰγί(θ)θοιο· τὺ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ*[σ' *ὦ*] *παροδῶτα* 2852, *Καλλία* may be regarded as a Possessive Genitive or as a vocative. *V.* § 9. 4 *ad fin.* On *Εὐγιτονίδα* (n. 3508, a very early inscription), Dittenberger says: Videtur nominativus esse ut *Πυθιονίκα* n. 1888, *Καλλέα* n. 1889, *Μογέα* n. 3467. Nam meri genetivi usus cum omnino in Boeotia quidem tam antiqua aetate inauditus sit, tum is casus in *-ao* cadere debebat.

14. The Objective Genitive is used in Proxeny Decrees in such phrases as *κὴ εἶμεν αὐτῦ γᾶς κὴ Ϝυκίας ἔππασιν* 3166. 6; 2848. 6; 2849. 10, *etc.*; or *γᾶς*] *κὴ Ϝυκίας ἐνωνάν* 3287. 6–7; and after *εὐεργέτας*, as *εὐεργέταν τῶ κοινῶ Βοιωτῶ*[ν] 2858. 5; *εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος* 504. 2; 505–531. Also: *Κλιηνέτω μναμεῖον* 552. 2.

15. The Genitive of Measure or Value occurs in *δέκα δραχμάων εἰλύτας δέκα* 3055. 4 and 6; and, perhaps, in *τόκον φερέτω δρα*[*χμὰς δίου*] *τᾶς μνᾶς ἑκάστας* C 298. 52–53. But Dittenberger reads *τόκον φερέτω δρα*(*χμὰς*) | | | [*ἀπὸ*] *τᾶς μνᾶς ἑκάστας* 3171. 52–53.

[1] Dittenberger's reading. Meister reads the nominative, emending *Ταυροπόλ*[*α*]. The nominative in an inscription of this kind is, however, unparalleled. *V.* Dittenberger's note *ad loc.*

16. The Partitive Genitive is found in the phrase *τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βειλόμενος* 3080. 6; 3081. 6–7; 3198. 6; and in *τῶν πολιτάων τὸ [θ]ό[ο]ν[τ]ες ἐ[ν τ]ῦ Μειλιχίῳ* 3169. 7–8. Also: *τὸ συνχωρειθὲν τᾶν ὑπεραμεριάων* C 295. 174–175; *Ἀντιοχεῖας τῶν ποδ Δάφνη* 518. 5; C 283. 4–5 and 11–12.

17. The Genitive of Material is used to denote the kind of money: *ἀργυρίω [τ]ρῖς μνᾶς* 3055. 11–12; *χαλκῶ δραχμὰς πετρακισχιλίας* 4137. 4.

18. The Predicate Genitive. *[Τῶ Κα]βίρω εἰμί* 3969, *Γοργίδαό εἰμι* 1685.

B. Genitive with Verbs.

19. The Genitive is found with Verbs

a) of Touching, or taking hold of: *κὴ μεὶ ἐξεῖμεν μειθενὶ Καρδάμας ἐφάπτεστη* 3203. 8; so *Νιωυμῶς ἐφάπτεστη* 3204. 13.

b) of Beginning: *ἄρχι τόκω οὕτω τῶ ἀργυρίω . . .* 1738. 6; *ἄρχι τῶ χρόνω ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ὁ μετὰ Θύναρχον ἄρχοντα* C 298. 40–41.

c) of Claiming: *ἀντιποιεῖτη Ἀθάνωνος* 3080. 4; *Ἑρμαΐας* 3081. 4–5.

d) of Care: *ἐπιμέλεσθαι . . . τῶν ἀντεθε(ι)μένων* 3392. 4; 4136. 7.

e) Compounded with *πρό*: *οὕτ[ως ὁ]ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν* 1780. 14–15.

20. In an inscription of Acraephia of which only the last lines are preserved: *Θ . . . ω Ἀπολλο[δ]ώρω, τῶν φαρετριτάων Θιωτέλεως Μνασίππω, τῶν σφενδωνατάων Δαμοκλεῖος Ζωΐλω* (n. 2714), it seems probable that we have the genitive used as the object of a verb of ruling, the verb of the Genitive Absolute to be supplied with the proper names in the genitive being *ἄρχοντος* or the like (*cf.* *τῶν ταραντίνων*[1] *ἀναγεόμεν(ος) Τ[ι]μοσθένεις* 2466. 6–8).

21. A form of the Genitive of Cause with Verbs of Emotion is to be recognized in a dedicatory inscription: *[Ἀ] πόλις Ὀρχομενίων [Ἰ]ππαρέταν [Εἰρ]ηνοδότω εὐνοίας τᾶς ἐν αὐτάν* (n. 3223), where the genitive *εὐνοίας* indicates the source of the gratitude which impelled the citizens of Orchomenus to set up a statue of Hipparetа,—a verbal idea implied, though not expressed.

C. Genitive with Adjectives.[2]

22. The adjective *ἱαρός*, 'sacred to', as an adjective denoting possession, is followed by the Genitive when it is used attribu-

[1] *Cf.* Hesych. *ταραντῖνοι· ἱππεῖς τινες ὀνομάζονται.*

[2] For the Genitive after adjectives in the comparative degree, *v.* § 6. 2.

tively or as a predicate after the verb εἰμί: *Παρθένα ἰαρὰ τῶ Σαράπιος* 3377. 2–3; *ἁ γᾶ ἰαρὰ Διονούσω κὴ τᾶς πόλιος* 1786, *ἰαρὼς εἶμεν τῶ Σαράπιος κὴ τᾶς Ἴσιος* 3201. 6; so 3198–3204[1], *Τῶ Ἰτωϊεῖος ἰαρόν* 2735, *Ἰαρὸν Γ[αία]ς [Μα]χαίρας Τελεσσφόρω* 2452, *Ἰαρὸ[ν] Νυμφ[ά]ω[ν]* 2453. When used predicatively, in agreement with the object of the verb *ἀντίθειμι*, *ἰαρός* is regularly followed by the Dative (*v.* § 9. 30. a)), exceptionally by the Genitive: *ἰαρὼς [τῶ Σαρά]πιος* 3365. 2–3. Many examples of the genitive with *ἰαρός* are to be found in the *Κάβιρος*-inscriptions (3575–4123), *e. g.* *Ἰαρὸς τῶ Καβίρω* 3968, 3949, 3951, and examples cited § 7. 1. Only once does the dative seem to be used: *[Τοῖ Καβί]ροι ἰ[αρός]* 3953.

D. Genitive in Looser Relations.

23. The Genitive of the Time within Which is used

a) in Dates: *μεινὸς Ὁμολωΐω* 3301. 1; so genitive of month alone: *μεινὸς Θειλουθίω* C 298. 1–2; *μεινὸς Ἀλαλκομενίω ibid.* ll. 13–14, 25–26; *μεινὸς πράτω ibid.* l. 27; 3363, 2861. 1.

Regularly, the genitive of the name of the month is followed by the dative of the day, defining the date more exactly (*cf.* § 9. 29).

A curious kind of shorthand expression occurs several times in the Nicareta inscription, where the date is expressed by two simple genitives, the name of the archon and that of the month: *Ξενοκρίτω Ἀλαλκομενίω · Λιουκίσκω Θιουίω, etc.* C 295. 61, 65, 68, 74–75.

b) in the Phrase *κὴ πολέμω κὴ ἰράνας* 283. 4–5; 2386–2388. *Cf.* § 15. 5. 4).

Dative.

24. The Dative of the Indirect Object is found

A. with Transitive Verbs:

a) δίδωμι: *Μογέα δίδωτι τᾷ γυναικὶ δῶρον* 3467. 1–2; *Χάρεις ἔδωκε Εὐπλοΐωνί με* 3468.

b) ἀποδίδωμι: *τὰν συύγγραφον ἀπ[υ]δότω Ϝιφιάδας τοῖς πολεμάρχυς κὴ τοῖ ταμίη κὴ το[ῖς] ἐγγούοις* C 295. 153; *Εὐβώλυ Ἀρχεδάμω Φωκεῖι χρίος ἀπέδωκα* C 298. 3–4; *ibid.* 15, 35; *ἀποδόντος τὰν ἀγαθὰν μαντείαν Βοιωτοῖς* 2724. 3–4.

Also: ποτιδίδωμι: *εἶμεν ποτιδεδομένον χρόνον Εὐβώλυ* C 298. 36–37.

[1] In 3083. 6–10: *ἀντίθειτι · · · · τῦ Τρεφωνίυ ἰαρὸν εἶμεν* (so 3080, 3081), the influence of the main verb predominates.

c) γράφω: *χρειμάτων ὧν ἔγραψαν αὐτῇ* 3172. 138–139.

d) παραγράφω: *Νικαρέτη παρεγράφει* C 295. 173.

e) καταβάλλω: *κατέβαλε τῦ ταμί[η . . .] . . . δραχμὰς Fίκατι* 3303. 5–6 (*cf.* 3339. 4).

The long list of datives in C 296 contains, no doubt, Datives of the Indirect Object after some verb of payment or the like, lost at the beginning of the inscription.

f) τίθειμι: *Ὀσθίλος, ὦ[ι] πένθος θῆκεν ἀποφθίμενος* 1880.

g) ἀνατίθειμι: the Dative after this verb is especially frequent owing to the large number of dedicatory inscriptions, *e. g. Βοιωτοὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθεικαν τῆς Χαρίτεσσι* 3207. 1–2. Often the verb is not expressed and we find a simple nominative and dative, as *Φίλων τοῖ Κυπαρίσσοι* 3205, *Κρίτων καὶ Θειόσδοτος τοῖ Δὶ τὠπωρεῖι* 2733, or even nominative, accusative, and dative, as *Ἀρχανδρὶς Καπίωνος τὸν ουἱὸν κὴ Πτωὶς Κράτωνος Φίλωνα τὸν ἀδελφιὸν τῦς θιῦς* 2795, or again, dative, nominative, and modifying phrase, without verb, *Δὶ Ὁμολωΐοι Ἀγειμώνδας ἀπὸ δεκά[τας* 2456.

In this usage, the accusative of the direct object is often not expressed, being implied in the actual object dedicated, as *Βοιωτοὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Πτωΐοι ἀνέθιαν* (*sc. τὸν τρίποδα*) 2723. 1. On the other hand, the dative of the indirect object is sometimes omitted, for the sake of brevity, where it can be supplied from a succeeding clause: *τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθειαν Βοιωτοί* (*sc. τοῖ θεοῖ*) *μαντευσαμένω τῶ θεῶ καὶ ἀποδόντος*, κτλ. 2724. 2–3.

Also: ἐκτίθειμι: *τὰς αὐτὰς τιμὰς ἐκτεθήκανθι Ἠγοσθενίτης* C 283. 5–6.

h) ποττάττω: *ποτ]τάττει αὐτεῖ* 3338. 4.

i) καταρόω? 3055. 2.

j) ὀφείλω: *κὴ οὔτ' ὀφείλετη αὐτῦ ἔτι οὐθέν* C 298. 33, 49–51.

B. with Intransitive Verbs:

a) δυκέω: *δεδόχθη τᾶ βωλᾶ κὴ τῦ δάμυ* 3287. 3; 504–509, *etc.*

b) ποθίκω: *μεὶ ποθίκοντα μειθενί* 3350. 4; 3080. 3–4; 3081. 3–4; 3083. 20–21.

c) ἔσσειμι: *μεὶ ἐσσεῖμεν μειθενί* 3198. 3; 3199–3204.

d) ἰαρειτεύω: *Δάμων Εὐαρίδαο ἄρξας κὴ ἰαρειτεύσας Σαράπι, Ἴσι, Ἀνούβι* (*sc. ἀνέθεικε*) 3215. 1–2.

Here the datives by a kind of zeugma depend both on *ἰαρειτεύσας* and on *ἀνέθεικε*, understood. *Cf.* Ἱππαρέτα Ἡροδότου ἱερατεύουσα Ματρὶ Θεῶν 3216. So in the following inscription: Ἀθανοδώρα Πολιουμναστίδαο ἰαρειάξασα Δάματρι Θεσμοφόρῳ τό τε πρόθιουρον ἐπεσκεύαξε καὶ τὸν ἀμφίθιουρον ἀνέθεικε (2876), Δάματρι must be construed as Dative of the Indirect Object with *ἰαρειάξασα* and *ἀνέθεικε* and Dative of Interest with *ἐπεσκεύαξε*.

C. with Substantives, kindred in derivation or meaning to verbs which take a Dative of the Indirect Object:

Διαγραφὰ Νικαρέτη διὰ τραπέδδας C 295. 170; *Ἄνθεμα τοῖ πάϊ*[*δι*] *τῶ Καβίρ*[*ω*] 2458. Here we may also read *Ἀνθέμα*, a proper name (*v.* Dittenberger *ad. loc.*). *Θεοκλὼ Ἑρμαΐω ἰάρει*[*α*] *Ποτειδάονι Ἐμπυλήο*[*ι*] 2465 (*cf.* B. d) *supra*).

25. The Dative of Interest is used frequently with verbs of office, especially *ἄρχοντος*:[1] *ἄνδρεσσι χοραγίοντες* 3211. 1; C 290. 2; *Κτεισίαο ἄρχοντος Βοιωτῦς, Ἐρχομεν*[*ί*]*υς δὲ Καραΐχω . . . . . γραμματίδδοντος τῦ*[*ς*] *πολεμάρχυς* [*Δ*]*ιωνυσίω*, 3174. 18–19 and 24–25 (*cf.* 3178). 3068. 1–2; 2723. 1; 3067. 1; 3083. 4; 2858. 1; (all with *ἄρχοντος*).

With *ἄρχοντος*, this Dative of the People is often replaced by a prepositional phrase with *ἐν* and the name of the town: *Ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἐρχομενῦ Θυνάρχω . . . ἐν δὲ Γελατίη Μενοίταυ* C 298. 25–27; *ἀρχοντος ἐν Θεισπιῆς* C 295. 23–24, 57, 137, 152, 171; so *ἀρχοντος ἐν κυν*[*ῦ*] B[*υω*]*τῶν* 2719; or by the phrase *ἐπὶ πόλιος* (*v.* §10, *ἐπί* 1) b)).

Other Datives of Interest occur in C 298. 38–40; 1780. 16–17.

a) The Dative of the Possessor occurs often in Proxeny Decrees, in the formula *κὴ εἶμεν αὐτῦ γᾶς κὴ Fυκίας ἔππασιν* or *ἐνωνάν* 3166. 6; 3287. 6–7. Also, in the Nicareta inscription: *τὰς οὐπε*[*ρ*]*αμερίας τὰς ἰώσας αὐτῇ* C 295. 46 (*cf.* 55–56); and in the Manumission inscriptions: *παιδάριον τὸ γενόμενον αὐτῷ* 3301. 2; *ὃ ὄνουμα* 3313, 3352, 3322, 3331, 1780. 6–7. With *ὑπάρχω*: *ἐπιδὴ ἐστι τῇ πόλι Σιφείων προ*[*υ*]*πάρχωσα εὔνοια* C 283. 2–3; *ibid.* 13.

b) The Dative of the Agent is found with the Perfect Passive Infinitive in the formula of decrees *προβεβωλευμένον εἶμεν αὐτῦ ποτὶ δᾶμον* 2848. 2.

26. The Dative of Association.

ὁμολογ(*ί*)*α Εὐβώλυ . . . κὴ τῇ πόλι* C 298. 27–28; C 295. 124–128.

27. The Dative after Verbs compounded with Certain Prepositions is found most often with compounds of *παρά*:

a) *πάρειμι*: *παριόντος Νικαρέτη Δεξίππω . . . τῶ ἀνδρός* C 295. 126; *παρεῖαν τῇ Κλιῶι φίλυ* 3199. 13. So 3198. 7; 3317. 2; 3329. 3–4.

b) *παραμένω* (very frequent in Manumission inscriptions): *παραμείνασαν ἀσαυτῦ κὴ τῇ γυυ*[*νηκ*]*ὶ αὐτῶ* 3303. 3–4. So *αὐτῇ* 3314. 3; *αὐτεῖς* 3315. 5; *Παρθένᾳ* 3321. 3, *etc.*

[1] *Cf.* Meisterhans, § 84. 32.

c) Also: *συνεπινευόντων αὐτῦ Νίκωνος κὴ Ἀπολλῶς* 3386. 16–20.

28. The Dative of Manner is found in the formula *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ* 3287. 1; and in *κυνῇ, ξυνῇ* (= *κοινῇ*), used adverbially, 4136. 4–5; 4249.

a) the Dative of Means with *χράομαι*: *ν[ὕδ]ατι χρειεῖσθη [πο]τίμυ* 3169. 8.

b) the Dative of Respect: *νικάσαντες ἱππασίῃ* 3087. 2.

29. The Dative of Time is regularly used in Dates, to give the day of the month, the month being given in the genitive, as *μεινὸς Θουΐω πεντεκηδεκάτη* 3352. 1–2.

The name of the month is never put in the dative, but when used alone is expressed in the genitive: *Θυνάρχω ἄρχοντος μεινὸς Θειλουθίω, Ἀρχίαρος, κτλ.* C 298. 1–2; or by a prepositional phrase with *ἐν*: *ἐν τῦ Ἀλαλ[κο]μενίοι μεινί* C 295. 141–142.

To other words *ἐν* is prefixed. *V.* § 10, *ἐν* 1) b).

30. The Dative with Adjectives.

a) *ἰαρός*. The Dative is found after *ἰαρός* in the Manumission inscriptions where the case is at the same time dependent on the verb *ἀντίθειμι*: *ἀντίθειτι τὰν Ϝιδίαν θρεπτὰν Εὐφροσόναν ἰαρὰν τεῖ Σαράπι* 3304. 2–4; and so regularly in the Manumission inscriptions of Chaeronea 3301–3406, and of Lebadea 3080–3083 (where, however, *ἰαρὸν εἶμεν* follows the dative, which thus depends more directly on *ἀντίθειμι*, *cf.* p. 52, footnote). When *ἰαρός* is used alone or with *εἰμί*, it is followed by the Genitive. *V.* § 9. 22.

b) *χρείσιμος*. In a Proxeny Decree—*χρείσιμός ἐστι τοῖς ἀὶ δειμένοις* 2858. 3–4.

c) *εὔνοος*. *Θεόμναστος εὔνοος ἐὼν διατε[λ]ῖ τοῖ κοινοῖ Βοιωτῶν* 280. 1–2.

§ 10. Prepositions.

1. *ἀντί*.

With Genitive only:

ἀντί occurs in an elegiac couplet = 'in return for':

Εὐχὰν ἐκτελέσαντι Διωνύσῳ Νεομήδης
ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε 1794.

2. *ἀπό*

With Genitive only:

a) of Place: *Ἀγέδικον Δαφίταο Ἠλεῖα ἀπ' Ἀλεξαν[δρ]είας* 3167.

5–6[1] (*cf.* *Σωσίβιον Διοσκορίδαο Ἀλεξανδρεῖα* 3166. 3–4); *ἀπὸ τῶ* [*Ϝ*]*άστιος* [*ἐν*] *τὸ*[*ν*] . . . . (of limits of a boundary) 3170. 3.

b) of Time (the starting-point): *ἰαρὸν εἶμεν τὸν πάν*[*τα χρό*]*νον ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς ἁμέρας* 3080. 3 (*cf.* 3362. 4–5).

c) of the Source (of expenditure, *etc.*):[2] *πόρον δ' εἶμε*[*ν*] *ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτικῶν* C 295. 40; similar expression, *ibid.* l. 60; *ἀπὸ τᾶς ἐ*[*σ*]*δοκᾶς* [*τὸ ἀνάλωμα παρ*]*ασχόντες* 3086. 2; *Δὶ Ὁμολωΐοι Ἀγειμώνδας ἀπὸ δεκά*[*τας*] 2456.

d) as an Equivalent for the Partitive Genitive:[3] (*ἀποδόμεν*) *ἀπὸ* [*τ*]*ᾶν ὑπε*[*ρ*]*αμεριάων . . . . . δ ἐπίθωσε αὐτὰν ἁ πόλις* C 295. 14–15 (*cf.* *ταμίας ἀπέδωκε . . . ἀπὸ τᾶς σουγγ*(*ρ*)*άφω τὸ κατάλυπον* C 298. 16-17, and the Latin usage, *ex* with the ablative = the Partitive Genitive).

e) of Cause (= 'in accordance with'):[4] *χρίος ἀπέδωκα ἀπὸ τᾶς σουγγράφω* C 298. 3–4.

This use of *ἀπό* corresponds closely with the use of *κατά* with the accusative (*cf.* *δόμεν* [*τ*]*ὰ πά*[*ντα*] *κὰτ τὰν σούγγραφον* C 295. 48).

Here, too, perhaps, belongs, by a slight zeugma, the use of *ἀπό* cited under d).

3. *διά*.

With Genitive only:

διά is found only with the genitive, in the sense 'by means of,' 'through the agency of': *Διαγραφὰ Νικαρέτη διὰ τραπέδδας* C 295. 170; [*παρ*]*έγραψαν αὐτῆ διὰ τραπέδδας* C 295. 38 (*cf.* *ἐπὶ τᾶς Ἱστοκλεῖος τραπέδδας Νικαρέτη παρεγράφει* C 295. 172–173, where the idea of place is predominant); *τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιόμενος διὰ τῶ συνεδρίω κατ τὸν νόμον* 3302. 4-5, a regular formula in the Manumission inscriptions of Chaeronea; once: *διὰ τᾶς βωλᾶς* (3349. 4) instead of *διὰ τῶ συνεδρίω*.

4. *ἐν*.

Note on the Preposition *ἐν* in Boeotian.

Instead of the two prepositions, *ἐν* with the dative and *εἰς* (*ἐς*) with the accusative, the Boeotian dialect shows the use of only one preposition *ἐν*, expressing both rest in a place, and motion

[1] This use of *ἀπό* defines more exactly the provenance. *Cf.* (in the *κοινή*) *Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Κύμης* 3196. 15–16; *Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Δάφνης ibid.* 26, 28, 38, and *Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου* 3197. 3–4; and *v.* § 10, *ἐξ* c).

[2] *Cf.* Lutz, p. 45. [3] *Cf.* Lutz, p. 46. [4] *Cf.* Lutz, p. 46.

into a place, with the corresponding figurative meanings, and joined with the dative and the accusative. εἰς (ἐς) does not occur. In this, Boeotian represents the original usage of the Greek language, corresponding to the use of *en*, *in*, in other Indo-Germanic languages.[1]

1) With Dative:

a) of Place: ἐπὶ Ξενοκρίτω ἄρχοντος ἐν Θεισπιῆς C 295. 24. So ἐν Θεισπιῆς C 295. 57, 76, 137, 152, 170–171 (*bis*); C 298. 25, 26; 3083. 4–5; ἐν Ὀγχειστοῖ 1747. 1; ἐμ Βελφοῖς 2418. 23; ἐν τοῦ ἰαροῦ 3169. 10; ἐ[ν τ]ᾶ Μειλιχίυ 3169. 7–8; ἐν τῆ ἀγορῆ 3170. 6; ἐν τῆ [Λ]ου[σ]ιά[δ]ι (a stream) 3170. 7; ἐ(ν) τ˜ ὁδᾶ 3170. 10; ἐ[ν] τοῖ Μελαμποδείοι C 283. 15–16; 1780. 24–25; 2406. 2; semi-figuratively: τὸ ἀργούριον τὸ ἐν τοῦ [δ]μο[λόγ]υ γεγραμμένον C 295. 158 (*cf.* C 298. 48); ἐν τοῦ ψαφί[σματι 3054. 17; φόρον τὸν ἐν τῆ θείκη γεγραμμένον 3083. 15–16; ἄρχοντος ἐν κυν[ᾶ] *B*[υω]τῶν 2719; ἀστρέφετη ἐν τῆ π[όλι 2849. 7–8.

b) of Time: ἐν τοῦ Ἀλαλ[κο]μενίοι μεινί C 295. 141–142 (*cf.* § 9. 29); C 295. 54–55; 1739. 6; ἐν τοῦ γεγραμμένυ χρόνυ . . . . , ἐν τοῦ χρόνυ τοῦ γεγραμμένυ C 295. 155, 159; 1739. 12; [ἐ]ν παντὶ καιροῖ 280. 3; 2383. 16; 3059. 13.

c) Notions of Time and Place Combined: λειτωργῖμεν ἐν τῆς θοσίης 3083. 25.

[1] *Cf.* H. W. Smyth, *The Arcado-Cyprian Dialect*, p. 80, (*Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1887, Vol. XVIII): "ἐν, *cum accus.* and *cum dat.*, is a relic of the period when this preposition was construed as the German *in*. The Aeolic εἰς and Ionic ἐς(εἰς) gradually drove out this double construction."

ἐν with the accusative is also found in Thessalian, Locrian, Aetolian, Delphian, Elean, Phocian, and Arcado-Cyprian (in the form *iv*). In several of these dialects (Thessalian, Aetolian, Delphian) εἰς is found as well. Lesbian has always εἰς with the accusative.

ἐν with the accusative in Pindar is probably an instance of the influence of his native dialect.

For examples of ἐν with the accusative, and discussions of its relation to εἰς with the accusative, consult Allen: *De dialecto Locrensium*, Diss. Lipsiae 1870, p. 70; Führer: *De dialecto boeotica*, Göttingen 1876, p. 38 *sq.*; Geyer: *De praepositionum graec. forma et usu*, Altenburg 1880, p. 26 *sq.*; Smyth, *loc. cit.*; Valaori: *Der delphische Dialekt*, Göttingen 1901, p. 78; Meyer: *Griechische Grammatik* (1896), p. 108, Anm. 2; Brugmann: *Griechische Grammatik* (in Müller's *Handbuch*, 3 Aufl. 1900), p. 438 *sq.*; Gildersleeve on Pindar, *Pyth.* II. 11.

2) With Accusative:

a) of Place, 'into, to, or upon' (after a verb implying motion): *ἀπεγράψανθο ἐμ πελτοφόρας*, 'caused their names to be inscribed on (written into) the list of peltasts,' 2786. 8–9, a regular formula in the Lists of Recruits of Copae (2781–2789), Hyettus (2809–2832), Acraephia (2715–2721). So *ἐν τὰ τάγματα* 3293. 4; 1748. 3–4; 1756. 2–4; *ἐν τὼς ὁπλίτας* [*κὴ*] *ἐν τὼς ἱππότας* 1747. 3–4; 2389. 2–3; 2390. 3; *ἀγγράψη ἐν στάλαν* C 295. 30; C 283. 15; *ἐν τὸ λεύκωμα ἐσγράψι* 1739. 11, 14; *τω*]*ὶ ἐν τὰν Ἀσία*[*ν*] *στ*[*ρατευσάμενοι* 3206 1; [*Πρᾶτον τόμον εἶμε*]*ν ἀπὸ τῶ* [*Ϝ*]*άστιος . . . . ἐν τὰν Προβασίαν . . . . ἐν τὸν ἀετὸν ἐπὶ τῶ τάφω . . . ἐν τὸν ὅρον τὸν ἐν τᾷ ἀγορᾷ* 3170. 4–6–7, in a series of boundary markings, in which *ἐν* with the accusative varies with *ἐπί* and *ἔττε* (*v. sub vocc.*); *καταβὰς ἐν Τρεφώνιον* 4136. 1–2; semi-figuratively: *ἐν προεδρίαν* [*κ*]*αλῖ ἁ πόλις* C 283. 3–4; *ibid.* 11–12; figuratively: *ἐνενιχθεῖ ἁ ἀνφορὰ ἐν οὗτο* C 295. 49.

b) of Limit: *γραφέμεν . . . ἐν τρία τάλαντα* 3055. 7, 'to the sum of.' 2420. 37–39.

c) of Time: *ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον* 1780. 18; 1781. 2–4; 1789. 7–8.

d) of Purpose: *πόρον* [*δ*᾽ *εἰ*]*μεν ἐν οὗτο* ('for this purpose') *ἀπὸ τῶν . . . .* C 295. 60; *τοὶ* [*συ*]*νεβάλονθο ἐν* [*τ*]*ὸν ναό*[*ν* ('for the temple') 3191. 2; 2418. 22; *Τη*[*λέ*]*μαχος . . . Τρ*[*ε*]*φωνίῳ ἐν τὸν* [*θ*]*ησαυρὸν δαρικοὺς δύο, κτλ.* ('for the treasury', though here the idea of place may also be present, 'into the treasury') 3055. 12–14.

e) of the Object of Feeling: [*Ἁ*] *πόλις Ὀρχομενίων* [*Ἰ*]*π-παρέταν* [*Εἰρ*]*οδότω εὐνοίας τᾶς ἐν αὑτάν* 3223, 'on account of her goodwill towards itself.'

5. *ἐναντία, ἐναντίον.*

The improper preposition *ἐναντία* occurs with the Genitive in the sense 'before', in two Manumission documents: *ἀφιειτι Σάων Ἀτ*[*ε*]*ιν ἐλεύθερον ἐναντία τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ κὴ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος·* 1779. 2–7; *πα*[*ρακατα*]*τίθεται οὗτα τὰ σώ*[*μ*]*α*[*τα*] *ἐναντία τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ παρὰ* [*Ἐ*]*πίτιμον* 1780. 10–13; *ἐναντίον* is restored in *ἐγγύων ἐναντί*]*ον δυοῖν* 1739. 6–7.

6. ἐξ, ἐσς, ἐς, ἐκ.

With Genitive only:

a) of Origin: *παιδάριων τὸ γενόμενον αὐτῷ ἐκ τᾶς θρεπτᾶς* 3301. 2; *τὸ [παιδά]ριον τὸ ἐξ αὐτᾶς* 3313. 4; *προ[υ]πάρχωσα εὔνοια ἐκ προγόνων* C 283. 2–3.

b) of Transfer: *τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο ἐσς ἐφήβων ἐν πελτοφόρας* 2718. 5-6, a formula in the Lists of Recruits of Acraephia (2715–2721). Once, with pregnant force: *τυὶ ἐσς ἐφήβων·* (2721) without any verb. *ἀπειλ[ειλυ]θέοντες ἐς τῶν [ἐ]φεί-[β]ων ἐν τάγμα* 1756. 2–4; 1749. 1–3.

c) of Place: *Μακεδόνας ἐ[σς] Ἐδέσσας* 2848. 4; *ἐπιδεὶ Τίμων Δηδάλω Περρηβὸς ἐς Φαλάννας χρείσιμός ἐστι, κτλ.* 2858. 2–3; . . . . . *Βοιώτιος ἐξ Ἐρχομ[ενῶ]·* M 1130, *Λοκρὸς ἐσς Ὀπό-εντος* 4136. 1; (to define more closely one's provenance, *cf.* *ἀπό* a)).

d) of the Agent (viewed as Source): *τὰν ὁμόνοιαν . . . τὰν ἐκ τῶν προγόνων παρδοθεῖσαν* C 283. 8–10 (*cf.* *supra* a)).

7. ἐπί.

1) With Genitive:

a) of Place where: *ἐν τὸν ἀετὸν ἐπὶ τῶ τάφω . . . . ἐν τὸν ὅρο]ν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶ χαράδρ[ω]* ('upon')[1] 3170. 6, 9. The second *ἐπί* approaches the sense of 'at' (*cf.* Eng. 'on the river' = 'on the bank'). *ἐπὶ τᾶς Πιστοκλεῖος τραπέδδας* 'at the bank' C 295. 172–173 (originally, 'upon the table', *cf.* *διὰ τραπέδδας* C 295. 170, 'through the bank', in which the influence of the literal meaning of *τράπεδδα* is less present).[2] *ἀπ[ο]χαρυξάτω ἐπὶ τῶ μνάματος* ('at the tomb') 1780. 19–20.

For the genitive with *ἐπί* in late grave stele inscriptions, as *ἐπὶ Μυρτῶς ἠρωΐδι* 2685, 2671, *v.* Dittenberger *ad* n. 1713 and n. 589.

b) figuratively, of the Sphere of Authority, 'over', 'in charge of': *τὸ ταμί[η τῦ] ἐπὶ τῶν ἱαρῶν* 3303. 6; *Φίλωνος ἄρχοντος Βοιωτῦς, ἐπὶ πόλιος δὲ Θρασυλάω* 2813. 2–3, a regular formula in the Lists of Recruits of Hyettus (2809–2832) and Acraephia (2715–2721). So 4172. 1–2; 2390. 2.

[1] *Cf.* *ἐ]πὶ τὸν ὅρον τὸν ἐν τῆ [Λ]ου[σ]ιά[δ]ι ibid.* l. 11 (Λουσιάς is a stream or spring).

[2] *Cf.* *τῶν μὲν οἰκοι χρημάτων . . . . τῶν δ'ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ὄντων*, Dem. XLV. 30.

The sphere of authority with ἄρχοντος is also expressed by the dative of the name of the people (as in the first part of this formula) or by the dative, usually of the name of the town, with the preposition ἐν (*cf.* ἐν 1) a)).

In 1739. 16: δεῖ [ε]ἰ Βοιωτῶν φερέμεν εἰ ἐπὶ πόλιος, the meaning is obscure.

c) of Time: ἐπὶ Ξενοκρίτω ἄρχοντος C 295. 23, 136–137, 151–152, 175, 1–2; ἐπ' ἄρ[χοντος . . . . 3054. 16; 1727. 1.

2) With Dative:

a) of Place (in inscriptions on grave-stones): ἐπ' Ἀρισστοδίκαι 'at (the grave of) Aristodika,' lit. 'upon the grave' 3228, ἐπὶ Fοίκωνι 2738, ἐπ<ε>ὶ Προκλεῖί εἰμι 3113, ἐπ' Ἀγεισίδι 2883, ἐπ' Ἀγειτορίνοι 2884.[1]

This construction is found only in early Boeotian inscriptions (written in the epichoric alphabet) and again in the very late inscriptions in the κοινή, by a revival of the ancient style. In all the intervening period only the nominative is used. *V.* Dittenberger *ad* n. 589.

b) of Time: μεινὸς Ἀγριωνίω ὀγδ[ό]η ἐπὶ Fικάδι 3348. 1–2, 'on the eighth day after (upon) the twentieth.'

c) of Condition: ἐφ' ὗ [. . . . τὰ]ς ὁπεραμερίας λάψετη 3054. 9–10; ἀγιρέμεν . . . τὰ ἱαρὰ χρείματα κυνῆ ἐφ' οὐγίη κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν 4136. 4–6;[2] ἐφ' εἱμιολίοι 1739. 15 (*cf.* l. 11 and Ditt. *ad loc.*).

3) With Accusative:

a) of Place, 'to, toward': ἐ]πὶ τὸν ὅρον 'to the boundary' (*cf.* ἐν 2) a) and ἔττε) 3170. 10–11; ἐν τὰν ὁδὸ]ν τὰν ἐπὶ Λεβάδε[ια]ν 'the road (leading) to Lebadea', ἐ(ν) τῆ ὁδῦ τῆ [ἐ]πὶ Χ[η]ρώνιαν 3170. 5, 10, 18; semi-figuratively: ἐ[π]ὶ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδως καλέονθι C 283. 6–7.

b) of Purpose: ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄγα[λμα] 4155. 4; ἀρχὰ ἐπ[ὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα· 4159. 2;[3] Ἁ σταθεῖσα ἀρχὰ ἐ[π]ὶ τὸν . . . . . 3170. 1.

[1] The prevalence and conventional character of this construction account for the use of the dative with ἐπί in two early stele inscriptions where the accusative might have been expected: Ἀμφάλκεις [ἐ]στασ' ἐπὶ Κιτύλοι ἠδ' ἐπὶ Δέρμυι 579, Μνᾶμ' ἐπ' Ὀλιγε[ί]δαι μ' ὁ πατὴρ [ἐ]πέθηκε θανό[ν]τι 1880. *Cf.* n. 1890 and M 765 (critical note on ll. 2–3).

[2] *Cf.* Holleaux, *Bull.* XIV. p. 31.

[3] M. Holleaux's reading, considered doubtful by Dittenberger. *V.* Ditt. *ad loc.*

8. ἔττε.

The improper preposition ἔττε (Attic ἔστε) occurs in the Boundary inscription of Orchomenus, apparently once with the Accusative and once with the Genitive: *ἀπὸ* [. . . . *τῶ τ*]*ᾶς Λ*[*υυσι*]*ά*[*δ*]*ος* [*π*]*όρω ἔττε τῶν ὅρων τὸν μέσον*, [. . . *ἀπὸ* . . . *ἔτ*]*τε τᾶς Προβασίας κὴ τᾶς Πορπουλιάδος* 3170. 12–13 and 14.

9. κατά, κατ, καγ.

1) With Genitive:

a) 'Against' (of financial obligations): *τὰς οὐπεραμερίας τὰς κὰτ τᾶς πόλιος* C 295. 157–158; same expression, ll. 76–77, l. 32; also: [*τ*]*ᾶν ὑπε*[*ρ*]*αμεριάων τᾶν ἰωσάων κὰτ τᾶς πόλιος* l. 15 and *οὐπεραμερίας ἃς ἔχι κὰτ τᾶς πόλιος* l. 151. Similarly *τὰν συυγγραφὰν ἃν ἔχι κὰτ* [*τῶν*] *πολεμάρχων ibid.* l. 58–59 (*cf.* l. 20 and 3172. 149).

2) With Accusative:

a) of Place: *κὴ κατὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θάλατταν* 3166. 7, a regular formula in Proxeny Decrees. *ἀγιρέμεν . . . χρείματα . . . κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν* 4136. 4–6.

b) of Time: *κὰτ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον* C 298. 42–43; *καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν ibid.* ll. 51–52; *κατὰ μεῖνα* [*ἕκασ*]*τον ibid.* ll. 53–54.

c) 'According to':

α) of law: *κὰτ τὸ ψάφισμα τῶ δάμω* C 298. 11–12, 17–18; C 295. 6–7; *κατ τὰν* [*διαθείκαν* . . . 4137. 5–6; *κατ* [*τ*]*ὰν στάλαν* 1780. 23–24; *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* C 295. 105–106; *κατ τὸν νόμον*, a regular formula in the Manumission inscriptions of Chaeronea (3301–3406, *cf. διά*).

β) of financial contracts: *κὰτ τὸ ὁμόλογον* C 295. 26 (*cf.* C 298. 31); *δόμεν* [*τ*]*ὰ πά*[*ντα*] *κὰτ τὰν συύγγραφον* C 295. 48;[1] *πραττώσας* . . . . *κὰτ τὰς οὐπε*[*ρ*]*αμερίας* C 295. 45–46.

γ) of religion: *ἀνέθεικαν* . . . *κατ τὰν μαντειΐαν τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος* 3207. 2; 1672, 1674, so *κατ τὰν μαντείαν* 2724 c. 2; 2724 d. 2; C 282. 2; 4156. 3–4; 4157. 2; *κατὰ δὲ τὸν θιόν* 517. 2.

δ) of manner: *κατὰ μειθένα τρόπον* 3080. 4; 3081. 4; *κ*]*αθ' ὅντινα ὤν τρόπον* 3080. 5; *καθ' ὃν δεί τινα ὤν τρόπον* 3081. 5; *κὰ*(*τ*) *ταὐτὰ δὲ* C 295. 31; C 283. 5.

[1] This *κατ* disappears in Dittenberger's text: *δόμεν* [*κ*]*ατ' αὐ*[*τὺ*] *αὐ*[*τῶ*]*ν σούνγραφον* 3172. 148–149.

10. μετά, πεδά.

1) With Genitive, 'with': *χρίος ἀπέδωκα ἀπὸ τᾶς σουγγράφω πεδὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων κὴ τῶν κατοπτάων* C 298. 5–6; same expression, *ibid.* l. 22 *sqq.*; [*ἀποδόμε*]*ν πεδὰ τῶ*[*ν*] *πολεμάρχων* C 295. 52–53.

In these expressions, evidently legal forms, *πεδά* implies not only participation in the financial transactions indicated, but also joint responsibility, and is almost equivalent to 'in the presence of, and with the consent of' the polemarchs, *etc.* *Cf.* our 'by and with the consent of the Council.'

2) With Accusative, 'after', of time or order: *ἄρχι τῶ χρόνω ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ὁ μετὰ Θύναρχον ἄρχοντα* C 298. 40–41; *τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅστις κα μετ' Εὐβοΐσχον ἄρχει* 3391. 6–7.

11. (παρά), πάρ.

1) With Genitive:

a) of Source: *κεκόμιστη Εὔβωλος πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος τὸ δάνειον* C 298. 29–30; *κομίδ*[*δει*]*τη Νικαρέτα τὸ ἀργούριον πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος* C 295. 148–150; *τὸ γενόμε*]*νον πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος* 3054. 11.

b) of the Agent (conceived as Source): *Νικαρέτη παρεγράφει πὰρ Πολιουχρίτω . . . . οὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος* C 295. 173.

2) With Accusative, 'beside' (after verbs of motion), 'with'; also, 'along by':

a) of Place (specifically, with persons = 'into their keeping,' or the like): *θέσθη μεσέγγ*[*υ*]*ον πὰρ Fιφιάδαν* C 295. 147; so *τὸ ὁμόλογον τὸ πὰρ Θιόφεστον . . . τεθέν ibid.* ll. 26–27 (*cf.* ll. 36–37); *τὰν σύγγραφον τὰν τεθεῖσαν πὰρ Fιφιάδαν* l. 35; *πα*[*ραχατα*]*τίθεται οὗτα τὰ σώ*[*μ*]*α*[*τα*] . . . *παρὰ* [*Ἐ*]*πίτιμον, κτλ.* 1780. 10–14. Here, too, belong the following: *τὰς σουγγράφως τὰς κιμένας πὰρ Εὔφρονα κὴ Φιδίαν, κτλ.* and *τὰς σουγγράφως τὰς κιμένας πὰρ Σώφιλον . . . κὴ πὰρ Διωνύσιον* C 298. 7–8 *sqq.* and 19 *sqq.* (*κεῖμαι*, as passive of *τίθημι*). In these expressions, the verb is sometimes omitted, being implied in the case after the preposition: *ἁ σούγγραφος πὰρ Fιφιάδαν* C 295. 121–122, *sc.* *ἐτέθει* or *κῖτη*. So C 295. 168–169; 3173. 16–17. *ἀπογράφεσθη δὲ . . . πὰρ τὸν ταμίαν . . . τά τε καύματα τῶν προβάτων, κτλ.* C 298. 41–44; *παρμείναντα πὰρ τὰν ματέρα* 3083. 10–11; *παρμενῖ . . . πὰρ Διῖλον* 3083. 17–19.

In the last two examples we find the accusative with *πάρ* where we should naturally expect the dative. The usual construction with *παρμένω* (a verb

of frequent occurrence in Manumission inscriptions) is the dative alone. These instances of παρά with the accusative where παρά with the dative would be more regular are probably to be regarded as showing the tendency to encroachment on the part of the accusative in late Greek, especially as used with prepositions, which finally led to the accusative's becoming a universal case with prepositions, as in Modern Greek. Many examples of this *accusativus invalescens* are cited by Geyer (*Observ. Epigraph.* p. 28 *sq.*) both with παρά and with other prepositions in inscriptions of about the same period as this (*c.* 250–150 B. C.)

Though παρά with the accusative is occasionally found in the literature after verbs of rest,[1] yet in nearly every instance cited, motion is distinctly implied by the context, and in the remaining cases, the idea is that of extension or nearness in the literal sense, so that they are not quite parallel to this semi-figurative use of παρά with the accusative of persons, after παραμένω, a verb which has a strong affinity for the dative.

b) A peculiar use of πάρ with the accusative occurs with the passive of ὀφείλω: ἐπιδεὶ κεκόμιστη Εὔβωλος πὰρ τᾶς πόλιως τὸ δάνειον ἅπαν . . . κὴ οὔτ' ὀφείλετη αὐτῦ ἔτι οὐθὲν πὰρ τὰν πόλιν, ... 'and there is no further indebtedness to him on the part of the city.' C 298. 29–34.

We should naturally expect the genitive with πάρ here after ὀφείλετη as above after κεκόμιστη, and as in παρεγράφει πὰρ Πολιουκρίτω C 295. 173, where πάρ with the genitive is equivalent to ὑπό with the genitive after a passive verb. This use of πάρ with the accusative may, perhaps, be explained as an extension of the use of παρά with the accusative to denote 'by reason of,'[2] the idea of indebtedness being derived from that of cause, just as in the English phrase we conversely get the idea of cause from that of indebtedness: "There is no further indebtedness to him *on account of* the city." But *cf. supra.*

c) of Location, 'along by, near': κατασκευάττη κ[ράναν] ἐν τῦ ἰαρῦ εἴ πὰρ τὸ [ἰ]αρ[όν . . . 3169. 9–10 (*cf.* Xen. *An.* 1. 2. 13: ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη).

12. περί.

With Genitive only, 'concerning': συυνωμολογείσαν]το περὶ τῶ δανείω 3054. 3–4; καθὼς ἁ πό]λις περὶ οὕτων ἐψαφίττα[το *ibid.* l. 8; πάντα περὶ παντός, 'all concerning everything' = 'on all counts, absolutely all.' C 298. 34.

[1] *V.* Kühner *ad Anab.* I. 8. 5 and Kühner–Gerth, *Griechische Grammatik* 2.[1], p. 511.

[2] *Cf.* Lutz, p. 153. 5).

13. ποτ, ποτί, ποδ.

1) With Dative:

a) of Place, 'near': *θηραμένην Δαματρίω, Ἀπολλοφάνην Ἀθανοδότω Ἀντιοχεῖας τῶν ποδ Δάφνη* 518. 3–5.

b) 'Besides,' 'in addition to': *δόμεν . . . σούνγραφον ποτ τᾶ οὐπαρχώση οὐπε[ρα]μερίᾳ* 3172. 148–150.[1]

2) With Accusative:

a) of Direction, 'toward': *Ὅρια Κ[ω]πήων ποτ' Ἀκρηιφεῖα[ς]* 2792.

b) 'Before,' 'in the presence of': *τὸ ἅλωμα ἀπολογίτταστη ποτὶ κατόπ[τας]* C 295. 38–39. *πρός* with the accusative is the regular term in Attic prose for appearance or proceedings before a board of magistrates, as *τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀπελύσω*, Lysias XIII. 75; *id.* XXIII. 13; Plato, *Euthy.* 2 A.

c) 'In reference to,' 'toward': *ἔλεξε προβεβωλευμένον εἶμεν αὐτῦ ποτὶ δᾶμον* 2848. 2, a regular formula in decrees; *τὰν ὁμόνοιαν διαφυλάττι . . . ἁ πόλις Ἠγοσθενιτάων πὸτ τὰν πόλιν Σιφείων* C 283. 8–11; and in an inscription where the context is lost: *κὴ [. . . . . οὔτε ποτ τὰν πό]λιν οὔτε ποτ τὰν ἀρχὰν . . . . . γεγραμμένα* 1739. 16–18.

d) 'Against': *τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν] ἐπο[λέμιον] Βοιωτοὶ . . . . π]οτ τὼς ἀσεβίοντας τὸ ἰαρὸ[ν* 2418. 1–3.

14. σούν.

With Dative only, 'with,' 'together with': *εἶμεν ποτιδεδομένον χρόνον . . . ἐπινομίας Ϝέτια πέτταρα βούεσσι σοὺν ἵππυς διακατίης Ϝίκατι, προβάτυς σοὺν ἤγυς χειλίης·* C 298. 36–40.

15. ὑπέρ.

With Genitive only:

a) 'In behalf of' (in the sense of 'as representative of'): *παρεῖαν οὐπὲρ τᾶς πόλ[ι]ος πολέμαρχυι* C 295. 129 *sq.*; *παρεῖαν πολ[έμ]αρχο[ι] ὑπὲρ τᾶ[ς] πό[λ]ιος* 3173. 5–6; *Νικαρέτη παρεγράφει πὰρ Πολιουχρίτω . . . . ταμίαο οὐπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος τὸ σουνχωρειθέν . . .* C 295. 174; (*cf. κἂν ἄλλος ἐπιφέρῃ ὑπὲρ Νικαρέτας* C 295. 114). *ὑπὲρ αὐτοσαυτῶ ἀνέθεικε* 3055. 9.

b) 'Concerning': *δ ἐπίθωσαν οὐπὲρ τᾶν οὐπεραμεριάων* C 295. 135–136; *τό τε ψάφισμα οὗτο κὴ τὸ οὐπὲρ τᾶς ἀποδόσιος* C 295. 31.

[1] The text is not certain. *V.* §13. 6 *ad fin.*

c) In *τάν τε σύγγραφον, ἂν ἔ[δω]καν ὑπὲρ [σ]ὕτων τῶν χρειμάτων*, 'the note which they gave for these moneys,' C 295. 19–20, the two senses, 'concerning' and 'representing,' are combined.

§ 11. The Voices.

Active.

1. The Future Active of *ἐμβαίνω* occurs with causative meaning: *ἐγγύως δύο ἀξιο]χρειέας καθιστάει, ἐσ ἀρχᾶς ἐμβάσι ά [ἀρχὰ ἄλλον* 1739. 10.

2. The Aorist Active of *ἀποδίδωμι* is found in the sense of 'pay back': *οὗτ]ω ἀπέδομεν ἀπὸ τῶ κεφαλήω κὴ ἀπελεια[νάμεθα*, 'paid back on the principal and obtained a quittance,' 1737. 17, 14, 11.

3. The Active of *χράω* is found in the sense of 'lend': *δ̄ ἀργούριον] χρείσι τῆ πό[λι* 2383. 6.

4. The Active of *ἄρχω* occurs several times: *ἄρχι τόκω οὗτω τῶ ἀργυρίω . . .* 1738. 6; *ἄρχι τῶ χρόνω ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ὁ μετὰ Θύναρχον ἄρχοντα* C 298. 40–41; *ἄρχει[ν] δ' [α]ὐτὰ . . . .* 1739 *ad fin.*

Middle.

5. Of the Direct Middle a few instances occur:

ἐφάπτομη: *μεὶ ἐξεῖμεν μειθενὶ ἐφάπτεστη* = 'to lay hands upon,' 3201. 7, and regularly in Manumission inscriptions.

ἵσταμη: *μεινὸς Δαματρίω ὀγδόη ἱσταμένω* 507. 1; 509. 1.

ἀστρέφομη: *σεμ]νῶς ἀστρέφετη . . . .* 2849. 7.

ἐπιτίθεμη: *ἐπιθεμένω τῶ δά[μω* 2406. 1.

φήνομη: *φήνε[ιτη]* 2383. 16–17.

6. The Indirect Middle is found with the following verbs, often in a causative sense:

αἱρέω: *χρίος ἀπέδωκα . . . . ἀνελόμενος τὰς συυγγράφως*, 'I paid the debt and (took back for myself) recovered the notes,' C 298. 6 and 18; so *τὰν συυγγραφὰν . . . . ἀνελέσθη* C 295. 58–59 (*cf. σύγγραφον . . . θέσθη . . . πὰρ Fιφιάδαν* C 295. 143–146); *κὴ ὁ ταμίας κὴ ὧν ποθείλετο Νικαρέτα δέκα,—ποθείλετο* = 'chose in addition,' C 295. 21.

γράφω: *σύγγραφον δὲ γράψασθη* = 'to have a contract drawn up,' C 295. 143; *[σ]ὅτα τὰ χρήματα ἀνεγράψατο Ἀγ . . . . .* 1737. 6; *κεφαλὰ ὧν ἀνεγράψατο ά πόλις* 1737. 9;—*ἀνεγράψατο* = 'had recorded' (*cf. ἀνέγραψαν καθὼς ἐποείσανθο τὰν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανείων*, 'they recorded how,' *etc.* C 295. 4–5 and 1737. 19); *ἀπογράφεσθη*,

'to register,' C 298. 41–42, 47; *Fί[κ]ατιFέτιες ἀπεγράψανθο* = 'had themselves enrolled' 3067. 1; 4172. 3; so *ἀπεγράψαντο . . . . ἐν τὰ τάγματα* 1750. 2–3, and the same verb in other military lists (2809–2832, 2781–2789, *etc.*); *τὰς ὑπεραμερίας διαγράψασθη* C 295. 22, 'to get the record of the debts destroyed' (said of the debtor, *cf. διαγράψῃ τὰς οὐπερ[αμ]ερίας ibid.* 75–76, 'to destroy the record,' said of the creditor).

δουλίδδω: *μὲ ἐξεῖμεν μεθενὶ ἐφάπτεστη μεδὲ καταδουλίτταστη* = 'to enslave' (to oneself) 3201. 7; 3083. 22; and regularly in Manumission inscriptions.

κομίδδω: *ὅπως κα κομιττάμενοι τ[ὰν ἐλευθερίαν . . .* 2406. 8, 'having recovered.' *ἐπὶ δέ κα κομίδ[δει]τη Νικαρέτα τὸ ἀργούριον πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος*, 'when N. recovers the money from the city,' C 295. 148–150; *κ[ομί]δδ[ε]σθη . . . τὸ ἀργούριον* C 295. 159–160.

λειαίνω: *οὕτω ἀπέδομεν ἀπὸ τῶ κ]εφαλήω κὴ ἀπελει[α]νάμεθα* 1737. 11, same formula *ibid.* ll. 14 and 17,—*ἀπελειανάμεθα* = 'obtained the destruction of a note,' *i. e.* a quittance (said of the debtor). *Cf.* the active *ἐσλιᾶνη* (*ἐκλειᾶναι*) n. 3172 = 'to destroy a note' after payment (said of the creditor), and *v.* Dittenberger *ad* n. 1737. *τὰς ἐ[σ]πράξις . . . . διαλιάνασ[θη] τὼς πολεμάρχως*, 'the polemarchs shall see that the writs of execution are destroyed,' C 295. 55–58.

ποιέω: *ἀνέγραψαν καθὼς ἐποεῖσανθο τὰν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανείων* C 295. 4–5,—*ἐποεῖσανθο* = 'conducted' (caused to be made) the payment of the loan. *Cf.* also § 15. 4, b) and 2849. 5–7. Also: *ἢ δέ κά τις ἀντιποιεῖτη Ἀθάνωνος* 3080. 4; 3081. 4, 'lays claim to.'

πράττω: A possible case of the middle of this verb is *[πράττειτ]η* 3171. 49. *Cf.* the active in the Nicareta inscription (C 295, 3172) and *v.* Dittenberger *ad loc.*

τίθειμι: *συγγραφον δὲ γράψασθη . . . . κὴ θέσθη . . . . πὰρ Fιφιάδαν* C 295. 143–146 = 'to have a contract drawn up and deposited with Wiphiades.'

φέρω: *τὸν στέφανον ὔσετη* 4136. 6–8.

ἐπιψαφίδδω: *ἐπιδεὶ ἐπεψαφίττατο ὁ δᾶμος* C 295. 11–12, 'voted' (said of the assembly). *Cf.* the active, *ἐπεψάφιδδε*, 'put to the vote' (said of the presiding officer—often in Proxeny Decrees—the same distinction between active and middle being observed as in Attic Greek).

7. As Subjective Middle may be regarded *συμβάλλομη*: *τοὶ [συ]νεβάλονθο ἐν [τ]ὸν ναὸ[ν . . . .* 3191. 2; 3192, 'contributed' (from their own resources).

Deponent Verbs.

8. ἀναγέομη, 'command': τῶν ταραντίνων ἀναγεόμεν(ος) 2466. 6–7.

βείλομη: ὁ βειλόμενος 3080. 6; 3081. 6–7.

γίνυμη: οὐτὶ γίνυτη 1737. 5–6; 3303. 6; C 295. 29.

παργίνυμη: ὁπόττοι κα παργινύωνθη C 283. 11–12; *ibid.* 7–8.

δέομη: τοῖς ἀὶ δειμένοις 2858. 3–4.

(ἐπι)δέχομη: ἐπιδ]έξασθη τῶν χρειμάτων 2406. 7.

κῖμη: τὰς συγγράφως τὰς κιμένας πὰρ Εὔφρονα C 298. 6–8, 18 *sqq.*

λάδδουμη (=λάζυμαι): ὥστε λάδδουσθη 3054. 6.

διαλέγομη: . . . . μένας διαλέγεσθη 2410. 7 (fragmentary inscription).

ἀπολογίδδομη, 'reckon': τὸ ἅλωμα ἀπολογίτταστη C 295. 39.

μαντεύομη, in two different senses, 'to be *μάντις*' and 'to give an answer' (said of the god): μαντευομένω [*Θ*]υμάστω 2723 *ad fin.*, 'when O. held the office of *μάντις*.' So in a series of inscriptions, 2723–2724 e. μαντευσαμένω τῶ θεῶ καὶ ἀποδόντος τὰν ἀγαθὰν μαντείαν 2724. 2–3.

ἐπιμέλομη, 'take care': προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν κὴ [ἐπι]μέλεσθαι 1780. 15–16; 4136. 7.

στρατεύομη: τοὶ πρᾶτον ἐστρατεύαθη C 292. 6; C 293. 6; C 294. 13.

χράομη: ο[ὔδ]ατι χρειεῖσθη [πο]τίμυ 3169. 8.

Passive.

9. The Passive Voice occurs infrequently: [ἀνά]γκασ[θε]ν τὸ πολέμαρχυ . . . δόμεν [τ]ὰ πά[ντα] C 295. 46–48; *ibid.* l. 173; ἐσσεγράφεν ἐν π[ελτοφόρας·] 2390. 3; 2389. 1–3; πα[ραχατα]τίθεται 1780. 10–11; C 298. 33; ἐ[ν τ]άν κα ἐνενιχθεῖ ἁ ἀνφορὰ ἐν οὔτο 3172. 150 (*cf.* § 13. 6 *ad fin.*); ἐπιμέλεσθαι—ὅπως μὲ ἀδικίωνθη 3392. 6–7; τοὶ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα κου[ρ]ωθείει, ἀγγραφάνθω C 283. 14–15; γέγραπτη 529. 5; 3166. 9–10; 4128. 11–12; 1719. 10; ἐπείσθει Σω[. . . (in a fragmentary inscription) 3398. 5.

10. In τὰ συνχωρειθέντα χρειματα C 295. 50, we find the Accusative of the Inner Object of an intransitive verb, made the subject of a neuter Passive Participle.

§12. The Tenses.

Present Indicative.

1. The Present Indicative in its ordinary use, as representing a continued action in present time, occurs seldom:[1] *ὀφείλι ἁ πόλις Ἀθανήων τοῖ [δαμοσίοι δραχμὰς . . .* 1738. 4; *ἐπιδεὶ . . . οὔτ' ὀφείλετη αὐτῦ, ἔτι οὐθὲν πὰρ τὰν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέχι πάντα* C 298. 29-34; C 283. 2, 4, 7, 9; *σεμ]νῶς ἀστρέφετη ἐν τᾷ π[όλι* 2849. 7-8; *ἐπ<ε>ὶ Προκλεῖί εἰμι* 3113, 593, 595, 599, 605, *[Τῶ Κα]βίρω εἰμί* 3969, ... *εἰμί* 4071, *καλὸς εἶ* 4122, . . . *κ]οντα ἐννέα· οὑτὶ γίνυτη (ἀρ)γ(ουρ)ίω Ἠγινήω [. . . . πέτταρ]ες·*—'the sum total is' . . . . (after a list of sums) 1737. 5-6.

2. A noteworthy use of the Present Indicative is found in the numerous Manumission inscriptions (3301-3406, *etc.*), which have ordinarily the form of a dedication to a divinity. In these, the present, *ἀντίθειτι*, is always used, where we should expect the aorist, *ἀνέθεικε*, as in other dedicatory inscriptions:[2] *Δεξίππω ἄρχω μεινὸς Ἑρμαίω πεντεκηδεκάτη, Δαμάγειτος Καφισοδώρω ἀντίθειτι τὰς Φιδίας δούλας Ζωΐλαν καὶ Δαμὼν ἰαρὰς τεῖ Σαράπει, τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποϊόμενος διὰ τῶ συνεδρίω κὰτ τὸν νόμον* C 319, *et sic saepe*—3301-3406, 3081. 1; 3082. 3; 3083. 6; 3199. 9-10; *etc.*, so also, *ἀφίειτι*: *[Ε]ὐρυμείλω ἄρχοντος ἀφίειτι Σάων Ἀτ[έ]αν ἐλεύθερον ἐναντία τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ* 1779, 1780, or where the sense seems to require a future form as the apodosis of an implied or expressed condition: *Ἀρχείνω ἄρχω μεινὸς θουίω πεντεκηδεκάτη, Διουκλεῖς κὴ Κωτίλα ἀντίθεντι τὰν Φιδίαν θρεπτάν, ἥ ὄνυουμα Ζωπουρίνα, ἰαρ[ὰν] τεῖ Σεράπει, παραμείνασαν αὐτεῖς ἆς κα ζῶνθι*, C 320, 'provided she shall have remained with them, so long as they live' (a frequent proviso in Manumission documents); *ἐ[π]ὶ δέ [τί] κα πάθει Εὔτυχος, πα[ρακατα]τίθεται οὗτα τὰ σώ[μ]α[τα] ἐναντία τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ, κτλ.* 1780.

This use of the present tense is perhaps to be explained from the nature of the legal transaction recorded. In the case of immediate and unconditional emancipation, the use of the present tense might imply a continuous sanction on the part of the master of the freedom of a former slave; and

[1] Owing to the fact that by far the greater part of the inscriptions consists of records of past events, or of decrees, which must refer to the future.

[2] In 3334. 1 the aorist is wrongly supplied by Dittenberger. The aorist occurs in some inscriptions in the *κοινή*, *e. g.* 3376, 3378.

In the Manumission inscriptions of other states than Boeotia, the aorist is used, *e. g.*: *Ἀνέθεκε Ἐκέφυλος Νεαρέταν τᾷ Ποό[ι]δᾶνι* C 19. So C 21 and C 22 (Laconia). So the aorist *ἀπέδοτο* regularly in the numerous Manumission documents of Delphi.

in the case of emancipation deferred till the owner's death it would of course be necessary that his consent should be recorded before his death, *i. e.* in the form of a present dedication of the slave to a divinity. In this latter instance, the present would practically express only a present intention of an action to be really performed at a later date. The unlimited character of the present tense, as being, in a sense, inclusive of both past and future, would make its use natural in legal documents of this type.

3. A somewhat similar employment of the Present where the Aorist might be expected is found in an early vase inscription: *Μογέα δίδωτι τᾶ γυναικὶ δῶρον* 3467. 1 (*cf. Χάρεις ἔδωκε Εὐπλοΐωνί με* 3468, *Ποιμανορίδας μ' ἐπέδωκε* 2245, *ante a.* 350).

With this use of the present may be compared the use of the imperfect rather than the aorist of *πέμπω* and the imperfect *ἐποίει* of artists' signatures.[1] As by the use of these imperfects the personality of the sender or of the maker is made to follow the messenger, or live in the work of art, in a manner that would be impossible to the detachment of the aorist, so the present *δίδωτι* may connect the giver with his gift as *ἔδωκε* could not. The ancient Boeotians were, perhaps, of the opinion of Lowell, that

"The gift without the giver is bare."[2]

4. Another Present Indicative that requires remark occurs in a financial transaction: *ἄρχι τόχω οὕτω τῶ ἀργυρίω ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ὁ μετὰ* . . . . 1738. 6. Similarly: *εἶμεν ποτιδεδομένον χρόνον Εὐβώλυ ἐπινομίας Ϝέτια πέτταρα* . . . . *ἄρχι τῶ χρόνω ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ὁ μετὰ Θύναρχον ἄρχοντα Ἐρχομενίυς* C 298. 36–41.

Here, the present *ἀρχι* evidently refers to the future and is nearly or quite equivalent to an imperative. It may be explained as a present agreement as to a future act, or rather as the expression of a present obligation to be fulfilled in the future.

In the case of all these presents (*ἀντίθειτι, δίδωτι, ἄρχι*) it seems simpler to consider the action to be represented as merely *brought to pass* in the unlimited present, not as *continued* or *going on.*

5. In one instance, the Present is used nearly in the sense of a Perfect, to express the continued result of a completed action, —*ἀπέχω* (have recovered) = 'am in possession of': *ἐπιδεὶ κεκόμιστη Εὔβωλος πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος τὸ δάνειον ἅπαν* . . . . *κὴ οὔτ' ὀφείλετη αὐτῦ ἔτι οὐθὲν πὰρ τὰν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέχι πάντα περὶ παντός, κὴ ἀποδεδόανθι τῆ πόλι τὺ ἔχοντες τὰς ὁμολογίας·* C 298. 29 *sqq.*

[1] Though this usage does not occur in the Boeotian inscriptions, *cf.* § 12. 12.

[2] The conative signification, 'offer,' seems here inadmissible.

Imperfect Indicative.

6. The Imperfect tense is always used in the phrase *ἐπεψάφιδδε ὁ δεῖνα*, in the heading of decrees of assembly where the name of the presiding officer is given: *Ξεναρίστω ἄρχοντος μεινὸς Ἀλαλκομενίω πετράδι ἀπιόντος, ἐπεψάφιδδε Ἀχηός, Ἀπολλόδωρος Καφισίαω ἔλεξε, δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι·* C 364. 1–3; C 295. 8, 41; 504. 1; 505. 1; 506. 2; 507. 1; 2861. 1, and in other Proxeny Decrees. In this, Boeotian usage agrees with the Attic, *ὁ δεῖνα ἐπεψήφιζε*.

This imperfect is probably to be explained as an imperfect of repeated action: 'So-and-So put to the vote' (all the motions of the session) *i. e.* 'was presiding officer.'[1] It is thus a little different from the imperfects of denominative verbs derived from names of officers, used in similar headings, as *ἐγραμμάτευε βουλᾶ καὶ δάμῳ Ἐλιξος Εὐ[δά]μου, ἐστρατάγουν Παγχάρης, κτλ.* C 105. 1 *sqq.* (Megara, 3d. cent.), [*ὁ δεῖνα*] *ἐπεστάτει*, C 156. 1–2 (*C. I. G.* 2483, Astypalaea, 2d cent.), where the verb itself denotes a state of being and the imperfect merely continuance in that state in past time. In the Boeotian inscriptions, such verbs, in the formulas of decrees, *etc.*, are always put in the Genitive Absolute.

7. Other Imperfects are rare: [*συνεβάλ*]*ονθο*—*ἐν τὸ*[*ν*] *πόλεμον, τὸν ὑ*[*πὲρ τῶ ἰ*]*αρῶ τῶ ἐμ Βελφοῖς ἐπολέμιον Βοιωτο*[*ί*] 2418. 22–23 (355–346 B. C.), 'the war which the Boeotians were engaged in.'

Future Indicative.

8. The Future Indicative, as it occurs in these inscriptions, in decrees and legal documents, expresses an injunction and is practically equivalent to the Imperative, with which it is sometimes coupled: *δεκάταν δὲ οἴσονθι τοὶ ἐμ*[*βάντες . . . .* 1739. 15, 'those who enter shall bear a tithe'; *ἢ δέ κά τις ἐμβὰς . . . . ἐγγύως δύο ἀξιω*]*χρειέας καθιστάει, ἐσς ἀρχᾶς ἐμβάσι ἁ* [*ἀρχὰ ἄλλον, τὸν δὲ προτηνὶ ἐμβ*]*άντα ἐν τὸ λεύκωμα ἐσγράψι, κτλ.* 1739. 9–11; *ἢ δέ κα ἔτι δώει Ἀθανοδώρα, εἶσι Ἀνδρικὸς φόρον τὸν ἐν τᾷ θείκη γεγραμμένον· ἢ δέ τί κα πάθει Ἀθανοδώρα, παρμενῖ Ἀνδρικὸς τὸν περιττὸν χρόνον πὰρ Δωΐλον, ἔπιτα ἰ*[*α*]*ρὸς ἔστω* 3083. 13–20; *ὅστις δέ κα τῶ Διὸς τῶ Βασιλεῖος ἐπιμελειθείει τῶ ναῶ, τὸν στέφανον ὔσετη* (= *οἴσεται*) 4136. 6–8 (in a series of injunctions of an oracle, of which the others are expressed by the infinitive).

9. The Future Indicative is found once in a dependent clause with *ἐφ' ὔ*(= *ἐφ' ᾧ*), 'on condition that': *ἐφ' ὔ* [. . . . . *τὰ*]*ς ὁπερα-μερίας λάψετη* 3054. 9–10.

[1] *Cf.* § 12. 11 and 22.

Aorist Indicative.

10. The Aorist tense, is, as would be expected, the most common in these inscriptions. Its use is that of the ordinary factitive aorist, expressing a simple occurrence in past time, and without peculiarity. Most frequent at all periods is the aorist of ἀνατίθεμι in dedicatory inscriptions, *e. g.*: Δαιτώνδα[ς] ἀνέθεικε τοῖ Καβίροι 2457 (5th cent.), so, ἀνέθεικε, 3671, 3607, 3738, 1793, 3091. 5, 3092. 2, 2230, 551, ἀνέθει (probably = ἀνέθεικε) 3682, (all before 350 B. C.), 1788, 2473, 2876, 3213, *etc.*, ἀνέθειαν ταῖ Δάματρι 1671, 1831, (before 350 B. C.), so, ἀνέθεαν or ἀνέθεικαν, 553, 2463, 3207. 1, 3087. 1, *etc.*, ἀνεθέταν 3211. 2, 2229 (*c.* 400 B. C.).

11. The Aorist ἔλεξε in the introductory formula of decrees marks the transition from the general heading of the day (τῶ δεῖνα ἄρχοντος . . . ἐπεψάφιδδε ὁ δεῖνα) to the particular bill in hand:[1] Εὐξιθίω ἄρχοντος μεινὸς Δαματρίω ὀγδόη ἱσταμένω ἐπεψάφιδδε Καφισίας, Μειλίων Ἀφροδίτω ἔλεξε, δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι, κτλ. M 938. 1–2. So 504. 2; 505. 2; 506. 2; 507. 2; 509. 1, and regularly in the Proxeny Decrees of Tanagra; C 295. 10, 42. ἔλεξε is also found in similar headings with a shorter preamble, as 3166. 3; 3287. 2; 2708. 1; or with no preamble, C 283. 1. So τὸ σ]υνέδρυ ἔλεξαν 4127. 2–3; 4128. 1.

12. The Aorist ἐπόεισε in artists' signatures occurs several times: Γαμείδεις ἐπόεισε 1873, 2229, (both before 350 B. C.), 530, 2471, 2532, 2729, M 1130. The Imperfect does not occur.[2]

13. The Aorist ἔδοξε, in the formula ἔδοξε τοῖ δάμοι (2407. 2–3; 3167. 3; 1726. 1; 1729. 1; 3055. 1), is less common than the infinitive δεδόχθη dependent on the aorist ἔλεξε (*v. supra* 11).

14. Other Aorists are: ἔγραψαν: χρειμάτων ὧν ἔγραψαν αὐτῆ 3172. 138–139; and very frequently the aorists of the compounds of γράφω, especially the middle and passive aorists, in legal documents: ἀ]νεγράψαμεν τὸ Τιμύλλω 1737. 19; χρήματα ἀνεγράψατο *ibid.* ll. 6 and 9; ἐσσεγράφε[ν] ἐν [π]ελτοφόρας 2389, 2390, Νικαρέτη παρεγράφει C 295. 173, τοὶ ἀπεγράψανθο ἐν πελτοφόρας 2809–2832, *etc.* ἀπέδωκα: χρίος ἀπέδωκα C 298. 3–4; ἀπέδομεν 1737. 14 and 17; ἔδωκε 3468, ἐπέδωκε 2245, (*cf.* § 12. 3). ἀπήνιξεν (= ἀπήνεγκε): ἀ]πήνιξεν [Μ]όσ[χ]ος 1737. 12. ἀφῆκε 2383. 13. ἔθαψαν: Ἱππόμαχε χῆρε· οὗτον ἔθαψ[α]ν τὸ Ἀθαναϊσ[τή] 687. θῆκεν 1880. 5; [ἐ]πέθηκε

[1] *Cf.* § 12. 6.

[2] The imperfect is found in archaic artists' signatures in other dialects, though the aorist predominates. *Cf.* [Ηολ]υμέδες ἐποίεε hargeĩος (first part of 6th cent.) and M. Homolle's note *ad loc.*, *Bull.* 24, p. 448. *Cf.* also Gildersleeve, *Synt. of Class. Greek*, 213 n. 1.

ibid. 2–3. *ἔστασε*: *Ἀμφάλκεις [ἔ]στασ' ἐπὶ Κιτύλοι ἠδ' ἐπὶ Δέρμοι* 579. *ἀπεστείλαμεν*: *δι[ὰ] τῶ συμβόλω [ἀ]πεστείλαμεν ἀποδό[ντες* 1737. 16. *ἐστροτεύαθη*: *τοὶ πρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη* C 292. 6; C 293. 6; C 294. 13–14.

15. The Aorist is used in dependent clauses where in English the Pluperfect might be employed: *Νικόδαμος τρεπεδ[δ]ίτας τὰν παρκαταθείκαν ἃν ἔλαβεν πὰρ Πουθίωνος Πουθιήω, ὃ ἔπραξε Δάμων, δραχμὰς Ϝίκατι, κτλ.* 2420. 33–37, 'the deposit which he had received from Pythion,' *etc.*

Perfect Indicative.

16. The Perfect active occurs twice in dependent clauses after *ἐπιδεί*, in conjunction with present tenses, and so once the Perfect middle. The meaning is the ordinary one of the Perfect tense, representing action completed in present time: *ἐκτεθήκανθι*: *ἐπιδὴ ἐστι τᾶ πόλι Σιφείων προ[υ]πάρχωσα εὔνοια ἐκ προγόνων κὴ ἐν προεδρίαν [κ]αλῖ ἁ πόλις Ἠγοσθενιτάων ὁπόττοι κα παρί[ω]νθι Σιφείων, κὰ(τ) ταὐτὰ δὲ κὴ τοὶ Σιφεῖ[ε]ς τὰς αὐτὰς τιμὰς ἐκτεθήκανθι Ἠγοσθενίτης κὴ ἐ[π]ὶ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδως καλέυνθι τὼς παργινυμένως· . . . . δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι, κτλ.* C 283. 2–11; *κεκόμιστη, ἀποδεδόανθι*: *ἐπιδεὶ κεκόμιστη Εὔβωλος πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος τὸ δάνειον ἅπαν . . . . κὴ οὔτ' ὀφείλετη αὐτῦ ἔτι οὐθὲν πὰρ τὰν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέχι πάντα περὶ παντός, κὴ ἀποδεδόανθι τᾶ πόλι τὺ ἔχοντες τὰς ὁμολογίας· εἶμεν ποτιδεδομένον χρόνον Εὐβώλυ ἐπινομίας, κτλ.* C 298. 29–37. In . . . .] *ὁπόττα παρκέκλεικε αὐ[τὸν ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθανήων, . . .* 2406. 12, the immediate context is lost.

17. The Perfect passive of *γράφω* is used in the third person singular with reference to the settled provisions of decrees: *ἐν τῦ] δόγματι [γέ]γραπτη* 1719. 10; *[τὰ] ἄλλα πάντα, καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένυς κὴ εὐεργέτης γέγραπτη* 3166. 9–10; 529. 5.

In this conventional phrase with *καθάπερ*, in Proxeny Decrees, the verb is usually not expressed.

Pluperfect and Future Perfect.

18. The Pluperfect and the Future Perfect tenses do not occur.

Change of Tenses.

19. An abrupt change of tenses occurs in one of the Manumission inscriptions: *ἀντίθειτι . . . . . κὴ κατέβαλε . . . δραχμὰς* 3303. 2–5 (*cf.* *ἀ[ντίθησι . . . .] καὶ κατέβαλε . . .* 3344. 2–5).

Here the aorist, *κατέβαλε*, denotes the single specific act of depositing a sum of money, while the present, *ἀντίθειτι*, has a more general force. *V.* § 12. 2.

Tenses of the Other Moods.

20. In the Subjunctive, Optative, Imperative, and Infinitive, the tenses are used simply to qualify the action, the Present as continued, the Aorist as merely occurring, the Perfect as completed, without designating time. For examples, *v.* § 13.

21. The Present has sometimes a conative force, as in *ἤ δέ κά τις καταδουλίδδε(ι)τη εἴ ἐφάπτειτη*, 'if anybody tries to enslave,' *etc.* 3198. 4–7.

22. The Perfect tense in the infinitive *δεδόχθη*, which is regularly employed in decrees, emphasizes the idea of fixedness and permanence.

Tenses of the Participle.

23. The tenses of the Participle express time relatively to that of the leading verb, the Present and Perfect denoting time relatively present, and the Aorist time relatively past. The Future tense of the Participle does not occur. Present Participle: *σχολάδδων τώς [τε ἐφείβως παιδεύων, σεμ]νῶς ἀστρέφετη* 2849. 6–7. Perfect Participle: *οὔτα Ϝεϝυκονομειόντων τῶν πολεμάρχων .... δεδόχθη τὸ δάμυ* C 295. 24–28. Aorist Participle: *ὅπως κα κομιττάμενοι τ[ὰν ἐλευθερίαν . . .] . . . διατελίωνθι φίλοι* 2406. 8–9.

For other examples, *v.* § 15.

In n. 3211. 2: *ἄνδρεσσι χοραγίοντες νικάσαντες Διωνύσοι ἀνεθέταν*, the present participle *χοραγίοντες* is used as an imperfect, denoting time relatively past. *Cf.* the aorist participle *χοραγείσαντες* in n. 3210.

§ 13. The Moods.

Finite Moods in Simple Sentences.

1. The only finite moods found in simple sentences are the Indicative and the Imperative in their usual signification.

2. The Imperative of the second person is found only in grave stele inscriptions, especially *χαῖρε* (or *χῆρε*) 'farewell': *Τίμων χῆρε* 2089, *Κερείσιχος χῆρε* 2033, *Ἀριστονόα χαῖρε* 2920, *Εὐάμερε χα[ῖρε]* 2952, 2042, *Σωτηρίχα χαῖρε ἀγαθά* 1704, *Ἱππόμαχε χῆρε· οὗτον ἔθαψ[α]ν τὸ Ἀθαναϊστ[ή]* . . . 687, 2964, 3017, 3021, 3025, 3251, *etc.*

This conventional expression, frequent in late inscriptions, does not occur in the early Boeotian epitaphs.

So *εὖ πρᾶσσε*, in a metrical epitaph: *Καλλία Αἰγί(θ)θοιο· τὸ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ[σ' ὦ] παροδῶτα* 2852, and the aorist *ἐσίδεσθε*: *ἀλλ' ἐσίδε[σθε]* 3225 (6th, or early 5th cent. B. C.).

3. The Imperative of the third person is found chiefly in the conclusions of conditional or conditional relative sentences. It occurs in the stipulations of the various forms of Manumission documents and in those of the Nicareta inscription. The tenses used are the present and the aorist with the usual distinction between them, the present denoting a continued state or repeated action, and the aorist a momentary action. *ἢ δέ κά τις ἀντιποιεῖτη Ἀθάνωνος εἰ ἄλλο τι ἀδικ[εῖ κ]αθ' ὅντινα ὢν τρόπον, ὑπερδικιόνθω κὴ προϊστάνθω τύ τε ἰαρεῖες, κτλ.* 3080.4 *sqq.*; 3081. 4 *sqq.*; *κούριος ἔστω ὁ ἰαρεὺς κὴ τὺ ἰαράρχη κὴ τὺ σούνεδρυ σουλῶντες κὴ δαμιώοντες* 3200. 12–14 (so regularly in the Manumission inscriptions of Orchomenus). *Cf. κὴ τὺ]σούνεδρυ δαμιώνθω τὸν ἀδικίοντα* 3198. 6; *σουλώνθω κὴ δ[αμιώνθω . . .* 3199. 13. *τὰ δὲ γεννηθέντα ἐξ αὐτῶν . . . ἔσστωσαν δυῦλα* 3322. 11–13; *ἔστω τὸ γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον* 3377. 13; *ἐπὶ δέ κα κομίδ[δει]τη Νικαρέτα τὸ ἀργούριον πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος, ἐσλιανάτω Νικαρέτα τὰς ὑπεραμερίας . . . . . .* (l. 150) *κὴ τὰν σούγγραφον ἀπ[υ]δότω Fιφιάδας . . .* (ll. 152–153) *ἢ δέ κα μὲ ἀποδώει ἁ πόλις Νικαρέτη τὸ ἀργούριον . . . . ἀποδότω τὰν σούγγραφον, κτλ.* C 295. 148–156; *(ἢ δέ κα) μὲ ἐθέλει κ[ομι]δδ[ε]σθη Νικαρέτα τὸ ἀργούριον, ἀποδότω Fιφιάδας . . . κὴ ποταποτισάτω . . .* (ll. 160, 162) *κὴ τὴ ὑπεραμερίη ἄκουρύ νυ ἔνθω* C 295. 160–165; C 298. 48–55; *τοὶ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα κου[ρ]ωθείει, ἀγγραφάνθω* C 283. 14–15; *ἐπὶ δέ κα τελευτάσει Εὔτυχος, ἀπ[υ]καρυξάτω ἐπὶ τῶ μνάματος Ἐπίτιμος, κτλ.* 1780. 18–21 (the imperative is here followed by the infinitive with imperative force). In the following sentence, we find in parallel clauses the future indicative with imperative force, and the present imperative: *ἢ δέ κα ἔτι δώει Ἀθανοδώρα, εἶσι Ἀνδρικὸς φόρον . . . . ἢ δέ τί κα πάθει Ἀθανοδώρα, παρμενῖ Ἀνδρικὸς τὸν περιττὸν χρόνον πὰρ Δωΐλον, ἔπιτα ἰ[α]ρὸς ἔστω* 3083. 13–20. *Cf.* n. 3082, —*ἔπιτα ἰα[ρὸς ἔστω*—inserted parenthetically among the provisions of a Manumission inscription.

The Present Imperative with *μ ε ί* is used to express a Negative Command: *Μεὶ ἀπογραφέσθω δὲ πλίονα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῆ συγχωρείσι* C 298. 46–48.

The corresponding affirmative expression is here the infinitive with imperative force: *Ἀπογράφεσθη δὲ Εὐβωλον . . . . τά τε καίματα τῶν προβάτων, κτλ. ibid.* l. 41 *sqq.*

Table of Conjunctions and Indefinite Relatives with Subjunctive and Optative.

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κἤ κα with the subjunctive: infinitive with imperative force,	C 298. 41–46
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ὅστις κα with the subjunctive,	1739. 7
" " " " " participle with imperative force,	3391. 6–7
ὅστις δέ κα with the subjunctive: future indicative,	4136. 6–8
ὅστις μεί with the subjunctive: infinitive with imperative force,	3055. 5–7[3]

[1] Incomplete. [2] Incomplete. [3] Incomplete.

ὁπόττος κα with the subjunctive: infinitive with imperative force, C 283. 11–14
" " with the subjunctive: present indicative, C 283. 3–5
ὁπόττος with perfect indicative: infinitive with imperative force, 522. 19–20
2406. 12[1]
3167. 14–15
(?) ὁπόττος with present indicative: past indicative, C 295. 43–51
(?) ὅσος κα with the subjunctive: future indicative, 1739. 14
ἐπί κα with the subjunctive: infinitive with imperative force, C 295. 28–30
" " with the subjunctive: imperative, C 283. 14–15
ἐπὶ δέ κα with the subjunctive: infinitive with imperative force, 1778. 4–10
" " " with the subjunctive: imperative, C 295. 148–151
1780. 18–21
ἐπὶ δέ τί κα " " " present indicative, 1780. 10–16
ἄωϛ κα or ἀϛ κα with the subjunctive: participle with imperative force from context, 2228. 4–6
3303. 4
3314. 3–4
3315. 5–6
3348. 4
3352. 6
1778. 1
1780. 9–10
ἄωϛ κα with the subjunctive: infinitive with imperative force, 1778. 1–4
ἔττε καν with the subjunctive: infinitive with ὥστε, 3054. 7
ἔωϛ κα = 'until,' with the subjunctive: participle with imperative force from context, 3343. 4

[1] Incomplete.

Finite Moods in Compound Sentences.

I. Final Sentences.

4. Two kinds of Final Clauses are represented in these inscriptions: A. Clauses of Pure Purpose, and B. Object Clauses after Verbs of Effort or Care. There are no clauses with *μή* after verbs of fearing.

A. Clauses of Pure Purpose.

Clauses expressing purpose are introduced by *ὅπως* (once *ὡς*) and take the Subjunctive (in one instance, the Optative). The final particle *ἵνα* is not found.[1]

ὅπω[ς] ἔχω[ν]θι, depending on *κατασκευάττη κ[ράναν]*, after *δεδόχθη*, 3169. 6–7; *ὅπως ὦν κὴ ἁ πόλις φήνε[ιτη] εὐχάρι[στο]ς ἐῶσα . . . . δεδόχθη τ]ὸ δάμυ* 2383. 16–19; *ὅπωτ ὦν φανερὸν ἦει, ὅτι τὰν ὁμόνοιαν διαφυλάττι τὰν ἐκ τῶν προγόνων παρδοθεῖσαν ἁ πόλις Ἠγοσθενιτάων πὸτ τὰν πόλιν Σιφείων, δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι·* C 283. 8–11.

The Particle *κα* in Final Clauses.

ὅπως κα and *ὥς κα* occur once each with the Subjunctive: *ὅπως κα κομιττάμενοι τ[. . . . . κ]ὴ λιμένα[ς] διατελίωνθι φίλοι [ἰόντες . . . . δεδόχθαι τοῖ δάμο[ι* 2406. 8–11; *Μογέα δίδωτι τᾷ γυναικὶ δῶρον ὥς χ' ἅδαν πίῃ* 3467 (Dittenberger's text, Kaibel reads *χάδαν*, an adverb).

ὅπως κα is found once with the Optative, in an inscription where the context is unfortunately very imperfectly preserved. The final clause seems to depend on *δεδόχθαι* (after *ἔλεξε* at the beginning of a long decree): . . . . .]*ων, ὅπως κα διαμένοι ἁ φ[ιλία* . . . . . 2406. 18. The nearest preceding verb is a present, [*ἔ*]*χι*.

It will be observed that these purpose clauses, with one exception (that with *ὥς κα*), are found in decrees or resolutions of assembly. It may, therefore, be inferred that *ὅπως* or *ὅπως κα* with the subjunctive was the usual final expression in formal language.[2] And the fact that in the only inscription of a private and personal character containing a purpose clause, *ὡς κα* with the subjunctive is used, may indicate that this form of expression was more common in familiar discourse.

[1] *Cf.* Weber's *Entwickelungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze*, Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, Appendix III p. 398, Meisterhans, *Grammatik*, p. 253.

[2] *ὅπως* alone occurs three times, *ὅπως κα* only once; hence it is probable that Boeotian usage in formal documents differed from the Attic as seen in the Attic inscriptions (*v.* Meisterhans, p. 253), where *ὅπως ἄν* with the subjunctive is almost the only final expression in the Classical Period.

In the single instance in which ὅπως κα with the optative is found in a purpose clause, although the context is not clearly preserved, the clause appears to depend on a primary tense (*v. supra*). Hence, the optative with κα must here have a potential as well as a final force.

For this somewhat rare final potential optative, *cf.* Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, 329, 330.

B. Object Clauses with ὅπως after Verbs of Effort or Care.

Object Clauses with ὅπως are found after ἐπιμέλεσθαι and take the Subjunctive. The negative is μεί. The Future Indicative after ὅπως does not occur. οὗτ[ως δ]ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν κὴ [ἐπι]μέλεσθαι [ὅ]πως βεβεία εἶ αὐ[το]ῖς ἁ ἐλευθερία, καθὰ Εὔτυχος ἀπ . . οει, ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον 1780. 14–18.

εἶ (subjunctive, = ἢ) is the reading of Meister and Dittenberger. In the text of the inscription stands εἰη, defended by Larfeld as a form drawn from the κοινή. As the final clause depends on an infinitive with imperative meaning and therefore future, the optative, εἰη, seems inadmissible, unless it could be explained as due to the influence of the verb in the clause introduced by καθά, which is presumably in a secondary tense.

ἐπιμέλεσθαι—ὅπως μεὶ ἀδικίωνθη 3392. 6–7.

II. Conditional Sentences.

5. The only form of conditional sentence found in these inscriptions is the Future Condition of the more vivid form. The protasis is introduced by ἢ δέ κα (=αἰ δέ κα) and has the Subjunctive, the apodosis has usually the Imperative, sometimes the Future Indicative with an imperative meaning. Negative conditions are introduced by ἢ δέ κα μεί or, in one case, apparently, by μεί alone. ἢ δέ κα ἔτι δώει Ἀθανοδώρα, εἶσι Ἀνδρικὸς φόρον . . . . ἢ δέ τί κα πάθει Ἀθανοδώρα, παρμενῖ Ἀνδρικὸς τὸν περιττὸν χρόνον πὰρ Δωΐλον, ἔπιτα ἰ[α]ρὸς ἔστω 3083. 13–20; ἢ δέ κά τις [πράττει]τη τὸ ἐννόμιον Εὔβωλον, ὀφειλέτ[ω ἁ πό]λις . . . . . κὴ τόκον φερέτω . . . . . κὴ ἔμπρακτος ἔστω, κτλ. C 298. 48–55; εἰ δέ κα γεννάσει Σουρίνα ἔτι ζώσας Παρθένας, ἔστω τὸ γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον 3377. 11–12; . . . κα ἐπιγράψει (context lost) 3054. 12; ἢ δέ κα μεὶ ἀποδώει ἁ πόλις Νικαρέτη τὸ ἀργούριον ἐν τῦ γεγραμμένυ χρόνυ, . . . ἀποδότω τὰν σούγγραφον κὴ τὰς ὑπεραμερίας, κτλ. C 295. 154–159; (ἢ δέ κα) μεὶ ἐθέλει ⁞κ[ομί]δδ[ε]σθη Νικαρέτα τὸ ἀργούριον, ἀποδότω Fιφιάδας τὰν σούγγραφον . . . . κὴ ποταποτισάτω Νικαρέτα τῆ πόλι . . . . κὴ τὴ ὑπεραμερίη ἄκουρύ νυ ἔνθω C 295. 159–165.

ἡ δέ κα has here been omitted either through the carelessness of scribe or stone-cutter or because it can be supplied from *ἡ δέ κα μεὶ ἀποδώει ἁ πόλις*, a few lines above. The omission is the more remarkable on account of the length of the preceding sentence. It can hardly be supposed that *μεί* alone was ever used as a negative conditional particle, although such a use might conceivably have been developed from a primitive paratactic construction: Let N. refuse to receive the money, then W. shall return the note.

[*ἢ δέ κα*] *μεὶ διαγράψει . . . . ἀπο*[*τισάτω*] *διπλασίαν* 3173. 2–3; *ἢ δέ κά τις ἐμβὰς . . . . . ἐγγύως δύο ἀξιο*]*χρεΐας καθιστάει, ἐς ἀρχᾶς ἐμβάσι ἁ* [*ἀρχὰ ἄλλον, τὸν δὲ προτηνὶ ἐμβ*]*άντα ἐν τὸ λεύκωμα ἐσγράψι* 1739. 9–11; *ἢ δέ κά τις ἐφάπτειτη, κύριος ἔστω ὁ ἰαρεὺς, κτλ.* 3200. 11–12; *ἢ δέ κά τις καταδουλίδδε*(*ι*)*τη εἰ ἐφάπτειτη, ... κὴ τὸ*] *σούνεδρυ δαμιώνθω τὸν ἀδικίοντα* 3198. 4–7; 3199. 11–13; 3201. 8-9; 3203. 9–10; (*cf.* 3204); *ἢ δέ κά τις ἀντιποιεῖτη Ἀθάνωνος εἰ ἄλλο τι ἀδικ*[*εῖ κ*]*αθ' ὅντινα ὧν τρόπον, οὐπερδικιύνθω κὴ προϊστάνθω τύ τε ἰαρεῖες, κτλ.* 3080. 4–5; so 3081. 4–6.

In one conditional sentence, the protasis is introduced by *κ ἤ κ ά τ ι ν α* (by crasis, for *κ ἠ ἤ κ ά τ ι ν α*): *Ἀπογράφεσθη δὲ Εὔβωλον κὰτ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον πὰρ τὸν ταμίαν κὴ τὸν νομώναν τά τε καύματα τῶν προβάτων κὴ τᾶν ἠγῶν κὴ τᾶν βουῶν κὴ τᾶν ἵππων κἤ κά τινα ἄσαμα ἴωνθι κὴ τὸ πλεῖθος·* C 298. 41–46 (a general condition in future time). The apodosis is here formed by the infinitive with imperative force.

III. Conditional Relative Sentences.

6. The conditional relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronouns *ὅ ς*, *ὅ σ τ ι ς*, and *ὁ π ό τ τ ο ς* and the relative adverbs of time *ἐ π ί* (= *ἐ π ε ί*) and *ἄ ω ς*. They nearly all belong to the class of more vivid Future Conditions and have in the relative clause the relative with *κ α* and the Subjunctive, and in the principal clause the Imperative or some equivalent expression: *Σούγγραφον δὲ γράψασθη τῶ ἀργουρίω τὼς . . . . . πολεμάρχω*ς *Ἐρχομενίων κὴ ἐγγούως, ὥς κα δοκιμάδδη*[1] *Νικαρέτα* C 295. 142–146; *ἐγγύων ἐναντί*]*ον δυοῖν, ὥστινάς κα ἁ ἀρχὰ* [*δ*]*οκιμάδδει* 1739. 7; *παρμείνασαν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅστις κα μετ' Εὐβοΐσκον ἄρχει* 3391. 6–7;[2] *ὅστις δέ κα . . . ἐπιμελειθείει τῶ ναῶ, τὸν στέφανον ὕσετη* 4136. 6–8; *κὴ ὅστις* [*μ*]*εὶ . . . ἀντίθε*[*ιτι . . .*] . . . . *γραφέμεν αὐτ*[*ὸν*] *ἐν τρία τάλαντα* 3055. 5–7; *δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι· ὁπόττοι κα παργινύωνθη Σιφείων ἐν τὰς κοινὰς*

[1] Dittenberger: *δοκιμάδδ*[*ει*] 3172. 68.

[2] The participle *παρμείνασαν*, expressing a proviso, has an implied imperative force. *Cf.* § 15. 4. e).

θυσίας, ἃς δαίζοι ἁ πό[λ]ις, ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς πολίτης· C 283. 11–14 (a future general condition); *δεδόχθη τῦ δάμυ· τὼς πολεμάρχως, ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα κούριον γένειτη, ἀγγράψη ἐν στάλαν λιθίναν, κτλ.* C 295. 28–30; *τοὶ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα κου-[ρ]ωθείει, ἀγγραφάνθω* C 283. 14–15; *ἐπὶ δέ κα [τ]ελευτάσει Ἴθων, ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν Ἀ[π]ολλοδώραν κὴ ἀν[έ]παφον, κὴ νεμέμε[ν πρ]οστάταν Ἀπο[λλοδώραν ὄ]ν κα [θέλει]* 1778. 4–10; *ἐπὶ δέ κα κυμίδ[δει]τη*[1] *Νικαρέτα τὸ ἀργούριον πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος, ἐσλιανάτω Νικαρέτα τὰς ὑπερ-αμερίας* C 295. 148–151; *ἐπὶ δέ κα τελευτάσει Εὔτυχος, ἀπ[ο]κα-ρυξάτω ἐπὶ τῶ μνάματος Ἐπίτιμος, κτλ.* 1780. 18–21; *κὴ ὥσοι] κα [μ]ῖον εὕρει, τὸμ προτηνὶ ἐμβάντα ἐν τὸ [λεύκωμα ἐσγράψι* 1739. 14; *ἐπιδεὶ παργενομένας Νικαρέτας Θίωνος Θεισπικᾶ[ς κ]ὴ πραττώσας τὸ δάνειον τὰν πόλιν . . . [ἀνά]γκασ[θε]ν τὸ πολέμαρχυ κὴ ὁ ταμίας συγχω-ρείσαντος τῶ δάμω δόμεν [τ]ὰ πά[ντα] κὰτ τὰν σύγγραφον, (ὁ)πόττη ὑπάρχωση ὑπε[ρ]αμερίη ἐ[ντί, τ]ᾶν κα ἐνενιχθεῖ ἁ ἀνφορὰ ἐν οὔτο, ... δεδόχθη τῦ δάμυ·* C 295. 43–51.

The text in this passage is doubtful. Dittenberger reads: *δόμεν [κ]ατ' αὐ[τὺ] αὐ[τῶ]ν σούνγραφον ποτ τῆ ὑπαρχώση ὑπε[ρα]μερίη, ἐ[ν τ]άν κα ἐνενιχθεῖ ἁ ἀνφορὰ ἐν οὔτο* 3172. 148–150. But *ὑπεραμερία* is not used elsewhere in the singular.

7. Simple present relative clauses are: . . . . .]*όπόττα παρκέκλειτε αὐ[τὸν ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθανήων* 2406. 12, where the conclusion is uncertain; and the conventional phrases: *τἄλλα πάντα ὁπόττα κὴ τῦς ἄλλυς προξένυς*, 522. 19–20 (in a Proxeny Decree, for the usual *καθάπερ τῦς ἄλλυς, sc. γέγραπτη εἶμεν*, depending on the infinitive with imperative force), *κὴ τὰ ἄλλα ὁπόττα [κ]ὴ τῦς ἄλλυς* 3167. 14–15.

8. In the following sentence there is an apparent anomaly, in having a Present Indicative as the conclusion of a more vivid Future Condition: *ἐ[π]ὶ δέ [τί] κα πάθει Εὔτυχος, πα[ρακατα]τίθεται οὗτα τὰ σώ[μ]α[τα] ἐναντία τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ παρὰ [Ἐ]πίτιμον Σαμίχω κ[ὴ] Σάμιχον [κὴ] Καλλικράτην Ἐπιτίμ[ω]· οὕτ[ως δ]ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν κὴ [ἐπι]μέλεσθαι, κτλ.* 1780. 10–16.

This is to be explained by the reference to the future which was, by custom, implicit in such present indicatives as *παρακατατίθεται*. The slaves to be manumitted are *now* entrusted to Epitimus, *etc.*, in order that when Eutychus dies, they *shall* be free. *Cf.* § 12. 2.

9. Clauses introduced by the particles *ἄως* or *ἀς* (=*ἕως*), and *ἔττε* (=*ἔστε*) present no peculiarities of construction, as

[1] Dittenberger: *κομίττε[ι]τη* 3172. 71–72.

the particles do not occur in the sense 'until,' (except once ἕως), and in the sense 'so long as' are construed like ordinary conditional relatives. The examples are all of the more vivid future form of condition, with a conclusion formed usually by a Participle having the force of an Imperative: *Εὐανδρίδας Πασικρίτα Δωπύραν Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθείᾳ (sc. ἀντίθεντι) ἰαρὰν εἶμεν πα[ρ]μείνασαν ἄως κα δώωνθι Εὐανδρίδας κὴ Πασικρίτα* 2228. 4–6; *ἀντίθειτι ἰαρὰν . . . . Ἀφροδιτίαν . . . . . παραμείνασαν ἀσαυτῦ κὴ τᾶ γυν[ηκ]ὶ . . . ἃς κα ζώωνθι* 3303. 4. So *ἃς κ[α] ζώει* 3314. 3–4; *ἄως κ[α] ζώωνθι* 3315. 5–6; *ἃς κα ζώει* 3348. 4; *ἃς κα ζῶνθι* 3352. 6; [. . . . *ἄως*] *κα δώει, κὴ [κούριον] εἶμεν Ἤθων[α Ἀπ]ωλλοδώρας ἄ[ως κ]α δ[ώ]ει* 1778. 1–4. ἔττε, 'so long as,' occurs once with καν and the Subjunctive, after a present infinitive with ὥστε following a past tense: ἔττε καν δώει 3054. 7.

ἕως meaning 'until.'

10. ἕως in the sense 'until' occurs once with κα and the Subjunctive in a clause depending on a Participle, after *ἀντίθειτι*, with the force of an Imperative. Expectation is implied. *Εὐθιούδαμος . . . . [ἀντίθειτι] . . . . ἕως κα γαμείσει.* 3343. 4.

11. One conditional relative clause is of the less vivid future form, having the Optative in the condition, which is dependent upon another conditional relative clause: *ὁπόττοι κα παργινώνθη Σιφείων ἐν τὰς κοινὰς θυσίας, ἃς δαίζοι ἁ πό[λ]ις, ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς πολίτης·* C 283. 11–14.

General Conditional Relative Sentence in Present Time.

12. Of general conditional relative sentences there is one example, having in the relative clause κα with the Subjunctive and in the apodosis the Present Indicative: *ἐν πρωεδρίαν [κ]αλῖ ἁ πόλις Ἠγοσθενιτάων ὁπόττοι κα παρί[ω]νθι Σιφείων* C 283. 3–5.

§14. The Infinitive.

A. The Infinitive in Indirect Discourse.

1. This construction occurs only in the following formula, in the heading of decrees: *ὁ δεῖνα ἔλεξε· προβεβωλευμένον εἶμεν αὐτῦ ποτ τὸν δᾶμον·* 522. 6–8; C 283. 1–2; C 295. 9–11; 512. 3; 1728. 1–2; 1730. 4–5; 2848. 2; 2849. 2–3 (all *c.* 230–150 B. C.).

The whole expression, *προβεβωλευμένον—δᾶμον* is often omitted, and *ὁ δεῖνα ἔλεξε* alone is used, followed directly by the infinitive with imperative force, *δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι*; so regularly in the Proxeny Decrees of Tanagra.

B. The Infinitive not in Indirect Discourse.

2. As object, the Infinitive is used with verbs which imply *will, power*, and the like: (*ἢ δέ κα*) *μὴ ἐθέλει κ*[*υμί*]*δδ*[*ε*]*σθη* C 295. 159–160; [*ἀνά*]*γκασ*[*θε*]*ν . . . δόμεν . . . . κ*[*ὴ*] *κομίττ*[*η*] C 295. 46–50; *ἐπεψαφίττατο ὁ δᾶμος ἀποδόμεν Νικαρέτη Θίωνος τὸν ταμίαν . . . ὃ ἐπίθωσε αὐτὰν ἁ πόλις . . . . κὴ τὼς πολεμάρχως ἀνελέσθη . . . κὴ . . . διαγράψασθη . . .* C 295. 11–22; *ὅπως ἔχωνθι . . . ο*[*ὗδ*]*ατι χρειεῖσθη* [*πο*]*τίμυ* 3169. 8.

3. As subject, the Infinitive is found chiefly with the impersonal verb *δοκεῖ*, in the form *δεδόχθη*, 'be it resolved,' in decrees of assembly: *δεδόχθη τῦ δάμυ . . . . κατασκευάττη κ*[*ράναν*] 3169. 6–9. So probably: *ἠρῖσ*[*θη . . . .*] *. . . ἐν τῆς ἀρχηρεσίης σιτώ*[*νας . . .* 1719. 7–8 (*cf.* *ἐν τῦ*] *δόγματι* [*γέ*]*γραπτη ibid.* l. 10). *δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι· ὁπόττοι κα παργινύωνθη Σιφείων ἐν τὰς κοινὰς θυσίας, ἃς δαίζοι ἁ πό*[*λ*]*ις, ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς πολίτης·* C 283. 11–14. So in the regular forms of the numerous Proxeny Decrees: *δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι Σωσίβιον Διοσκορίδαυ Ἀλεξανδρεῖα πρόξενον εἶμεν κὴ εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος Ἐρχομενίων κὴ εἰ*[*μ*]*εν αὐτῦ γᾶς κὴ Fυκίας ἔππασιν, κτλ.* 508. 3–6; 504. 2–3; 505. 3–5; 506. 3–4; *etc.*, 2708. 2–3; 3287. 3. So, apparently, also with the impersonal verb *δεῖ*: *δεκάταν δὲ οἴσουθι τοὶ ἐμ*[*βάντες . . .*] *δεῖ* [*ε*]*ἰ Βοιωτῶν φερέμεν εἰ ἐπὶ πόλιος* 1739. 16; and with *ἔσσεστι* (*ἔξεστι*): *μὴ ἐσσεῖμεν δὲ καταδουλίττασθη Ἀνδρικὸν μειθενί* 3083. 21–23; 3198. 3–4; 3201. 7–8; 3199. 11; 3200. 9–11; 3203. 7–9; 3204. 12–14; 2228. 7–8.

4. The Infinitive is used (as an indirect object) to express purpose, after *ἀντίθειμι*, 'dedicate': *Φιλέτηρος Ἀττάλω Περγαμεὺς ἀνέθεικε τὰν γᾶν τᾶς Μώσης τᾶς Ἑλικωνιάδεσσι ἰαρὰν εἶμεν ἐν τὸν πάντα χρόνον* 1788, 1789 (*cf.* 1790), *ἀντίθεντι τὼς Fιδίως Fυκέτας Συῦρον κὴ Συυρ*[*ί*]*ναν ἰαρὼς εἶμεν* 3201. 5–6; and so frequently in the Manumission inscriptions, 3198. 3; 3080. 1–3; 3081; 3083; 1781. 1–4. Once the infinitive is so used without *ἀντίθειμι* or any main verb expressed: *Εὐανδρίδας Πασικρίτα Δωπύραν Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθείᾳ ἰαρὰν εἶμεν . . . .* 2228. 2–4.

5. The Infinitive is found once with *ὥστε*: *κὴ αὐτὸς* [*Fαναξίων συυνεχώρει*]*σε ὥστε λάδδυυσθη* 3054. 6.

The absence of a complete context makes it impossible to determine the exact force of *ὥστε* and the infinitive here.

6. The Infinitive, with subject-accusative, is used with the force of an Imperative of the third person, especially in decrees or other public documents. So most frequently with the formula

δεδόχθη, 'be it resolved': *δεδόχθη τῆ βωλῆ* 3287. 2; *δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι* C 283. 11; 504. 2; 505. 2–3; 506. 2–3, and regularly in the Proxeny Decrees of Tanagra, *etc.*; *δεδόχθη τῦς συνέδρυς κὴ τῦ δά[μυ]* 2708. 2. *ἀποδόμεν τὰν πόλιν 'Ερχομενίων Νικαρέτη . . . . δραχμὰς μυυρίας, κτλ. Συύγγραφυν δὲ γράψασθη τῶ ἀργυυρίω τὼς * * πολεμάρχως . . . κὴ θέσθη μεσέγγ[υ]ον πὰρ Γιφιάδαν . . .* C 295. 133–148.

These infinitives may be somewhat influenced also by the substantive *ὁμολογία* in the title of the document: *ὁμολο[γί]α Νικαρέτη . . . κὴ τῆ πόλι 'Ερχομεν[ί]ων· ibid.* l. 124 *sqq.* In the remaining clauses of the contract the imperative is used: *'Επὶ δέ κα κομίδ[δει]τη Νικαρέτα τὸ ἀργούριον πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος, ἐσλιανάτω Νικαρέτα, κτλ. ibid.* l. 148 *sqq.*

τὸν δὲ ταμίαν] *ἀγγράψη τὸ ψάφισμα* 2849. 14; *διαγράψη τὰς ὑπερ[α-μ]ερίας* C 295. 75–76; *ἄρχει[ν] ὃ' [α]ὐτὰ . . . .* 1739 *ad fin.*; *κὴ ὕστις [μ]ὲι καταβεβάων ἀντίθε[ιτι . . .] . . . . γραφέμεν αὐτ[ὸν] ἐν τρία τάλαντα* 3055. 5–7; C 298. 36–37, 41–42.

This construction occurs frequently in the provisions of Manumission inscriptions, as *ἀντίθε]ντι τὸν Φίδιον Φυκέταν 'Απολλώνιον ἰαρὸν εἶμεν . . . κὴ μὲι ἐσσεῖμεν μειθενὶ καταδουλίττασθη, κτλ.* 3198. 3–5; 3201. 7; and so regularly in the Manumission inscriptions of Orchomenus, 3198–3204; *μὲι ἐσσεῖμεν δὲ ἀδικεῖση μειθενί* (at the end of a Manumission inscription which has no main verb) 2228. 7–8; *μὲι ἐσσεῖμεν δὲ καταδουλίττασθη 'Ανδρικὸν μειθενί, 'Ανδρικὸν δὲ λειτωργῖμεν ἐν τῆς θυσίης* 3083. 21–25; *εἶμεν δὲ [αὐ]τοῖς πανελευ-θερίαν* 1780. 6–7; *κὴ [κούριων] εἶμεν Πθων[α 'Απ]ολλοδώρας ἃ[ως κ]α δ[ώ]ει· ἐπὶ δέ κα [τ]ελευτάσει Πθων, ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν 'Α[π]ολλοδώραν κὴ ἀν[έ]παφον, κὴ νεμέμε[ν πρ]υστάταν 'Απο[λλοδώραν ὃ]ν κα [θέλει]* 1778. 1–10; *πα[ρακατα]τίθεται οὗτα τὰ σώ[μ]α[τα] ἐναντία τῶ 'Ασκλαπιῶ παρὰ ['Ε]πίτιμον Σαμίχω κ[ὴ] Σάμιχον [κὴ] Καλλικράτην 'Επιτίμ[ω]· οὕτ[ως δ]ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν κὴ [ἐπι]μέλεσθαι, κτλ.* 1780. 10–16; *ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ τὸν ἰαρεῖα τῶ Διωνούσω . . . τῶν ἀντε-θε(ι)μένων* 3392. 4–5.

Several examples of the imperative-infinitive occur in the oracle-inscription, n. 4136: *Καλλικλείδας . . . ἀνάγειλε Λεπάδειαν τοῖ Δὶ . . . ἀνθέμεν . . . κὴ 'Αχρήφια τοῖ 'Απόλλωνι . . . κὴ μὲι ἀδεικῖμεν . . . ἀγιρέμεν . . . . καταγγελλέμεν* 4136. 1–6,[1] where the infinitives contain the answers of the god.

[1] Though *ἀνθέμεν* appears to depend on *ἀνάγειλε*, the expression is really elliptical. *V.* M. Holleaux's commentary, *Bull. de corr. hell.* XIV (1890) p. 19, n. 10. Note the contrast between the aorist, *ἀνθέμεν*, of a single act, and the following presents, *ἀγιρέμεν*, *καταγγελλέμεν*, of a process.

§15. The Participle.

A. The Attributive Participle.

1. The Participle is used attributively with substantives with the article: . . . τ]ὰς συναχθείσας τιμὰς . . . 1719. 8; ἁ σταθεῖσα ἀρχὰ ἐ[π]ὶ τὸν . . . 3170. 1; ἐν τῦ γεγραμμένυ χρόνυ C 295. 155; ἐν τοῖ γεγραμμένοι χ[ρόνοι 1739. 12. The Participle more often than otherwise follows the noun. The article is then either placed before the noun and repeated before the Participle or used only with the Participle: ἐν τῦ χρόνυ τῦ γεγραμμένυ C 295. 159 (*cf. supra*); τὰν ὁμόνοιαν . . . τὰν ἐκ τῶν προγόνων παρδοθεῖσαν C 283. 8–10; τὰς συγγράφως τὰς κιμένας πὰρ Εὔφρονα C 298. 6–8 and 18 *sqq.*; τὸ [παιδά]ριον τὸ ἐξ αὐτᾶς 3313. 4; παιδάριυν τὸ γενόμενον αὐτῷ ἐκ τᾶς θρεπτᾶς 3301. 2; φόρυν τὸν ἐν τῇ θείκη γεγραμμένον 3083. 15–16; τε[ὶ ἰα]ράρχη τὸ ἠὶ ἀντιτιωυνχάνοντες 3080. 5–6; τὸ ἰαράρχη τὸ ἠὶ ἔναρχει ἰόντες 3081. 6 (*cf.* 3084. 4–5 and 3085. 8).

2. The Participle with the article is often used substantively: π]οτ τὼς ἀσεβίοντας τὸ ἰαρὸ[ν 2418. 3 (355–346 B. C.); χρείσιμός ἐστι τοῖς ἀὶ δειμένοις 2858. 3–4; τὸς νικώντεσσι 2410. 6; τὸ ἐπιβάλλον 2406. 16; τὸ [θ]ύ[σ]ν[τ]ες ἐ[ν τ]ᾶ Μειλιχίυ 3169. 7–8; τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βειλόμενος 3080. 6; 3081. 6–7; 3198. 6; (*cf.* 3084. 4–5; 3085. 8); τὼς παργινυμένως C 283. 7–8; τὸ ἐπ' [αὐτᾶ]ς ὄντε[ς 1719. 3; δαμιώνθω τὸν ἀδικίοντα 3198. 6–7; κατέβαλε——τὸ γινιύμενον δραχμὰς Fίκατι 3303. 6 (*cf.* 3354. 9; 3344. 5; 3307. 6); τῶν . . . . ἀνηκόν[τω]ν 3059. 11–12; ὁ ἐμβὰ[ς τ]ὰγ γᾶν 1739. 5; τὸμ προτηνὶ ἐμβάντα 1739. 14; δεκάταν δὲ υἱσωνθι τοὶ ἐμ[βάντες 1739. 15; τὸ συνχωρειθὲν τᾶν ὑπερ-αμεριάων C 295. 174–175; τοὶ] καταλειφθέντες ἐν τοῖ Πειρα[εῖι 2406. 2; τὼς] δὲ εἰρεθέντας 1719. 9; τὰ δὲ γεννηθέντα ἐξ αὐτῶν . . . . ἔσστωσαν δοῦλα 3322. 10–11; τοὶ ἀπειλθείν[τες ἐς τῶν] ἐφείβων ἐν τάγμα 1748. 3–4; τ]ῶν ἀπεψαφισμέ[νων 2383. 5; τῶν ἀντεθε(ι)μένων 3392. 6.

3. The Participle is sometimes used substantively even without the article, in both singular and plural: *Θευγίτων Ἰαρ[ί]δαο Τ[ππ]α[ρχ]ος, [F]ιλαρχίοντες Ἀγάθων . . . Πά[γ]ων . . . κτλ.*, τῶν ταραντίνων ἀναγεόμεν(ος) Τ[ι]μοσθένεις Φιλόσωνος (τοῖς Θεοῖς) κὴ τᾶ [πόλι ἀνέθεικαν] 2466. 2–8; [Ξε]νοκρίτω ἄρχο[ντος] [ἀ]πειλθείοντες ἐς [ἐφειβ]ων· Ἀντίγων. . . . 1749. 1–3; Καλλικ[ρ]άτευς ἄρχοντος ἀπειλ[ειλυ]θέωντες ἐς τῶν [ἐ]φεί[β]ων ἐν τάγμα 1756. 1–4; (*cf.* Τιμέου ἄρχοντος ἀπεληλυθότες ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων εἰς τάγμα 1757. 1–2).

B. The Circumstantial Participle.

4. The Circumstantial Participle is found expressing the following relations:

a) Time: *μεινὸς Ἀλαλκομενίω πετράδι ἀπιόντος* 506. 1; 504. 1; 518. 1; *μεινὸς Δαματρίω ὀγδόῃ ἱσταμένω* 507. 1; 509. 1; *μετὰ Θύναρχον ἄρχοντα* C 298. 40–41; *κὴ ὅστις* [*μ*]*ὲι καταβεβάων ἀντίθε*[*ιτι* 3055. 5; *καταβὰ*[*ς . . .*] . . . *ἀνέθεικε* 3055. 8; *καταβὰς . . . ἀνάγειλε* 4136. 1–2; *ἢ δέ κά τις ἐμβὰς τὼς πρωστά*[*τ*]*α*[*ς πίσει* 1739. 9; *χρίως ἀπέδωκα . . . . ἀνελόμενος τὰς συγγράφως* C 298. 3–7, 15–19; *ὅπως κα κομιττάμενοι τ*[*ὰν ἐλευθερίαν . . . .*] . . . *διατελίωνθι, κτλ.* 2406. 8–9; 2849. 5–7.

b) Manner: *Δαμάγειτος Καφισοδώρω ἀντίθειτι τὰς Φιδίας δούλας Ζωΐλαν καὶ Δαμὼν ἰαρὰς τεῖ Σαράπει, τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποϊόμενος διὰ τῶ συνεδρίω κὰτ τὸν νόμον* M 387 (a regular formula in the Manumission inscriptions of Chaeronea, 3301–3406); 3082 *ad fin.*; *τὰν ἀνιάρωσιν ποϊόμενει* 3315. 6; *ἐπιδεὶ . . . .*]*τεις Ξενοκράτιος . . . . ἀνὲιρ φι*]*λόσοφος . . . ἐν τὸ γυμν*]*ασίω σχολάδδων τώς* [*τε ἐφείβως παιδεύων, σεμ*]*νῶς ἀστρέφετη . . .* 2849. 3–7; *πένθος θῆκεν ἀποφθίμενος* 1880. 5–6.

c) Cause or occasion:[1] *Εὐχὰν ἐκκτελέσαντι Διωνύσω Νεομήδης ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε* 1794 (*ante a.* 350); *ἄνδρεσσι χοραγίωντες νικάσαντες Διωνύσοι ἀνεθέταν* 3211. 2; (*οἱ δεῖνα*) *χοραγείσαντες νικάσαντες Διωνύσοι ἀνέθεικαν* 3210. 2; *Ἀλεξὶς Ξενοφίλω ἰαρειάξασα θέμιτι* 1816; *Ἀθανοδώρα . . . ἰαρειάξασα . . . ἐπεσκεύαξε . . . ἀνέθεικε* 2876; *Δάμων Εὐαρίδαω ἄρξας κὴ ἰαρειτεύσας Σαράπι, Ἶσι, Ἀνούβι* 3215. 1–2 (*cf.* 3216); 2475. 1–3 (*cf.* 2474. 1–2); 1834; *Τοὶ ἱππότη . . . . ἀνέθιαν . . . νικάσαντες* 3087. 1–2; *Ἰαρώνυμος, Καλλὶς Κλιηνέτω μναμεῖον νικάσαντος Βασίλεια τὸς θιὸς* 552 (*c.* 350–300 B. C., *cf.* 1819, 1820); *Νέων Φασκώ*[*νδαυ*] *ἀγωνοθετεί*[*σας*] . . . . . *ἀνέθεικε . . . .* 3091. 1–5; *Μνᾶμ' ἐπ' Ὀλιγε*[*ί*]*δαι μ' ὁ πατὴρ* [*ἐ*]*πέθηκε θανό*[*ν*]*τι* 1880 (*ante a.* 350).

d) Purpose: *Εὔδαμος Ὁμολοΐχω ἀντίθειτι τὸν Φίδιον δοῦλον Μελίτωνα ἰαρὸν τεῖ Σαρά*[*πι*], *τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποϊόμενος διὰ τᾶς βωλᾶς* [*κὰ*]*τ τὸν νόμον, μεὶ ποθείκοντ*[*α*] *μειθενὶ μει*[*θέν*] M 392; *Ξένων Ἀρχεδάμω ἀν*[*τίθειτι*] *τὸν Φίδιον δοῦλον Μελίτωνα ἰαρὸν τεῖ Σαράπι, μεὶ ποθίκοντα μειθενὶ, κτλ.* M 393. *Cf.* 3318. 7–9;

[1] This use is confined to inscriptions expressing the occasion of the dedication of monuments. The main verb is sometimes omitted.

3321. 3–4; 3326. 6–7; 3328. 6–7; 3329. 7–8; 3345. 3; 3349. 5–6; 3350. 4; 3357. 7; 3332. 4. So, after *ἀντίθειτι*: *μὲ ποθίκοντα* 3080. 3; *μείτε . . . ποθίκωσαν* 3081. 3.

These participles, being in the present tense, express of themselves only an attendant circumstance, and get from the context a final force. *Cf.* *ἔπιτα ἰ[α]ρὸς ἔστω, μὲ ποθίκων μεθενὶ μεθέν* 3083. 20, where the participle derives from the context an imperative force.

e) Condition. The participle *παραμείναις* is used with conditional force in many Manumission inscriptions; so once the participle *γενόμενος*: (*ὁ δεῖνα*) *ἀντίθειτι ἰαρὰν . . . Ἀφροδιτίαν——παραμείνασαν ἀσαυτῦ κὴ τῆ γου[νηκ]ὶ αὐτῶ Ἀγαθεί[νη] ἄς κα ζώωνθι* 3303. 3–4; *Μηλὶς . . . . ἀνατίθητι τὼς Ϝιδίως δούλως——παραμείναντας αὐτῆ [ἀ]νεγκλείτως ἄς κ[α] ζώει* 3314. 3. So 3315. 5; 3321. 3; 3322. 7–8; 3323. 6; 3324. 3; 3325. 3; 3328. 7; 3331. 8–9 (gen.); 3333. 4–5; 3344. 3; 3348. 4; 3352. 5; 3358. 3; 3412. 2; 2228. 4–6; *Δωίλος Ἰρανήω ἀντίθειτι τὸν Ϝίδιον θεράποντα Ἀνδρικὸν τῦ Δὶ τῦ Βασιλεῖι κὴ τῦ Τρεφωνίυ ἰαρὸν εἶμεν, παρμείναντα πὰρ τὰν ματέρα Ἀθανοδώραν Ϝέτια δέκα, καθὼς ὁ πατεὶρ ποτέταξε·* 3083. 5–13; *εἶμεν δὲ [αὐ]τοῖς πανελευθερίαν παρα[μει]νάντεσι εὐνόως, ἀνε[γ]κλείτο[ις] γ[ε]νομένοις, κτλ.* 1780. 6–9.

In 2872. 5–6, an inscription of Coronea, we find the corresponding imperative form: *παραμεινά [τω] δὲ αὐτοῖς ἕως [ἂν ζῶσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε] εἶναι ἐλείθερ[ο]ν. Cf. ἢ δέ τι κα πάθει Ἀθανοδώρα, παρμενῖ Ἀνδρώνικος τὸν περιττὸν χρόνον πὰρ Δωίλον· [ἔ]πιτα ἰαρὸς ἔστω, κτλ.* 3083. 16–20.

f) Any Attendant Circumstance, the participle being simply descriptive.

In two inscriptions of Thebes, containing lists of votive offerings, the participle *ἔχων* is used merely in the sense of 'with': *Σκόπας ἴασπιν ἔχωσαν χρυσίδιων διὰ μέττω, sc. ἀνέθεικε,* 2420. 19–20; *Ταρα]ντῖνον [ῥάμ]ματ' ἔχον* 2421. 4; *Ἀριστὼ Ταραντῖνον πα[ρπόρφυρον, ῥά]μματ' ἔχο[ν] ibid.* ll. 4–5, 7–10; *ἀνεὶρ φι]λόσοφος παρεπιδαμίων [ἐν τῆ πόλι . . . .* 2849. 4–5. Unclassified: *[Δ]άματρο[ς] τόδ' ἄγαλμ' ' [[ἐ]νθάδε γ[ᾶ]ς, ὁράοντι σε[[ ]εισάμενος ϙυδάδας κα[* 1670 (*ante a.* 350). Circumstantial participles combined: *ἐπιδεὶ . . . .]τεις Ξενοκράτιος Μακε[δὼν ἐς . . . . ἀνεὶρ φι]λόσοφος παρεπιδαμίων [ἐν τῆ πόλι, τὰς ἐπιδίξι]ς ποιεισάμενος εὐδό[ξως κὴ εὐπρεπῶς, ἐν τῦ γυμν]ασίυ σχολάδδων τώς [τε ἐφείβως παιδεύων, σεμ]νῶς ἀστρέφετη . . . .* 2849. 3–7.

The Participle with Case Absolute.
Genitive Absolute.

5. The Genitive Absolute occurs frequently, chiefly in certain fixed phrases in decrees or other documents. Such are:

1) *τῶ δεῖνα ἄρχοντος. Ἀριστίωνος ἄρχοντος* 2418. 5; *Νικολάω ἄρχοντος ibid.* l. 16; [*Ἀ*]*γεισινίκω ἄρχοντος ibid.* l. 20 (355–346 B.C.); 2526 (*ante a.* 350); *Εὐμείλω ἄρχοντος Ἐπικουδείω Κορωνέως* 2724. 1 (*c. a.* 315); *Εἰρίαο ἄρχοντος* 505. 1; 506. 1, and regularly at the beginning of the Proxeny Decrees of Tanagra, 504–531; 2809–2832 (*c.* 250–200 B.C.); 2781–2789; 2715–2721; 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3178, 3180, 3181, *etc.* But *ἄρχοντος Σαμίαο* 3207 (after a dedication), 3208. So *Διὸς Ἐλευθερίω*<*ι*>. *Ἐπιτέλεος ἄρχοντος* 2464 (late).

2) *γραμματεύοντος τῶ δεῖνα*, or the like, in giving names of officers. *ἀφεδριατευόντων Μελάνιος Νικοκλεῖος Ἐρχομενίω*, *κτλ.* (6 other names in the genitive), *γραμματεύοντος Διοκλεῖος* 3207; *πολεμαρχιόντων Δαμοξένω Προππίδαο, Καλονίκω Κλισθείνιος, Πολιουχάριος Δαμοχαρίδαο, γραμματίδδοντος Προππίδαο Δαρ(ο)ξείνω* 2813. 3–6. Same formula in 2809–2832, 2781–2789, 2715–2720.

3) *παριόντος . . . τῶ δεῖνα*, in Manumission inscriptions. *π*]*αριόντος Ἀριστο*[*κλεῖι κ*]*ὴ τῶ ουἱῶ Καλλι*[*κράτ*]*ιος κὴ συνευδο*[*κίον*]*τος* 3309. 8–11; *παρι*[*ό*]*ντος αὐτῆ φίλων* 3329. 3–4; 3317. 2–3; 3381. 2; *συνευδοκιόντων κὴ τῶν ουἱῶν* 3301. 4.

4) *κὴ πολέμω κὴ ἰράνας ἰώσας* 504. 4; 505. 6; 506. 5–6; 507. 5, and regularly in Proxeny Decrees of Tanagra. Same formula, 3166. 8; 2407. 10–11; 2848. 7–8; 2849. 11–12; 2863. 3; *κὴ*] *ἰράνας ἰώσα*[*ς κὴ πολέμω* 2861. 6; *κὴ πολέμω ἰόντος κὴ εἰράνας* 280. 6–7; 2862. 3; 4259. 10–11; *κὴ πολέμω*] *κὴ ἰράνας*, [*κὴ κατὰ . . .* 2869. 5 (*cf.* § 9. 23. b)).

6. Besides in these phrases, the Genitive Absolute is occasionally found expressing the various relations of the Circumstantial Participle, as Time: *εἰ δέ κα γεννάσει Σουρίνα ἔτι ζώσας Παρθένας, ἔστω . . .* 3377. 12; *ἐπιδεὶ ἐπιθεμένω τῶ δά*[*μω . . . .* 2406. 1. Cause or occasion: *ἀ*]*πήνιξεν* [*Μ*]*όσ*[*χ*]*ος τῶν πολεμάρχων ποττταξάντων* 1737. 12 and 14; *τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθειαν Βοιωτοὶ μαντευσαμένω τῶ θεῶ καὶ ἀποδόντος τὰν ἀγαθὰν μαντείαν* 2724. 2–3; *ἐπιδεὶ ἐπεψαφίττατο ὁ δᾶμος . . . . κὴ οὗτα Ϝεϝυκονομεύντων τῶν*

πολεμάρχων κὴ τῶ ταμίαω ἀποδόντος τὰ χρείματα . . . . δεδόχθη τὸ δάμω· C 295. 11–28; Ὅρια Κ[ω]πήων ποτ' Ἀχρηιφεῖα[ς], ὁριττ[ά]ντων Βοιω[τῶν] 2792; 2383. 10–14.

Omission of ὄντος.

7. The Participle ὄντος (ἰόντος) is omitted in the Genitive Absolute in the phrase τῶ δεῖνα ἀρχῶ, which is regularly used in those Manumission inscriptions of Chaeronea that are written in the Boeotian dialect: Μενεβώλω ἀρχῶ 3301. 1. So 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3309, 3314, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3329, 3349, 3350, 3352, 3356, 3365, 3377, 3379, 3381, 3386, 3398.

In the inscriptions of Chaeronea written in the common dialect,[1] we find usually ἀρχοντος τοῦ δεῖνα; and this form occurs in two of the inscriptions in the Boeotian dialect, 3346 and 3355. The form τοῦ δεῖνα (τῶ δεῖνα) ἀρχοντος occurs in four inscriptions in the κοινή, 3332, 3345, 3382, 3412, and in three in the Boeotian, 3313, 3315, 3348. The phrase τῶ δεῖνα ἀρχῶ does not occur elsewhere in the Boeotian inscriptions except in those of Chaeronea. In the remaining inscriptions, τῶ δεῖνα ἀρχοντος is commonly employed, occasionally ἀρχοντος τῶ δεῖνα. *Cf. supra* 5. 1).

8. Ὄντος is also omitted in an inscription of Acraephia, in the phrase Ὀνυμάστω Νικολαΐω Θεισπιεῖος μάντιος 2724 *ad fin.*

In the other inscriptions in which the name of the μάντις is given, 2723, 2724a, 2724b, μαντενομένω is used: μαντενομένω Ὀνυμάστω, κτλ. 2724a *ad fin.*

C. The Supplementary Participle.

I. Not in Indirect Discourse.

9. The Supplementary Participle, not in indirect discourse, is found with εἰμί, 'am,' διατελέω, 'continue,' and with κούριός εἰμι, 'am authorized': ἐπιδὴ ἔστι τᾶ πόλι Σιφείων προ[υ]πάρχωσα εὔνοια ἐκ προγόνων C 283. 2–3 (*cf.* C 295. 48–49 and § 13. 6 *ad fin.*); ἐπιδεὶ] Θεόμναστος εὔνους ἐὼν διατε[λ]εῖ τοῖ κοινοῖ Βοιωτῶν 280. 1–3; εὐχ[ρ]εισ[ν] διατελ[εῖ] 2383. 15–18; κούριος ἔστω ὁ ἰαρεὺς κὴ τὸ ἰαράρχη κὴ τὸ σούνεδρυ συλλῶντες κὴ δαμιώοντες 3200. 13–14 (so regularly in the Manumission inscriptions of Orchomenus, 3198–3204).

II. In Indirect Discourse.

10. The Supplementary Participle, in indirect discourse, is found after verbs of *appearing* and *proclaiming*, the tense of the Participle representing the tense of the Indicative in the direct

[1] 3310, 3312, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3328, *etc.*

discourse: *ὅπως ὢν κὴ ἁ πόλις φήνε[ιτη] εὐχάρι[στο]ς ἐῶσα κὴ [τιμ]ήωσα [π]ά[ντας τὼς . . . .] ἀγαθόν [τι ποιέω]ντας αὐτά[ν* 2383. 16–18; *ἀπ[ο]καρυξάτω . . . Ἐπίτιμος κὴ Σάμιχος κὴ Καλλικράτης ἐλεύθερα [οὖτ]α τὰ σώ[μ]ατα ἀφιέντα Εὔτυχον κατ [τ]ὰν στάλαν τὰν ἐν Ἀσκλαπ[ιεί]ωι* 1780. 19–25.

Note. The present participle *ἀφιέντα*, after *ἀποκαρυξάτω*, represents the perpetual present of the direct discourse: *Εὔτυχος ἀφίειτι*. *V.* § 12. 2.

§ 16. Negatives.

1. The negative particle *οὐ* does not occur.[1] *οὔτ' . . . . οὐθέν* occur once as simple negatives of fact, 3171. 33. *οὔτε* once again, where the context is fragmentary, 1739. 16–18.

2. The negative particle *μεί* is used to express a negation as willed or thought of. It is found—

A. with the Subjunctive: (1) in final clauses: *ἐπιμέλεσθαι ——ὅπως μὴ ἀδικίωνθη* 3392. 6–7. (2) in conditional clauses: *ἢ δέ κα μὴ ἀποδώσει ἁ πόλις . . .* C 295. 154; (*ἢ δέ κα*) *μὴ ἐθέλει . . .* C 295. 159;[2] [*ἢ δέ κα*] *μὴ διαγράψει . . .* 3173. 2. (3) in conditional relative clauses: *κὴ ὅστις [μ]ὴ καταβεβάων ἀντίθε[ιτι . . .* 3055. 5.

B. with the Infinitive: *μὴ ἐσσεῖμεν δὲ ἀδικεῖση* 2228. 7–8. So 3198–3204, 3083. 21–25; *μὴ ἀδικῖμεν μειδένα οὕτως* 4136. 3–4.

C. with the Participle: *μεί* is used with the participle in the phrase occurring in certain decrees of Manumission, *μὴ ποθείκοντα μεὶθενί*, as *Ξένων Ἀρχεδάμω ἀν[τίθειτι] τὸν Ϝίδιον δοῦλον Μελίτωνα ἰαρὸν τεῖ Σαράπι, μὴ ποθίκοντα μειθενὶ, κτλ.* M 393.

For other examples, *v.* § 15. 4. d). The participle here takes the negative *μεί* because it expresses the will of the subject of the sentence, though indirectly. *Cf. ἔπιτα ἰ[α]ρὸς ἔστω, μὴ ποθίκων μειθενὶ μειθέν* 3083. 20–21.

D. with the Imperative: *μὴ ἀπογραφέσθω* C 298. 46–47.

3. After a general negative, compound negatives have a strengthening or a distributive force: *μὴ ποθίκοντα μείτε αὐτεῖ*

[1] The absence of *οὐ* is due to the fact that the inscriptions, being mainly composed of decrees, dedications, legal documents, *etc.* (*v.* List of Inscriptions classified according to subject matter), have occasion for the negative of *will*, rather than that of *fact*. *οὐκ* is read by Dittenberger in 2383. 10 and 12.

[2] For the use of *μεί* in this sentence, *v.* § 13. 5.

Σάωνι μείτε ἄλλει [*μ*]*ειθενὶ κατὰ μειθένα τρόπον* 3080. 3–4; *μὲι ἀδικῖμεν μειδένα οὕτως* 4136. 3–4; 3198–3204.

4. As negative conjunctions, *μειδέ* and, with correlative force, *μείτε——μείτε* are found: *μὲι ἐξεῖμεν μειθενὶ ἐφάπτεστη μειδὲ καταδουλίτταστη* 3201. 7; 3198–3204. *μείτε* may be twice repeated, thus connecting three members of a sentence: *μείτε Φιλλῷ ποθίκωσαν μείτε τῦς κλαρονόμυς αὐτᾶς μείτε ἄλλει μειθενὶ κατὰ μειδένα τρόπον* 3081. 3–4 (*cf.* 3080. 3–4 *supra*).

5. To connect a negative phrase with other parts of the sentence, not negatived, *κὴ μείι* and *μὲ . . . δέ* are used: *ἀντίθε*]*ντι τὸν Fίδιον Fυκέταν . . . ἰαρὸν εἶμεν . . . κὴ μὲ ἐσσεῖμεν μειθενὶ* 3198. 3. So in 3199–3204; (*cf.* 4136. 1–4). *μὲ ἐσσεῖμεν δὲ ἀδικεῖσι μειθενί* 2228. 7–8. After *μὲ . . . δέ*, the positive part of the sentence may be resumed with *δέ*, as in 3083. 21–25: *μὲ ἐσσεῖμεν δὲ καταδουλίττασθη Ἀνδρικὸν μειθενί, Ἀνδρικὸν δὲ λειτωργῖμεν ἐν τᾶς θυσίας*. So also after *κὴ μείι,——κὴ μὲ ἀδικῖμεν μειδένα οὕτως. οὕτως* [*δ*]*ὲ ἀγιρέμεν, κτλ.* 4136. 3–4.

§17. Conjunctions.

Asyndeton.

1. In conventional or legal language the conjunctions connecting two or more names may be omitted, as *Πτωΐων, Μάστος τοῖ Ἰσμεινίοι ἀνέθεαν* 2455 (6th cent.?); *Εὐανδρίδας Πασικρίτα Δωπύραν Ἀρτάμιδι* 2228. 2–5 (*cf. ἄως κα δώωνθι Εὐανδρίδας κὴ Πασικρίτα ibid.* ll. 5–6). In the Proxeny Decrees usage varies. Compare *προξένως εἶμεν . . . . Φιλοκράτην Ζωΐλω, Θηραμένην Δαματρίω, Ἀπολλοφάνην Ἀθανοδότω* 518. 3–5 (so 523, three names, and 1728, four names) and 1722. 3–4 (three names connected by *κή*'s), 513. 3–4 and 519. 5–6 (two names with *κή*), 1665. 1. *Cf.* 3372. 4–5 and 3376. 17 (*κοινή*).

2. In lists of objects dedicated, asyndeton occurs, especially if they are many, as *Ὠκυθόα ἀστραγάλως πέτταρας, στρόβιλον, μάστιγα, δαΐδα, ἀργούρια* 2420. 21–23; 2421. 6–7 (*cf. . . . μανος κὴ Μένανδρος χειριπέδας κὴ πεδίσκας* [*ἀρ*]*γουρίας* 2420. 26–28, 19–21).

Polysyndeton.

3. An accumulation of *κή*'s is found in the Proxeny Decrees, as *κὴ εἶμεν αὐτῦς γᾶς κὴ Fυ*[*κίας ἔππα*]*σιν κὴ Fισοτέλιαν κὴ ἀσφάλιαν κὴ ἀσυλίαν κὴ πολέμω* [*κὴ ἰράνας ἰ*]*ώσας κὴ κατὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θάλατταν, κὴ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα . . .* 531. 4 *sqq.* (*cf.* 3201).

A. Coördinating Conjunctions.

I. Copulative Conjunctions.

1. *κή* (*καί*) in its ordinary connective use, *exempla passim*, *e. g.* n. 4136. *κή* is also used often to emphasize particular words, as *ὅπως ὦν κὴ ἁ πόλις φήνε[ιτη]*, *κτλ.* 2383. 16–17, so especially with other conjunctions (*v. infra*).

2. *τέ . . . κή* or *τέ . . . κή . . . κή*. *τύ τε ἰαρεῖες κὴ τε[ὶ ἰα]ρράρχη . . . κὴ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βειλόμενος* 3080. 5–6; 3081. 6–7; *Ἀθανοδώρα . . . . τό τε πρόθιουρον ἐπεσκεύαξε καὶ τὸν ἀμφίθιουρον ἀνέθεικε* 2876. 1-*ad fin.*; C 298. 44–46. In the following example, there is an anacoluthon in regard to the position of *τέ*: *κὴ τὼς πολεμάρχως ἀνελέσθη τάν τε σύγγραφον . . . . κὴ τὰς ὑπεραμερίας διαγράψασθη* C 295. 18–22.

3. *κή . . . κή*, 'both . . . and,' with a certain stately emphasis, is frequent in the Proxeny Decrees. So regularly, *κὴ πολέμω κὴ ἰράνας ἰώσας* and *κὴ κατὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θάλατταν*; less often *κὴ αὐτὸν κὴ ἐγγόνως* 393. 6–7; 2862. 2; and once *κὴ γᾶς κὴ ὐκίας ἔππασιν* 393. 7–8.

4. *ἦ δέ*. *ἦ δέ* occurs once in a metrical inscription: *Ἀμφάλκεις [ἔ]στασ' ἐπὶ Κιτύλοι ἠδ' ἐπὶ Δέρμυι* 579 (*ante a.* 350).

5. For negative connectives, *v.* Negatives, § 16. 4, 5.

II. Disjunctive Conjunctions.

1. *εἴ* (=*ἤ*), 'or,' and repeated, *εἴ . . . εἴ*, 'either . . . or.' *ἢ δέ κά τις καταδουλίδδε(ι)τη εἴ ἐφάπτειτη* 3198. 4–5; 3080. 4; 3081. 4–5; *ἐν τὸ ἰαρὸ εἰ πὰρ τὸ [ἰα]ρ[όν* M 495. 10; *δεκάταν δὲ οἴσονθι τοὶ ἐμ[βάντες . . .] δεῖ [ε]ἰ Βοιωτῶν φερέμεν εἰ ἐπὶ πόλιος* 1739. 16 (the text of this passage is uncertain).

III. Adversative Conjunctions.

1. *δέ* and *δὲ κή*. *δέ* is often used in headings to mark the distinction between various officials, as *Σωστρότω ἄρχοντος Βο[ιωτοῖς]*, *ἐπὶ δὲ πόλιος Κα[λ]ο[κλίδαυ]* 2390, *Fαστίαο ἄρχοντος Βοιωτῦς*, *ἐν δὲ Λεβαδείῃ Δόρκωνος* 3083. 3–5; *Ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἐρχομενῦ Θυνάρχω . . . ἐν δὲ* Fελατίῃ *Μενοίταυ* C 298. 25–27. Similarly, 3068. 1–2 (*cf.* 3067. 1); 3174. 18–19; 3178. 1–3; 3191. 3 *sqq.* *δέ* also occurs as a simple connective, with slight adversative force, 1719. 9; C 295. 39, 59, 142; 4136. 6.

For *δὲ κή*, 'and also,' *v.* C 295. 31; 1719. 7; 2383. 14; C 283. 5.

For *ἦ δέ κα*, *v.* Conditional Sentences, § 13. 5, where it will be remarked that this is the regular introductory phrase. In several of the instances there cited (C 298. 48; C 295. 154;

3200. 11; 3198. 4; 3080. 4; 3081. 4) the context shows that there is a direct opposition to a command just expressed or implied. In the others the adversative force of *δέ* is less marked.

For *ἐπὶ δέ κα*, *v.* Conditional Relative Sentences, § 13. 6. In all these cases, *δέ* gives a slight adversative force.

For *δέ* in negative sentences, *v.* Negatives, § 16. 4, 5.

In the early grave-stone inscription, *Καλλία Αἰγί(θ)θοιο· τὸ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ[σ' ὦ] παρυδῶτα* 2852, *δέ* connects the imperative with the preceding words, and marks the contrast between the dead and the passer-by. *Cf.* § 9. 4 *ad fin.*

2. *ἀλλά*, irregularly correlative with *οὔτε*: *οὔτ' ὀφείλετη αὐτῦ ἔτι οὐθὲν πὰρ τὰν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέχι πάντα* C 298. 33–34.

B. Subordinating Conjunctions.

IV. Declarative Conjunctions.

1. *ὅτι*, 'that,' introduces Indirect Discourse after *φανερόν ἐστι*: *ὅπωτ ὧν φανερὸν ἴει, ὅτι τὰν ὁμόνοιαν διαφυλάττι τὰν ἐκ τῶν προγόνων παρδοθεῖσαν ἁ πόλις Ἠγοσθενιτάων πὸτ τὰν πόλιν Σιφείων, δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι·* C 283. 8–11.

V. Causal Conjunctions.

1. *ἐπιδεί*. This, the only causal conjunction that occurs, is always used in the preamble of decrees or resolutions, in the sense 'whereas.'[1] The tenses employed are the aorist, for particular past acts, and the present and perfect for general present conditions, on which the decree is based. When the preamble is a long one, it is sometimes strengthened by a purpose clause with *ὅπως ὦν* inserted between the *ἐπιδεί*-clause and its apodosis, *δεδόχθη*, as in the following sentence: *ἐπιδεὶ Ἴ[π]πων . . . [εὐεργετέων διατελῖ . . .] . . . κατέστασε . . . . [ἐδάνει]σε . . . κὴ . . . . ἀφῆκε . . . . ἔτι δ[ἐ] κὴ . . . . εὐχ[ρ]εισττίω[ν] διατελ[ῖ] . . . . ὅπως ὧν κὴ ἁ πόλις φήνε[ιτη] εὐχάρι[στο]ς ἐῶσα . . . [. δεδόχθη τ]ᾶ δάμυ* 2383. 2–19; so also, C 283. 2–11; 2406. 1–11; *ἐπιδεὶ Τίμων Δηδάλω . . . . χρείσιμός ἐστι τοῖς ἀϊ δειμένοις, δεδόχθη* 2858. 2–4; *ἐπιδεὶ κεκόμιστη Εὔβωλος . . . κὴ οὔτ' ὀφείλετη . . . ἀλλ' ἀπέχι . . . . κὴ ἀποδεδόανθι . . . εἶμεν ποτιδεδομένον . . .* C 298. 29–36; *ἐπιδεὶ ἐπεψαφίττατο ὁ δᾶμος*[2] C 295. 11–12; *ἐπιδεὶ . . . [ἀνά]γκασ[θε]ν τὸ πολέμαρχυ ibid.* ll. 43–47.

[1] *Cf.* Herwerden, p. 76.

[2] Here, the *ἐπιδεί*-clause is continued by two genitives absolute (*v.* § 15. 6) instead of by successive finite verbs, as in the previous example.

VI. Final Conjunctions. *V.* Final Sentences, § 13. 4.

VII. Conditional Conjunctions. *V.* Conditional Sentences, § 13. 5.

VIII. Comparative Conjunctions.

1. καθάπερ, 'even as.' This, the most exact of comparatives, is regularly used in the formal language of the Proxeny Decrees in the phrase: κὴ τἄλλα πάντα καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κὴ εὐεργέτης[1] 504. 4–5; 505. 7; 506. 6–7; 507. 5–6; 508. 4-5, *etc.* There is an ellipsis of γέγραπται, which is rarely expressed (529. 5; 3166. 9–10). καθάπερ is often strengthened by κή,—καθάπερ κή, 'even as also':[2] [τὰ] ἄλλα πάντα, καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένυς κὴ εὐεργέτης γέγραπτη 3166. 9–10; 526. 6; 1722, 1723, 1724, *etc.*, C 283. 13.

2. καθὰ κή, 'as also,' in the same phrase as above: π]άντα καθὰ κὴ τὺς ἄλλυς προξένυς 4128. 11–12 (with γέγραπτη); 280. 6–7; 1721 *ad fin.*; and καθά: καθὰ Εὔτυχος ἀπ . . οει 1780. 17–18.

3. καθώς, 'as,' 'according as,' (in official or legal language): παρμείναντα—καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ ποτέταξε 3083. 12–13; 4137. 4–6; ἀνέγραψαν καθὼς ἐποείσανθο . . . C 295. 4–5. καθώς κα: καθώς κα τῦς συνέδ[ρυς δυκεῖ 1719. 5.

IX. Temporal Conjunctions. *V.* Conditional Relative Sentences, § 13. 6.

[1] Instead of καθάπερ in this phrase we find twice the indefinite relative ὁπόττος,—πάντα ὁπόττα κὴ τῦς ἄλλυς 522. 19–20; 3167. 14–15; and twice the definite ὅσος,—πάντα ὁσα [κ]ὴ τοῖς λοιποῖς 4259. 12–15; ὁσα κὴ τῦς ἄλλυς 2708. 6.

[2] κή alone, as a comparative particle, is read by Meister in 2708. 6, *cf.* Dittenberger's note *ad loc.*

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An Introduction to the History of Sugar as a Commodity

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CHAPTER I.

General Introduction.

The title chosen for this work—"The History of Sugar as a Commodity"—suggests the two divisions into which the investigation will fall, and the subject-matter of each. First, I shall set forth the characteristics of sugar as a commodity—this will involve a study of the statics of sugar. A study of its dynamics will follow, in which I shall trace the history of sugar as a commodity.

For these investigations I have presupposed that sugar is a commodity. To gain an intelligent idea of the way in which sugar fills this rôle, it will be necessary to know what the rôle itself involves. What, then, is a commodity? Pantaleoni's definition I find the most serviceable; it not only is the clearest, most scientific and most detailed exposition that I have been able to find, but, besides, it supplies just those suggestions of genus and differentiæ so essential to a complete understanding of the subject. According to Pantaleoni's definition the four "conditions of fact" that "constitute a thing a commodity" are: first, "the existence of a concrete want, which implies the existence of an individual who feels it in a certain measure at a given moment;" secondly, "the existence of a thing;" thirdly, "the opinion that this thing has determinate structural and functional properties;" and, fourthly, "the presence or accessibility or availability of the said thing in a determinate quantity in relation to which alone and exclusively the judgment is formulated that the thing is a commodity." [1]

Of these four "essentials," the second and fourth—namely, "the existence of the thing" and its "presence or availability or accessibility in a determinate quantity"—are evidently indicative

[1] Pantaleoni, "Pure Economics," 1898, pp. 59, 60.

in largest measure of qualities which all commodities have in common, such for instance as being, position, quantity and the like, and mark off, therefore, the genus "commodity." The first and third, on the other hand—namely, the "existence of a concrete want," and so "of an individual who feels it in a certain measure at a given moment," and "the opinion that the thing (desired) has determinate structural and functional properties," are just as clearly indicative of qualities concrete and particular for each commodity that may come under consideration, and suggest, therefore, the ways in which differentiæ among commodities may exist.

Before any specific account of the commodity sugar can be attempted it will be necessary, therefore, to analyze these first and third "requisites." This will involve a study, first, of the wants of man, and secondly, of the various classes of economic goods. The proceeding next in order will be to examine sugar as a commodity with regard to those qualities which it either possesses or is believed to possess. In this part of the work I shall deal only with those qualities which are actually present in sugar, since in general it may be assumed that the properties which are believed to be resident in things are, to a great degree, at least, in reality there. "Doubtless," says Pantaleoni, "in civilized times the rule will be that the thing which is deemed a commodity does possess the properties attributed to it, and that these properties have the virtue of appeasing the respective want." [2]

Having examined the especial qualities of sugar, and knowing, in general, what forms man's wants may assume, I shall relate these two sets of facts to each other, and determine which of man's wants sugar is qualified directly or indirectly to satisfy. With this as the working material, the remaining or dynamic part of the investigation will be the tracing of the ways in which sugar has served to satisfy these wants through the years of its economic existence, which study will be, in fact, the compiling of the history of sugar as a commodity.

A study of the history of sugar as a commodity involves the

[2] Pantaleoni, l. c., p. 61.

tracing of all the stages in the economic progress of this good. The two chief phases in which any goods appear in the economic process are those of production and consumption, and in logical sequence production precedes consumption. Thus, sugar values had, clearly, to be produced before man could make them his own by consuming them. In the first part of the economic history of sugar, accordingly, the chief emphasis must be laid on the phenomenon of production. The development of the process of utilization will be taken into account, and its various stages reviewed. The production of sugar values by the cultivation of the cane, will be considered in relation to the refining of the juice and the trade in the finished product, sugar. The expanding culture of the sugar cane, the development of the refining industry, and the growth of the commercial exchange in sugar will in turn be investigated. When this is done, the emphasis will pass to the study of the phenomenon of consumption. The especial subject in hand lends itself with peculiar aptness to this form of procedure, since, until the circle of sugar cultivation about the earth was to all intents and purposes complete, and until through various vicissitudes all the phenomena of the production of sugar values—in cultivation and refining and trade—had centered in the hands of the English nation—until this point was reached, the more advanced phases of the increasing consumption of sugar did not manifest themselves. The transition from the one to the other, from production to consumption, is moreover made easy and natural by reason of the fact that it was in England and among the English people that sugar first passed through the later stages in its economic life from the consumption point of view.

To trace the geographical spread of the cultivation of the sugar cane is to follow its advance through many environments from southern Asia to South America.[3] The cane was taken from

[3] Simultaneously with this westward spread of cane-culture there was a corresponding expansion to the east, through China and Indo-China and the Asiatic Islands. This has, however, not been taken under consideration in the present work, since for this study it has not been deemed significant. The culture in these eastern regions, however, served to render

India—its original habitat—and planted in the valley of the Tigris, in the neighborhood of Jondisapur and Ahwaz. It flourished there under the Persians and under the Mohammedans. By these latter people it was transplanted to the westward, appearing successively in Egypt and northern Africa, in Syria and Palestine, in the Mediterranean Islands and in Spain.

The people of the Spanish Peninsula were at once the last to receive the cane at the hands of the Mohammedans, and the first to start it on its further migration across the Atlantic Ocean. In the early fifteenth century the islands nearer the Old World were planted with the sugar cane. From the Madeira and Canary Islands its culture spread southward to the islands about the equator—St. Thomas and the rest. In the sixteenth century the first plantations were started in the New World, and the center moved from that time constantly toward the west. In the Spanish West Indies and in Mexico and Brazil on the mainland, promising harvests were reaped. This transplanting to the New World was the last great stage in the westward migration of the cane. Various political struggles were worked out in those early days in the tropical regions of America, as the European nations contended for supremacy there, and the Spanish predominance in sugar culture was followed in turn by the English and the French.[4]

The first attempts to increase the utility of sugar by the refining industry were made in the Tigris Valley at Jondisapur and Ahwaz. This art continued to be practiced under the Sassanides, and later under the Abbassides for many years. In the Middle Ages Venice, through her discovery of the art of refining sugar, became the center for this industry and maintained her supremacy until in the early modern era Antwerp rose to prominence, which

the circle of cane-culture about the earth practically complete in the seventeenth century. (See above, p. 3.) More recently, also, sugar culture has been introduced into Hawaii and other Pacific Islands, but this belongs to a period beyond the scope of the present work.

[4] The later transplanting of the cane to the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands was clearly subsidiary to the first great transplanting to the New World.

position she proudly held until at her destruction at the hands of Spain her sugar industry passed once more to the westward—this time to England.

The essential relationship existing between the refining of sugar and the trade in that commodity is well evidenced by the close association in which these two phases of activity have at all times been found. Until sugar was refined it could not figure in commerce, for in its raw state it is unfit to be transported or preserved. As Venice was the center of the refining industry in the Middle Ages, so the Venetians were the chief traders in sugar at that time, and as Venice was superseded in the making of sugar by the refiners of Antwerp, so Dutch traders followed the Venetians as the carriers of sugar through Europe. While the Spanish and Portuguese held the monopoly of the cane fields in America, the vessels of these nations brought the product of their plantations to their respective mother countries. But it was Dutch ships that called at Lisbon—then the center of the colonial sugar trade—and carried the sugar to Antwerp to be refined. Dutch ships, furthermore, distributed the refined product thence among the various European markets. Finally, in the seventeenth century, the English asserted their power over these Dutch traders, who had then even taken to themselves the transporting of sugar from the English sugar isles. As the English had already become supreme in cultivating and refining sugar, so now they made good their supremacy in the sugar trade. This leadership in the world of sugar was maintained by England until the rising industry of France made this latter country a successful competitor. The final triumph of the French, however, belongs to a period beyond the scope of the present paper.

At this point, with the production of sugar values centered in the hands of the English nation, the interest passes naturally to the consumption process. So far, the consumption of sugar had not passed through many definite stages, for during much of the seventeenth century it was still essentially a luxury. From the pharmacopœia of the Persian and Arabian physicians in the Tigris Valley it passed among the Mohammedans to the lists of their highly prized articles of food. Among them it remained,

however, distinctly a superfluity—a rare and costly addition to their ordinary diet. In Spain, also, it held the place of a luxury to be offered at feasts and elaborate entertainments; and in England its early history is the same. It was, indeed, not until the latter half of the seventeenth century that the use of sugar became really general. In those years it began to be produced in sufficient quantities to make it available to the mass of the English people. It was then that the second great step in the history of its consumption was taken, when sugar left the ranks of the superfluities accessible to only the rich, and entered the lists of those articles which those in more moderate circumstances might enjoy, not only on state occasions, but as regular accompaniments of their daily food.

It is to this phase of the history of sugar that the last part of this paper will be devoted. The various stages of the popularization of sugar after 1650 will then be followed in detail, and the successive conditions of supply and demand will be reviewed. Through it all will be traced the steady fall in the price of sugar, bringing it constantly within reach of poorer classes of society, and making possible, therefore, the persistent increase in the consumption of this commodity.

Beyond this period in the history of sugar I shall not be able to pursue this present study. I shall be obliged to leave sugar at that point when it can first really be classed as a necessity of the English people—as conceived from the point of view of happiness rather than of mere survival. My plan is, however, to carry the investigation further at some future time.

In such a continuation of my work I shall examine the part that sugar played in the political and economical history of the England of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, indeed, during subsequent centuries as well. Its bearing upon the mercantile and navigation system of England and upon her colonial policy will be subjected to careful examination.

A later investigation, still, I hope to devote to the rise and progress of the beet-sugar industry. Its spread through Europe from France, where it has had a "continuous existence since the

days of Napoleon," [5] to Germany, Austria, Russia and Belgium, will be traced, and studied as the expansion of cane cultivation has been studied here. Its final migration to the United States will also claim consideration. Throughout this tracing of the history of the sugar beet and its product, its relationship with cane sugar will be kept constantly in mind, and an attempt will be made to ascertain where the economic advantages and disadvantages lie. The modern capitalization of the West Indian cane fields will be the subject of the final section of the work, and the effect which this process is having upon the sugar market of to-day.

[5] C. S. Griffin, "The Sugar Industry in Europe," Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XVII, p. 5.

CHAPTER II.

Wants, Commodities, Marginal Utilities.

The wants of man are obviously as many and as complex as are the activities of human life to which they give rise. For long ages philosophers and thinkers have attempted to classify these "unsatisfied cravings" of man, in order in some way to bring system out of the apparent chaos of the varied interests and relationships of humanity. As yet, however, no complete and satisfactory classification has been arrived at, so strongly have the various investigators been influenced by their own personal proclivities, and so blind have they been, in consequence, to the other desires that have still been leading men on to actions worthy or unworthy. Awaiting such a complete classification the only alternative for one who must deal with human wants in their bearing upon a particular problem—as upon the one now in hand, the consumption of the commodity sugar—is to investigate the partial classifications that have been made in the hope that they may account for the particular wants which the good under consideration has been fitted to supply.

There are apparently three great classes of these wants, and it is worthy of note that they are the categories of desire which writers on philosophy and psychology as well as on economics have selected as typical of all of the wants of men, although in reality this classification leaves some of the most powerful stimuli to human activity unaccounted for. For the present purpose, however, it is sufficient, and it will be suggestive for the specific work on sugar to mention those who have dealt most clearly and definitely with the subject.

According to Pantaleoni, man in his environment experiences wants of two fundamental kinds, which Pantaleoni has characterized as "primary" and "secondary," and which have relationship to the common and special sensations respectively. Among

the common sensations are mentioned weight, resistance and temperature, and, as bearing directly upon the present inquiry, hunger and thirst and the like. The special sensations are those received through the medium of the so-called five special senses.[1] In Senior's "Political Economy" the classification of wants is carried one degree further, and the "love of distinction" is added to the other categories of desire. He says, in part: "The mere necessaries of life are few and simple. . . . But no man is satisfied with so limited a range of enjoyment. His first object is to vary his food . . . . the next desire is variety of dress . . . . and last comes the desire to build, to ornament, to furnish—tastes which are absolutely insatiable where they exist and seem to increase with every improvement in civilization. . . . But strong as is the desire for variety it is weak compared with the desire for distinction, a feeling which . . . . may be pronounced to be the most powerful of human passions. The most obvious source of distinction is the possession of superior wealth."[2] Professor David Irons, also, in his "Psychology of Ethics," a book written from a very different point of view, has still recognized in general these classes of wants. His discussion is valuable here, also, because he has in great measure related them to the desiring subject. In discussing the "Primitive Principles of Activity," he declares:

"Every individual strives to preserve his existence and also to express it or make it effective in some way. In other words, everyone has an impulse toward self-preservation and a tendency to self-assertion. . . . Self-assertion in any strict sense of the term is a distinctly human impulse, since it presupposes a consciousness of self as opposed to non-self. It is clear that the impulse toward self-manifestation is a tendency which can take many different directions. It appears as the ambition to accomplish something which will extort permanent social recognition. It is present also in the desire for domination over others—the desire for power in the narrow sense. In these cases it substitutes a struggle for pre-eminence in place of the struggle for mere existence. In another aspect it is the property instinct—the tendency to establish control over things and to bring them under the dominion of the self."[3]

[1] Pantaleoni, l. c., p. 48.

[2] Senior, "Political Economy," 1872, p. 11.

[3] D. Irons, "Psychology of Ethics," 1903, pp. 132 sq.

Upon close examination and comparison of these passages here quoted at length, it will be seen that they refer in all to three separate classes of wants, which have been recognized in greater or less degree by all of the three writers, although they have given them different names and different degrees of prominence.

A recent investigation of this subject carried on in the Economics Seminary of Bryn Mawr College under the direction of Professor L. M. Keasbey, has attempted to codify these wants into an exact and scientific system; and the results obtained have seemed to give expression to the most satisfactory understanding yet reached of the relationship which these various departments of demand bear to each other and to the economic process as a whole. The classification as developed in the course of this research is as follows: first, the organic wants, or the desire for those goods that make for the preservation of life; secondly, the sensory wants, or the desire for those goods that contribute to the pleasure and the adornments and the fullness of life; and, thirdly, the social wants, or the desire for notoriety and distinction among one's fellow-men, and so for those goods that will insure this social recognition. It is to such goods that Professor Keasbey has attributed, because of the peculiar utility that they afford, the new form of value that he has elaborated under the name "Prestige Value," in a paper recently published on the subject.[4]

Pantaleoni has with great care and clearness emphasized the fact that the very concept of "want" implies the existence or possible existence of the good which is qualified to remove the economic pain, or the sense of maladjustment or insufficiency which is the precursor of the want. If this be true, any adequate discussion of economic wants must include also of necessity a consideration of those economic goods with which they are so vitally connected. "A want implies," says Pantaleoni, " . . . . the concurrence of at least two conditions; first, some pain must exist in our consciousness, ... secondly, there must be the

[4] L. M. Keasbey, "Prestige Value." Reprinted from the Quarterly Journal of Economics, Volume XVII, May, 1903.

knowledge of some means or instrument the use of which would diminish or suppress the pain in question." [5] With this as the conception, therefore, it will be seen that the want in its full significance acts in reality as the bridge between the economic pain and the commodity, and, stretching out as it does and covering both of these phenomena, leads the way by almost imperceptible steps from the realm of economic demand into that of economic supply.

In the great supply of economic goods, real or perspective, at the disposal of man, there are possibilities of classification which will furnish groups corresponding in general to the categories of wants as they have been formulated above. For the satisfaction of organic wants, there are those goods which are pre-eminently the necessaries of life—those commodities, in other words, which are calculated to preserve the human organism against suffering or degeneration, but which will not in general serve to allow any improvement or extension of its *modus vivendi.* In economic theory, especially of the English school, these goods have played a large rôle under the name of "Subsistence Minimum."

Those goods, secondly, which answer the demands of the sensory desires are in common parlance the superfluities and comforts of life, or, to quote Anderson, the author of the "Treatise on Commerce," "whatever things may be said to be useful and excellent, either in nature or in art; whether for sensual or for intellectual gratifications; for the ease, convenience, or elegance of life." [6]

The social wants, finally, find their gratification in the possession of some source of superiority over the rest of society. This superiority can, clearly, result only from the possession of some commodity or good which all cannot acquire in the same large quantities, and depends, therefore, in the last analysis upon limitation of supply. Such limitation may reside in a man's nature itself, in the more or less exclusive possession of some quality or force which enables him above his fellow-men to profit from

[5] Pantaleoni, I. c., p. 40.

[6] Anderson, "Treatise on Commerce," 1787, I, Pref., p. VII.

his environment; or it may reside in the outer world as actual physical scarcity of some commodity, some thing, such as the domesticated herd, or cultivated land in a restricted area, which, to quote Professor Keasbey again, "constituted a monopoly good from the start." Senior, also, realized the essential importance of this fact when in his discussion of value he declared that the chief source of the influence of limitation in supply on value was to be found in "two of the most powerful principles of human nature, the love of variety and the love of distinction." [7]

The laws of marginal utility are too much a part of the present economic code to need repetition here, in the consideration of the psychological effect upon man of the consumption of these goods in satisfying his various wants. It will, however, be helpful to try to understand the causes of this decline in utility which has thus been taken as the basis of all economic reasoning. These causes must rest in one of three sets of conditions. They must lie either in the character of the goods consumed, *i. e.,* in "the mechanical and chemical laws of those bodies which in economics are regarded as commodities;" [8] or in the nature of the consumer, *i. e.,* in "the biological, psychological and sociological laws that govern man and other organic beings;" [9] or else, as is in reality, perhaps, most often the case, in a combination of these two elements, *i. e.,* in the joint action of the specific character of the good, and the nature of the man, as these two are brought together in the process of consumption.

The essential idea which lay behind the adoption of the term "organic" as descriptive of those wants which look to the preservation of life will be of great service here in arriving at an understanding of the decline in the utility of the necessaries of life during the process of their consumption. Organic wants are in reality simply the demand of the human organism that it may be supplied with those things which are absolutely requisite for its survival in a state of equilibration with its physical environ-

[7] Senior, l. c., p. 11.

[8] Pantaleoni, l. c., p. 3.

[9] Pantaleoni, l. c., p. 3.

ment. Moreover, this point of absolute equilibration may actually be attained, at which moment the organism will be in a condition of entire satisfaction, or of satiety.

The phenomena that arise in the course of the satisfaction of the sensory wants are clearly different. The possibilities of sensory enjoyments are so manifold and so multiform that even while man is engaged in the consumption of one good multitudes of other wants suggest themselves to him, and to enjoy even in small measure some gratification of them all he finds it necessary constantly to break off the consuming of one commodity and to begin that of another. A consideration of the complexity and fineness of perception in the five special senses suggests at once the almost limitless variation of which this process of sensory consumption is capable, a variation so great in fact that the term variety has been selected as that best fitted to express the distinguishing feature of such satisfaction. Adam Smith has well brought out the difference between these two forms of gratification, the organic and the sensory, when he says, "The desire of food is limited in every man by the narrow capacity of the human stomach; but the desire of the conveniences and ornaments of building, dress, equipage and household furniture seems to have no limit or certain boundary." [10]

In the consumption of the goods which furnish satisfaction for the social wants, the demand for recognition and prestige, yet another phenomenon appears. In this case the marginal utility does not seem to decline, nor does variety appear as a feature of the process; on the contrary, men store up great hoards of articles of like nature and quality and in great quantities without apparently any diminution in utility. "The larger the patriarch's herd, or the more extensive the landlord's estate, the greater the prestige of proprietorship and the more powerful his position in the world." [11] It is here that the "effective desire of accumulation" finds its most complete expression, and seems at first sight

[10] Adam Smith, "Wealth of Nations," edited by Thorold Rogers, 1869, I, p. 174.

[11] L. M. Keasbey, l. c., p. 17.

to violate all the cherished formulæ of the economist. The reason for this apparent contradiction, however, is to be sought and found in the exact nature of the consumption process. The most significant fact in this connection is that the social satisfaction that man experiences from goods bears very little relation to the physical qualities of the good or goods accumulated, but depends rather on their mere possession or proprietorship. It will be seen, therefore, that such goods appeal not to man's distinctly limited organic and physical nature, nor to his five special senses, but rather to his whole being in its fullest and widest expansion—to borrow Professor Irons's idea—to his conception of self. The utility of such goods must, evidently, decline imperceptibly if at all; and this will be true, as already suggested, from both subjective and objective causes. Subjectively it will be true because of the infinitely expansive keyboard upon which the utilities play—that of the idea of self; and objectively, because of the many forms that social satisfaction may assume. The signs of distinction that may be accorded to a man in a complex social system are infinitely varied and variable, appearing as they do in all the countless manifestations of regard and adulation that can be developed where "there are dependents, associates or . . . . . neighbors to be impressed by the extent of (a man's) possessions," [12] and where, therefore, "to raise his social position, to add to his dignity, or augment in any way his prestige," [13] becomes his constant aim.

These wants and satisfactions as here analyzed are universal in society—all men strive alike for preservation, pleasure and prestige; but all men are not under all circumstances actuated simultaneously and with equal force by all of these stimuli. From the economic point of view, and apart from physical personality, society is divided into the two great classes of consumers and producers, and each one of its members appears at different times and under different circumstances as predominantly the one or the other, his especial rôle being determined by the character of

[12] L. M. Keasbey, l. c., p. 8.

[13] L. M. Keasbey, l. c., p. 8.

the want that is uppermost for the moment, or, in other words, according to whether he is influenced in greatest measure by the desire for sensory enjoyment or pleasure, or by the impulse to accumulate some scarcity good for the purpose of procuring power or prestige.

In his rôle as consumer man has chiefly to do with the sensory gratifications—the entire consumption process as it appears in modern economic conditions is practically an obtaining ready-made of the objects of sensory desire. Under simpler conditions of life man produced in great part that which he himself consumed, and was, it is true, in such cases, almost at the same moment of time, and certainly with regard to the same commodity, both producer and consumer. But under present circumstances all that is changed, and while most men must in the long run produce as well as consume, still with reference to any single good those processes are very widely separated from each other, so widely separated, in fact, that Professor Lamprecht has adopted their growing divergence as the chief characteristic of the developing complexity of economic life, and as the gauge by which he measures the degree of civilization which a people may have reached.[14] In his rôle as producer, on the other hand, man seems to be actuated by the desire to accumulate and store up "superior wealth" rather than by the wish to satisfy more immediate demands. It is true that up to a certain point the aim in production is to procure the means of acquiring the objects of organic or sensory desire; but the dominating motive that prevails in the economic world, and lies at the base of the modern competitive régime, as well as at the root of the idea of capital itself, seems rather social than purely individual, and consists, apparently, in the desire to acquire enough of the limited wealth of the world to assure to the aspirant the prestige that such possession brings.

[14] Prof. Karl Lamprecht, "Zur jüngsten deutschen Vergangenheit," II Band, Erste Hälfte, 1903.

CHAPTER III.

Sugar Classified.

Economic demand, as embodied in these wants here analyzed, is the same or practically the same among all mankind—whether because of original likeness in man's nature, or on account of development along similar lines through ages conditioned by like circumstances. The forms that it assumes, are, indeed, so universal that they may be regarded as general phenomena, existing actually or potentially wherever economic man is to be found. Along the line of demand, therefore, but little remains to be done after the general classification has been made, the various categories of wants becoming, so to speak, the stock in trade for the consideration of any specific economic problem. Economic supply, on the contrary, as embodied in commodities for the satisfaction of these wants, is always particular and concrete, and assumes as many different forms as there are goods in the world, each presenting, naturally, its own peculiar characteristics and qualities, and therefore its own attendant and resulting phenomena of production and consumption and the like. It is here, obviously, that much detailed work in economics remains to be done, inasmuch as an intensive study of the various economic goods, and of their histories as such, must reveal in graphic form most of the phenomena of the dynamics of economics, and so aid materially in working out many of the problems of theory.

In pursuance of this plan, the object of my work is to perform this task with regard to sugar in general, the present research, as already analyzed, being devoted to cane sugar in particular, in the earlier phases of its production and consumption. I shall, therefore, in accord with the method prescribed in a previous chapter, proceed at once to classify it as an economic good, with respect to its inherent qualities and to the wants which it is fitted to gratify, as well as to its effects upon the human organism.

Sugar is by its nature essentially a superfluity, a good which satisfies pre-eminently a sensory desire. Man's sensory desire for sweetness is one of the fundamental sensory wants, since the sweet taste is one of the four "true tastes," the other three in the list being salt, acid and bitter. It is therefore evident that the sweetness of sugar is in a very peculiar way related to the essential construction of the sensory system in man, and so to his sensory wants. And the history of sugar but serves to bear out the fact that it has been for its sweetness that this commodity has always been consumed. Sugar, then, following the classification of goods as outlined above, according to the nature of the wants to which they especially respond, is a superfluity.

Within this broad classification of sugar as a superfluity there are various sub-classifications which can be made, and which account also in large measure for the great desirableness of sugar as a food, and for its enormous consumption under favoring circumstances. Sugar as such is never consumed alone. It always plays the part of a flavor or "condiment." It is most probable that if sugar were consumed alone much less of it would in the long run be used, since its excessive sweetness would cause its utility to decline rapidly to the satiation point. In the process of cooking, however, under the influence of heat, vegetable acids, and so forth, cane sugar is inverted into products which are much less sweet. Through this loss in sweetness the decline in utility is much slower, compared with the physical quantity of the good consumed, than it otherwise would be.

Within, again, this general classification of sugar as a complementary good there are smaller sub-groupings that can be made in order to signify the especial kinds of goods to which it is complementary. Beyond the very extended use of sugar in all sorts of cooking—in confectionery, pastry, canning and the like—its use is indissolubly connected with the consumption of that very large class of foods, if such they may be called, known as stimulants. It seems, indeed, almost phenomenal that sugar should be so intimately associated with so many stimulants, there being hardly one of them for which it is not necessary, either in the actual production of the stimulant itself, or as an indispensa-

ble accompaniment of its consumption. In reviewing the specific cases in which the consumption of sugar is linked with that of stimulants, the first place must, beyond all doubt, be given to tea and coffee and chocolate. Many writers have even gone so far as to ignore all the subsidiary causes which led to the very popular use of sugar in the latter seventeenth, and the eighteenth century, and to attribute it entirely to the introduction into western Europe at that time of these three beverages.

Next to coffee and tea and chocolate must come those stimulants which are actually intoxicating. "In addition to the sugar consumed at our tables," says Phillips, "and in confectionery and pastry, it forms the basis of all our made wines, is often used as a composition in malt liquors, and the distillers draw large quantities of spirits from it." [1] "All sugars," states the article in the Encyclopædia Britannica, "are liable to fermentation; a special character of the three principal vegetable sugars is that when brought into contact as solutions with yeast under suitable conditions, they suffer vinous fermentation, *i. e.*, break up substantially into carbonic acid and alcohol." The fact, also, that rum is a by-product of sugar in its manufacture is illuminating in this connection; for the demand for this stimulant, and the prices it could command, must always have had an important influence upon the production of sugar. What this influence must have been is suggested in the statement made at about the middle of the eighteenth century, that rum defrayed the "ordinary expense of plantation." [2]

The demand for stimulants and the effect of their consumption on man are phenomena peculiar in themselves. Mr. Bruce, in his "Economic History of Virginia," has struck the keynote of this peculiarity in speaking of that great narcotic-stimulant, tobacco. "For no other Virginia product," he says, "was there opportunity for a sale that would enlarge as the amount exported increased." These words suggest the cardinal truth about all stimulants, the

[1] Phillips, "History of Cultivated Vegetables," 1822, II, p. 246.

[2] Dr. Wm. Douglass, "Summary—Historical and Political—of the First Planting of our American Settlements," 1751 and 1755, I, p. 117.

fact, namely, that their utility rises with the consumption of successive increments of supply. This increase in marginal utility is apparently contrary to all economic law. Its secret, however, is most probably to be found in the well-known pathological effect which these goods have upon the physical nature of man, and which remove the consumer, therefore, out of the realm of ordinary economic standards. Pantaleoni has, in fact, summarily cast aside all questions in connection with such goods, and confines his investigation to the more normal types of desire and satisfaction. He says:

"The identification of the hedonic principle with the desire of self-preservation involves our not considering as pleasures and pains *qua* the hedonic principle any sensation of either kind experienced by the deformed organs or vitiated functions of individuals who are destined to be eliminated by natural selection; and, on the contrary, our considering as pleasures those sensations that sustain, and as pains those that impair the organism. Judgments at variance with this standard concerning things that are causes of pleasant or painful sensations are classed as anti-economic, and are not subjects of our study, save in so far as they are causes of deviation in the working of economic laws."[3]

From the subjective point of view such desires as those which demand the stimulants for their satisfaction may, as Pantaleoni claims, be classed as uneconomic, but the goods which are thus demanded and consumed do not thereby lose their character as economic goods, which persists so long as the specific good remains scarce in comparison to the demand for it, even if this demand, as Pantaleoni suggests, is not in itself, according to all the canons, strictly economic.

Objectively and absolutely, therefore, sugar has thus been classed, first, as a superfluity, and then successively as complementary good and stimulant. Within the economic world, however, man rates his marginal utilities, and the goods in which these utilities inhere, according to judgments much more relative and subjective. In his economic rating man can and does adjudge many things which pre-eminently gratify sensory wants as necessities, if not of life, at least of happiness. Among such goods sugar

[3] Pantaleoni, l. c., p. 19.

occupies a prominent place. It is, in fact, the principal object of this paper to follow the process whereby sugar has thus come to be considered by man as necessary to his daily well-being, instead of, as at first, as a superfluous luxury reserved for high days and holidays.

In the earlier stages of its consumption, when the quantity of sugar was limited, it was rated subjectively by the consumer, as it has here been rated objectively, as a superfluity. Gradually, however, with its growing cheapness and the increasing habit of its use, the economic relative judgment has diverged more and more widely from the more absolute and physical, until at present sugar is regarded by all civilized men, at least, as a *sine qua non* of happiness.

In the course of this investigation it will, it is believed, be made clear how the qualities of sugar as superfluity, complementary good, and stimulant, have constantly conditioned its economic existence. In this way much of the history of sugar will be explained, especially from the side of demand, which is so immediately dependant upon the character of the want which the good is qualified to gratify. The marvelous growth in the consumption of sugar has been wonderingly commented upon by all who have written upon this commodity, but without any very intensive study as to what the ultimate causes of this expanding consumption might have been. With the desire for sugar thus analyzed, as well as the character of the satisfaction which it affords to man, the demand for sugar is in great measure explained, and the reason why its consumption should have reached such enormous proportions is made apparent. Subsidiary influences, also, will reveal themselves as the various circumstances in the economic history of sugar are taken under consideration.

CHAPTER IV.

Sugar Versus Honey as a Commodity.

With the static part of this study completed—that is, with the definition and classification of sugar as a commodity accomplished, I shall pause a moment before proceedng to the dynamic part of the work, to consider one other circumstance at once static and dynamic which not to recognize is to render any investigation of sugar inadequate. This is the relationship which sugar bears to the other great saccharine, honey. Statically, sugar is connected with honey because these two commodities have so many qualities in common, and are therefore suited to satisfy so nearly the same categories of wants. Dynamically, also, they are related, because the increasing consumption of sugar meant the decreasing use of honey, as the superiority of the new saccharine gradually asserted itself and the old fell consequently more and more into the background from an economic point of view.

Honey was the sweet in use throughout Europe for many ages before sugar was introduced from Asia. "Honey," says Moseley, "was the standard of sweetness of the ancients," [1] and Lord Bacon adds: "There be three things in use for sweetness, sugar, honey, manna. For sugar, it was scarce known to the ancients, and little used. It is found in canes . . . . Sugar hath put down the use of honey insomuch that we have lost those observations and preparations of honey which the ancients had when it was more in price." [2] Lord Bacon does not attempt to account in any way for this substitution of sugar for honey in the diet of mankind. It is evident, however, that for any so decided step there must have been good and sufficient reason—and the nature of the problem

[1] Dr. Benj. Moseley, essay on Sugar in "Medical Essays," 1799, p. 64.

[2] Works of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, Philadelphia, 1842, II. p. 82, and p. 116.

indicates that that reason must lie well within the province of economics.

It is a commonplace hardly worth the repeating that man's economic life is but a series of choices in which he aims always to select and take that which under the circumstances will yield him the greatest sum total of utility in whatever form such utility may appear to him as desirable. It is also obvious that in his economic life man's choices will be regulated, in so far as what he aims to secure is not a perfectly free good, by the wish to obtain the greatest amount of utility for the least expenditure. This motive is indeed so natural and so universal that it has been adopted as typical of all economic activity and has even been erected into what has been called the fundamental economic formula. It must, therefore, be adopted here as the guide for the investigation of the transition from honey to sugar in the consumption of saccharines.

Before this formula is directly applied to the problem under consideration it must, however, be analyzed into its component elements and principles in order that it may be more accurately applied to the subject in all its phases. The immediate *vis a tergo* which drives all men to economic activity of any sort is unfulfilled desire; and the fact that in general no desire can be gratified to the satiation point leaves in the multitude of partly satisfied wants a great number of stimuli ready to assert themselves and drive man to action when one shall have become from any cause more powerful than the others. Man's marginal utilities, then, ranging over his whole economic life and representing, as they do, his partly satisfied wants, become the motive power to his activities. In regulating these activities, man's purpose is evidently to obtain the maximum satisfaction of each and all of his wants, and the only means of accomplishing this end is clearly in every case to give as little as possible of something that he has, in obtaining as much as possible of something he has not—and so to attain to the greatest possible total utility throughout the whole extent of his consumption. This general ever-present desire to get from life the greatest total utility, and the ordering of each step in the process by a comparison of marginal utilities, whereby some part of that which appears as having the least utility is given in

exchange for something which appears to have the greatest, represents, simply, in detail, that which the economic formula sums up concisely as the desire to obtain the greatest possible pleasure, and in so doing to undergo the least possible amount of pain or sacrifice.

This economic formula applies with peculiar force when man finds himself, as in the present case, in the position of choosing definitely between the consumption of two commodities which satisfy fundamentally the same want. It is then that the calculation of utilities must be more exact than at any other time. In this case, as between honey and sugar, the consumer is called upon to consider whether the adoption of the new good, sugar, will result for him in an increase of his whole utility, or whether, in other words, he will procure from its use a greater satisfaction at a relatively lower cost, such cost to appear to him either in the immediate performing of muscular or mental labor, or in the more indirect expenditure of goods on the market.

For the complete understanding of the transition from the use of honey to that of sugar, the relation of utility to costs, or to disutility, must be carefully examined and calculated as these two phenomena appear in the production and consumption of the two commodities. The investigation will show, moreover, that while the actual cost of producing a given physical quantity of honey is not appreciably, if at all, less than that of producing the same physical quantity of sugar, the utility of the sugar enormously exceeds that of the honey;—in the light of which fact, the reason why man has adopted sugar as the staple saccharine becomes apparent at the outset.

From the side of the relative cost of production, the chief question as between the producing of honey and sugar, is the question as to the relative scale at which to be profitable at all the two industries must be pursued, and so, primarily, that of the initial or capital costs. Bee-keeping, as is well known, can be carried on by an individual in connection with almost any other pursuit, and on as small a scale as is desirable. The necessary outlay of capital is very small—the appurtenances for one colony being small in themselves—and yet large enough to allow the individual

to procure just as good honey, and comparatively as much, as if the activity assumed much larger proportions. The land requisite for bee-keeping is practically a free gift of nature, since the best honey is collected by the bees from surrounding pasture lands, which as such are already yielding an adequate economic return, and from which this other product, honey, may yet be extracted without any detriment to the productivity of the land for its original grazing purposes. The labor required in bee-keeping varies, naturally, with the number of the bees kept—one man being able with constant effort to tend a great many hives. From all this it becomes clear that the initial expenditure for engaging in bee-keeping is not necessarily very large. The true significance and bearing of this fact can be grasped only after the production of sugar has been considered from the same point of view. At present it should be remarked that the actual physical return from this expenditure is, relatively, not very large, and bears close relation to the actual amount of the investment. In other words, the scale of production in bee-keeping makes very little difference. Before leaving this subject attention should also be called to the fact of the great share in the production of honey which, so to speak, unappropriable natural forces play. The activities of the bees are in large measure uncontrollable, while the flowers which lend themselves to the extraction of honey must remain practically wild, since to expend labor in cultivating them, and in taking up land for that purpose, would so increase the costs of production as to eat up all the profits that could reasonably be expected from honey. In the light of this fact it becomes clear that capitalistic production—as Böhm-Bawerk uses the term in the sense of round-about methods, by the harnessing and controlling of the forces of nature—can play practically no part in the production of honey, and that therefore the actual physical return must bear a very constant ratio to the actual physical amount of expenditure or cost of production.

The case of sugar is different throughout. The necessary investment of capital has always been enormous, entailing in the earlier days, in addition to the various works indispensable to any estate, a great outlay in purchasing slaves, who alone could per-

form the very trying labor in the fields; and requiring in these later days an application of capital relatively much greater than that found necessary in the producing of any of the other agricultural staples. To be undertaken at all the production of sugar needs this great preparatory outlay. In its cultivation and grinding and boiling, so many and so expensive forms of capital are required that in order for it to be profitable at all the whole undertaking must assume large proportions. The positive costs, then, attendant upon any production of sugar are necessarily very large.

In addition to these positive costs there are also many of a negative character that are inseparably associated with the management of a sugar estate. These appear chiefly in the form of risks which accompany all cultivation of the cane, both because of the nature of the countries in which alone it can be grown to advantage, and because, also, of the character of the laborers who in all these countries must be relied on for the field work. The peculiar nature of the sugar cane itself plays also a large part in bringing the element of risk into its cultivation. These risks attendant upon sugar planting are no new thing, but have been always present wherever the cane has been cultivated. That they asserted themselves very early in the West India Islands is attested to by Sir Dalby Thomas, who wrote in 1690, and who has admirably summed up the "casualties" which in this day, as well as in his own, "are apt to befall sugar." He says:

"Plants in the ground are apt to be devoured, wounded and torn by ants, or undermined and destroyed at the roots by mugworms. Too much rain or too much drought in either season is a certain diminution of the crop, if not a total destruction of the plant, nay if the rains come too late which often happens, a whole year's planting is lost. When all these mischiefs are escaped and the canes of a considerable height, they are then liable to be twisted, broke and totally spoiled by the furious hurricanes which, once in three or four years, like a fit of an ague, shake the whole islands, not only do the crops an injury, but sometimes tumble down and level their mills, workhouses and strongest buildings. But escaping all these as the canes ripen they grow more and more combustible and are, therefore, subject to the malice and drunken rage of angry and desperate runaway negroes as well as so many other accidents, of fire, the fury whereof when

once got into a field of canes is extremely quick, terrible and scarcely to be resisted before it has destroyed the whole parcel; but when they are brought to full perfection for cutting and the planter's expectations as ripe as they, if unseasonable rains happen, or that no winds blow, then they all rot and perish in the ground, the slaves and servants all stand idle, looking upon their master's decaying fortune, and at last are only employed in clearing the ground again from that useless rubbish in which all that year's hope has perished. . . . Nay, besides all has been said, sometimes disease amongst horses and cattle will in a very short time sweep away a whole year's profit, beside constant charge of recruiting the natural decay of all living creatures."[3]

It has seemed worth while to quote Sir Dalby Thomas thus at length because the trials of a sugar planter of the seventeenth century, as he has here given them voice, have been echoed almost in his very words by all those who since his day have attempted to cultivate the cane, and have in their most prominent characteristics been gone through with by a company which a few years ago bought up a plantation in Cuba. On this plantation modern capitalistic methods have been applied in the greatest possible perfection—no means have been spared to utilize the favorable and to overcome the adverse forces of nature, and yet the series of contingencies that have befallen this one sugar plantation are such as would long ago have crippled an undertaking backed with less capital, or in which the hope of large profit was less secure. On this sugar plantation in question, which embraces twenty thousand acres of land, of which four thousand acres were last year planted in cane, there were in the course of the season several large and serious fires which burned over one thousand acres, all of which had been covered with cane. These cane fires, which were doubtless earlier a most serious problem to be reckoned with, have in later years been rendered less destructive, from a financial point of view. Improved methods of cutting and transporting the cane are largely responsible for this. If the cane can be ground and the juice expressed soon enough after the burning to prevent fermentation, the mere fact of the fire does not injure the quality

[3] Sir Dalby Thomas, "Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Collonies," 1690, printed in the Harleian Miscellany, 1808-1813, II, p. 369.

of the sugar. Moreover, the fields are now planted in blocks, with strips of unplanted land between them to lessen the probability of extensive fires. With these arrangements, it is claimed that the item of loss through fires does not enter to any great degree into the budget of the year's expenses, although the possibility always remains that a very destructive fire may occur and bring with it untold loss, and so serious have these cane fires been in times past that it has been rated a criminal offense in Cuba to refuse aid in extinguishing one, no matter whether the person called on for assistance is employed on the burning estate or not.[4]

Most of the evils mentioned by Thomas as resulting from untimely rain and from hurricane have been experienced also during the past year upon the estate in question. In six months there have been two most destructive floods, which destroyed the railroads and much of the apparatus on the estate—the damage resulting from the first flood and hurricane alone amounting in the aggregate to about twenty thousand dollars. In addition to this the rainy season in the spring of 1904 set in so early that when only two-thirds of the cane had been cut, all the work in the fields and in the mill had to be shut down, and it was only due to a subsequent period of dry weather which came unexpectedly at the end of May that the remaining one-third of the cane was spared to the growers. The premature arrival of a rainy season works great injury to a plantation in many ways. Not only does the mud in the fields make the hauling of the heavy

[4] This present law in Cuba, with regard to fires in the cane, comes as a curious echo, so to speak, of an act which was passed in Barbados on April 14, 1655, to prevent the firing of canes, and which reads in part as follows: "It is hereby enacted, published and declared, That whatsoever person or persons shall at any time hereafter wittingly or willingly burn or set on fire any sugar-cane-field or other place where sugar canes do grow in any place of this Island shall for every such offence to be proved receive forty lashes upon his naked back and branded on the forehead with a hot iron with the letter R and become servant to the party or parties that shall be so damnified by the burning or setting on fire the said sugar canes for the term of seven years." Acts passed in the Island of Barbadoes, 1643-1762 incl., compiled by Richard Hall, Esq., 1764, p. 21.

loads of cut cane very difficult—the bulls and oxen employed in pulling the carts being often obliged to wade through mud up to the girth—but the quality of the juice is also seriously affected, it being almost impossible to separate the sugar out when the cane is cut in the rainy season.

Such are the costs, positive and negative, that are inevitably to be reckoned with in the production of sugar, and yet so great is the return from an estate thus equipped that the cost of producing one pound of sugar is not any greater, and in many cases is much less, than the cost of producing one pound of honey, with the comparatively slender expenses that are to be undergone in bee-keeping. The reason is to be found in the fact that the possibilities for capitalization in the sugar industry are almost without limit—natural forces of every sort may be harnessed and utilized and so combined as to reach the highest possible point of productivity. The necessary elements of productive agency, also, for the raising and making of sugar, are such that they cannot be brought together on a small scale, but that once brought together they yield still a physical product in the long run relatively much greater than is the amount of honey which results from the outlay of capital necessary for bee-keeping. It is thus that on the side of cost of production sugar must be given if anything the advantage over honey, namely, that the expense incurred in producing a given physical quantity of sugar is less than that undergone in the production of the same amount of honey.[5]

[5] It should perhaps here be noted that whereas honey is essentially suited to the early days of society when trade is not developed, sugar is just as essentially the saccharine of a commercial era. This has been clearly the case in Europe. In India, it is true, where the sugar is not refined, but the people drink the juice raw, the cultivation of the cane is carried on in the gardens of the various families. Just as soon, however, as any attempt at grinding or refining is made, the necessary outlay of capital requires that sugar be produced in quantities large enough for exchange—otherwise the capital would in nowise pay for itself. It is, therefore, quite natural that before trade was developed in Europe the consumption of honey was prevalent, sugar superseding it only when trade relations were sufficiently developed to allow the production of sugar in quantities large enough to render it economic.

There is, however, in addition to the costs incurred in producing commodities, another element to be considered in calculating the total utility that results from the economic process of producing and consuming goods. This element is the utility of the physical amount of the good produced; and in the case of honey versus sugar the advantage rests here, also, as on the side of costs, with the latter of these commodities, so that to substitute sugar for honey in one's scale of utilities would be doubly to increase one's total utility, first by decreasing the amount of cost to be undergone in obtaining the same amount of saccharine substance; and, secondly, by a direct increase in utility, since the sugar thus obtained would possess a greater amount of utility than the same quantity of honey. This superiority of sugar may upon examination be resolved into the fundamental economic categories of time, place and form utilities. These in this commodity are added to the stuff utility—sweetness, which, while it is common to both of these saccharines, is yet present in sugar in a much greater degree.

On account of its chemical composition cane sugar is sweeter than honey, for the sugars which honey contains are essentially less sweet than cane sugar. This fact has also in the common everyday consumption of the everyday man become most apparent. "The sweetness of sugar," says Oldmixon, "as far exceeds that of honey, as a pippin does a crab. 'Tis not surfeiting, but the cleanest and best sweet in the universe." [6]

The added place, time and form utilities of sugar have been concisely stated by Karl Ritter in his article upon the early history of the sugar cane. Ritter is in reality emphasizing the superiority of refined cane sugar over the crude raw juice of the cane, which, before the discovery of the refining process, was the only form in which the product of the cane was known to man. In general, however, these advantages will readily be seen to apply to sugar as it is known to-day as over against honey, and it is to emphasize this difference that I shall cite them here. Ritter speaks of the refining process as changing the raw juice of the sugar

[6] Oldmixon, "The British Empire in America," 1741, II, p. 146.

to the "purest and most nourishing aroma, fitted for preservation during long periods, and for being transported," and he declares that it lent to the sugar cane itself a much greater significance than it had hitherto enjoyed, in raising it to a *"Culturpflanze"* and a *"Colonialgewächs,"* in attracting its product, sugar, into the trade and commerce of both hemispheres, and in making its profits very influential in the determining of the colonial systems, the managing of states and politics, and in the general policy toward the slave trade.[7] In general, honey can be seen to suffer from these disadvantages of the unrefined sugar cane juice as Ritter enumerates them here, and thus to lack specific time, form and place utilities which sugar on the other hand possesses.

Cane sugar is, in the first place, to consider its form utility, a purer sweet than honey. It is in itself one of the original forms of sugar as it exists in nature, whereas honey, in addition to its saccharine qualities, contains other substances which tend naturally always to increase its bulk compared with the actual utility it affords. Sugar also, by reason of its greater purity, is much more soluble than honey, and can, therefore, be used in a greater number of foods, the element of variety thus introduced into its consumption serving to keep up its marginal utility, and to allow a greater amount to be consumed, and a greater utility to be enjoyed than would otherwise be the case. The added place utility of sugar over honey appears in the fact that in its dry crystallized form sugar can be transported easily all over the world, and that it therefore acquires a value in exchange that honey can never possess in nearly so great a degree; while the time utility can be seen in the prospective value which sugar acquires after present wants are satisfied, because it can be so easily and compactly stored up without danger of its spoiling. The transition from the consumption of honey to that of sugar having been thus elucidated and explained from an economic point of view, the way lies unobstructed to the consideration of the actual stages in the

[7] Karl Ritter, "Über die geographische Verbreitung des Zuckerrohrs *(Saccharum officinarum)* in der Alten Welt vor dessen Verpflanzung in die Neue Welt." Published in the "Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus dem Jahre 1839," in 1841.

transition and the manner of its accomplishment. This will resolve itself, from the particular point of view from which it will here be regarded, into the history of sugar as a commodity.

CHAPTER V.

Sugar in Asia.

To trace the story of sugar in the successive stages of its career, and to consider it at each stage in the midst of the various circumstances conditioning its existence, is to elaborate a history of peculiar interest and charm. For it is doubtful whether any other economic good has so consistently been associated with the great forces and peoples that have been most representative of the different periods of the world's history. The earliest accounts of the sugar cane are in the records of the Hindu civilization of India, where as a regular article of food it had probably been used for many centuries before its existence was discovered by explorers from the western world. Even after its discovery it remained undisturbed in its original home until, in the earliest Middle Ages, the Arabs began to spread over the surrounding countries and to carry with them their culture as well as their arms. It was about the sugar cane as a medicine that much of the chemical and otherwise scientific research of these people centered, and when they began their conquests and their dissemination of the civilization of the East, they carried the sugar cane with them as a characteristic and important part of that Oriental culture of which they were the conservers as well as the disseminators. In the reconstruction of Europe, which followed the Dark Ages, sugar had an established place among the utilities of the people; and, finally, when Europe started out on her period of over-sea expansion, sugar was again selected as one of the chief products upon which the wealth of the colonial provinces and so of the mother countries should be based. Through the succeeding centuries in which the history of Europe was shaping itself along the lines of mercantilism and absolutism, and protective duties were high, sugar was one of the most prominent items in the customs rolls, and much of the colonial policy of the

various European States centered itself about this commodity. The first impetus to the beet-root industry in Europe for the purpose of extracting sugar is closely identified with Napoleon and the Continental Blockade, while for an understanding of the present rôle which this sort of sugar is playing in the economic world one has but to cast one's eye at the enormous extent of the culture of the sugar-beet and the manufacture of its product in all parts of Europe to-day. The modern tendency, also, to utilize the tropics by the application of the intellect and energy, and above all, of the capital of the temperate zone, has greatly revived the culture of the sugar cane, and has brought this commodity once more into the arena of international controversy. To follow in greater detail these various stages in the history of the sugar cane, and of its product, refined sugar, is the purpose of the remaining part of this work. This will resolve itself naturally into two greater divisions. As outlined at the beginning of this paper, in the first of these the production of sugar values will receive most emphasis, since in the earlier days of the history of sugar, before its consumption had gone beyond the point at which men regarded it as a luxury, it was in reality the production of these values that was most prominent in connection with the sugar cane. The production of values in sugar by the respective processes of cultivation, refining and exchange must accordingly here receive attention. In the second division, as intimated, the chief stress will be laid upon the consumption of sugar values; since with the area of the cultivation of the cane practically complete—as far as the limits of the present work can carry it—and with the establishment of the refining industry and the development of the trade in sugar accounted for, the interest will naturally center in the history of the consumption of this good.

To begin, then, with the geography of the culture of the sugar cane. The earliest home of the cane is now generally believed to have been Bengal, in India. Various facts combine to make it most probable that this belief is founded on truth. First, the country of Bengal was the first place in which sugar was ever found, so that the very earliest records extant point to that place

as the home of the cane. Then, too, the sugar cane has never been found growing wild.[1] This, together with the fact that in its cultivated state it was found earliest in Bengal, makes it seem probable that Bengal was its original habitat. The extreme age, also, of the Indian civilization, and the identity of the cane with it, as far back as one can go, force one to the conclusion that sugar belonged by right of birth to this world-old culture, behind which its record, if such indeed there is, cannot possibly be traced.

The most scientific study of the problems in connection with the earlier phases of the history of the sugar cane was pursued

[1] The question as to whether the sugar cane can be successfully cultivated from the seed is as yet undecided. That, so far as records go, this method of planting has never been pursued to any extent, seems established beyond a doubt. Ritter dismisses the seed of the cane (l. c., p. 340) as playing no appreciable part in its cultivation, and botanists for many years have accepted it as a fact that the seed could not be so utilized. Recently, however, experiments have been made in the raising of cane by the seed, and some specialists are hopeful that the results will be successful. Mr. Charles S. Griffin, of the Tokyo Imperial University, in a paper entitled "The Sugar Industry in Europe" (Quarterly Journal of Economics, Volume XVII, p. 13), makes the following statements: "Only within the last dozen years or so has it been rediscovered that the cane can produce fertile seeds, and serious attempts made to improve it by the selection of seeds for planting. It is as yet too early to judge whether these experiments may in time lead to the development of the sugar cane similar to that which has taken place in the case of the beet." In a footnote he adds a quotation from Mr. Harrison in a paper entitled "The Results of Recent Scientific Researches Into the Agricultural Improvements of the Sugar Cane," in *Sugar Cane*, September, 1897. The quotation is as follows: "Until the last ten years the idea that the sugar cane could produce fertile seeds was by the great majority of planters and botanists regarded as absolutely without proof, and attempts to raise canes from seeds were regarded to be as futile as I hold attempts to obtain graft hybrids are. How this scientific and popular error arose it is difficult to tell. Some years ago, with the assistance of Mr. Carruthers, the keeper of botany at the British Museum, I searched through a lot of old botanical works; and we could find no trace of this belief until about 1750, when Hughes wrote his 'Natural History of Barbadoes.' Nay, more, we found descriptions of the seed of the sugar cane so complete and accurate that Carruthers considered they must take precedence of all recent work."

by the geographer, Karl Ritter, who published the result of his investigations in the paper already referred to.[2] Ritter has in this work drawn deeply on his classical and scientific learning, and by far-reaching etymological and philological tests, as well as by a rigorous application of botanical and physical laws, of the influences and conditions of climate, and soil and the like, he seems to have won the case for the view which makes Bengal the original home of the sugar cane. The great majority of those who have written since his time refer to him as to the authority on this subject. The botanist Alphonse de Candolle has paid fitting tribute to Ritter's work in his book on "L'Origine des Plantes Cultivées." I shall quote his testimony at this point, since I have used Ritter as the chief source for this present chapter on the earliest history of the cane. De Candolle says:

"Les origines de la canne à sucre, de sa culture, et de la fabrication du sucre, ont ètè l'objet d'un travail très rémarquable du géographe Karl Ritter . . . pour l'habitation primitive de l'espèce que nous interesse particulièrement c'est le meilleur guide et les faits observés depuis quarante ans appuient en générale ou confirment ses opinions."[3]

The first knowledge of any sweet substance growing in canes seems to have been revealed to the western world by the soldiers of Alexander the Great. Before his time the Europeans had known in general only the honey, and their ideas as to the exact nature and sources even of this form of sweetness were at best but uncertain and vague. The companions of Alexander, in the course of their wanderings in Asia, came upon people who used a substance extracted from reeds as their saccharine, and brought home with them wonderful tales of their discovery. However, their reports but served to render the confusion in the minds of the Greeks and Romans still more profound, for the Macedonians, in addition to the true sugar cane, which beyond a doubt they *did* find in Asia, brought news of another substance, also found in reeds, which they themselves confused with cane sugar, and

[2] See ante, p. 30.

[3] Alphonse de Candolle, "L'Origine des Plantes Cultivées," 1886, pp. 122, 123.

of which also they seem to have brought samples with them. This was the *tabaschir* or *sacar-mambu*—a medicine which "in outward form," says Ritter, "greatly resembles sugar, but which in intrinsic qualities is very different."[4] The Europeans, however, failed to realize that the sweet substance which the Indians were said to find in reeds and to use as their saccharine, and this white concretion, which was also described to them as being found in reeds, and with which they themselves became familiar as it was brought to them by travelers and in trade, were not one and the same thing; and, accordingly, in all their writings on the subject they fail to make any distinction between them, and refer constantly to this latter substance as to the true sugar, which they also declare to have been used only as a medicine.

This fact has made the study of the real sugar cane in its earliest phases most difficult, for most of the earlier compilers of its history accepted without a doubt all these classical references as allusions to sugar and drew their conclusions accordingly. About the end of the eighteenth century, however, some more exact work began to be done on the subject, and the result has been a gradual clearing up of the question. In 1796 one W. Falconer, M.D., published a "Sketch of the History of Sugar in Early Times and through the Middle Ages," in which he brings forth the hypothesis that those Greek and Roman writers who had long been supposed to have known the true sugar cane, either directly or by report, had in reality been unconsciously writing of an entirely different substance, which Falconer identified with the *tabaschir,* an Indian medicine later widely known. Alexander von Humboldt, in his "de Distributione Geographica Plantarum," strengthened this assertion of Falconer by declaring that the so-called "sugar of the ancients" was, in very great measure at least, not the sugar of the sugar cane, but the *sacar-mambu* or *tabaschir* of the Indians and Arabians. Karl Ritter, in taking his final position on this subject, allied himself with these two eminent scholars and with Kurt Sprengle and Salmasius, who after careful research arrived at the same conclusion, and declared without hesitation that among

[4] Ritter, l. c., p. 309.

the "ancients" the sweet substance most generally mentioned—and almost invariably as a medicine—was the above-mentioned *sacar mambu* or *tabaschir*.[5] Since, also, it is extremely probable that it was this substance, and *not* the sugar proper that Pliny and Dioscorides and other classical authors allude to when they claim to have seen that of which they write, it seems conclusively to be proved that in those early times sugar itself had not penetrated to the country west of the Indus, but remained still confined to the peninsula of India.

Although sugar was so generally cultivated and used in this, its original home, the form in which it was consumed was very different from the crystallized sugar of to-day. It was used, rather, as a liquid, "*roh oder als Honig, Rauschtrank Molasse oder Syrup*,"[6] the Indians at that time having very little idea of the possibility of treating the juice in any other way. Evidently, however, sugar in this form could never be used beyond the area of its cultivation, since these raw or half-cooked concoctions were suited neither to transportation without great difficulty, nor to preservation without great danger of fermenting. At this stage, therefore, the extension of its cultivation was the essential condition of the extension of its use.

It is in the fifth century A. D. that the first evidence appears that the cultivation of the cane had emerged from its primitive habitat. The new environment in which it is found at this time is in the Tigris Valley in the neighborhood of Jondisapur, a city of great importance under Persian rule, and in the period from the fifth until the eleventh century a great center of culture

[5] Dr. Benjamin Moseley, in his essay on Sugar, written in 1799, takes sides unconditionally with those who believed that all classical allusions to *Saccharum* or *Saccharon* refer absolutely to the sugar of the cane. This is, of course, the more natural since his purpose in writing the essay was to put forth in strongest terms the medicinal qualities of sugar. His proofs, however—when he adduces such—are in no way convincing or adequate, and he must be classed among those of the older school who, without sufficient research, relied unquestioningly on the outward forms of words for their decision as to the knowledge of the "ancients" of the sugar cane.

[6] Ritter, l. c., p. 310.

and civilization. It is the great blossoming of science and art in Jondisapur at this time that Ritter makes responsible for the presence of the sugar cane there. He believes that the Arabian physicians resident in Jondisapur introduced the sugar cane for the purpose of studying its medicinal qualities, as a result of which investigation they gave it later a most prominent place in their pharmacopœia.[7] Ritter puts forth also the hypothesis that sugar was not transplanted immediately from India to Jondisapur, but that it found its way there by way of Siraf, a city situated at the head of the Persian Gulf. In the ninth and tenth centuries Siraf was a great commercial center, and the records of those later times seem vaguely to refer to the cultivation of sugar within its boundaries at a much earlier date. These uncertain allusions have been taken by Ritter as the basis for what he regards as the very probable but in nowise certain theory that

[7] "Mag die aus Dioskorides und Galenus nach Obigem nun so allgemein bekannte Anpreisung des kostbaren mit Silber aufgewogenen Medicamentes . . . oder des Zuckersaftes selbst bei den griechischen Ärzten der hippokratischen Schule in Jondisapur die erste Veranlassung zur Anpflanzung von Rohrarten und insbesondere des Zuckerrohrs in den dortigen vielleicht zum Behuf der Pharmakopöe angelegten botanischen Gärten gegeben haben—wir wissen es nicht—finden aber, seltsam genug, bei der berühmtesten medicinischen Akademie im Orient, welche wie wir sahen durch Übertragung griechischer Kenntniss bei Persern, und Arabern unter dem Einfluss nestorianischer Christen mächtig emporblühte schon im Anfange des V. Jahrhunderts, die erste Nennung der köstlichsten Zuckerrohrpflanzungen. Dass Jondisapur ebenso wie das gleichzeitige benachbarte Ahwaz unter Sassaniden und später unter abassidischen Khalifen in allen Zweigen damaliger Disciplin, in Philosophie, Arithmetik, Dialectik, Musik, Geometrie, Astronomie, Astrologie, vorzüglich aber in den medicinischen den grössten Rühm im Orient genossen, dass viele der Leibärzte der Abassiden in Bagdad, (der erste bekannt gewordene ist Georg Eben Balhtishua, ein Christ, Director des Krankenhauses in Jondisapur unter Khalif al Mansur im Jahre 754) eben von diesen beiden Städten aus in die neue Residenz berufen worden, dass von ihnen die Bearbeitung der Medicamente und Pharmakopöen durch die Fortschritte der Alchemie und Chemie ausging; davon liegen die Beweise schon vor in dem was wir an einem anderen Orte (Allgem. Erdk., B., IX, S. 171-175) über die Geschichte beider Städte Jondisapur und Ahwaz, über ihren Reichtum, ihre Gelehrten . . . und über ihren Ruhm angeführt haben." —Ritter, l. c., pp. 374, 375.

Siraf was the stepping-stone over which sugar reached Jondisapur and Ahwaz.

It is to these two cities that Ritter ascribed also the credit of the invention of the refining of sugar, in so far as that art was practiced in Asia. He believes that the advance of the medical science among the Arabian physicians gathered at Jondisapur must constantly have been attended by the demand for always purer and more convenient forms of medicines and drugs, and that this demand, together with that progress in chemistry which is always found hand in hand with that in medicine, led naturally to the refining of the juice of the sugar cane. He places the date of this invention somewhere in the early years of the tenth century, since very soon after that time sugar in the modern sense finds a definite place in the books of various Arabian physicians, such as Ali Rhazi, Ali Abbas, Avicenna and others. All of these investigations and methods of proof of the various hypotheses have, it is evident, been pursued exclusively on internal evidence. It is interesting, therefore, at this point to note that that which originally inspired Ritter's work, namely, the discovery at Ahwaz of great millstones and other apparatus which he at the outset of his research believed to have been used there in the refining of sugar, here comes in as the one piece of external evidence necessary to establish his theory. Archæology and topography thus unite with history and literature in testimony to the fact that sugar was both grown and refined in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates as early as the tenth century, when the Caliphate of the Abbasides was in its glory there.

CHAPTER VI.

Sugar around the Mediterranean Sea.

To the Mohammedans also belongs the glory of having given the sugar cane to the western world. In their conquests and wanderings out from their Asiatic home, they carried the cane with them and planted it along the line of their march wherever conditions were favorable. The result was a series of plantations about the Mediterranean Sea which testified to the presence of the Mohammedan conqueror. The principal areas of cultivation on this westward journey of the cane were in southwestern Asia, in Egypt, in the islands of the Mediterranean, chiefly in Sicily, in the northwestern part of Africa along the Atlantic seaboard, and in southern Spain. The exact chronology of this transplanting of the sugar cane has never been determined with certainty. That, however, it was transmitted from place to place by the Arabs during the era of their supremacy and conquest is established beyond a doubt. Only in the case of Egypt is it believed that the introduction of the cane was not due to Arab invasion. In this instance evidence points rather to the fact that sugar cane was first brought to the upper valley of the Nile by the Copts in their commercial intercourse either with India direct, or with the peoples at the head of the Persian Gulf; and that once established in this neighborhood it was handed on along the Nile in a northerly direction nearer and nearer to its mouth. Recent research has firmly established the fact that this early trade route from southern Asia to these parts of Africa did exist, and this theory of Ritter, which he bases upon literary and historical evidence, as well as upon conditions in Egypt itself, adds one more argument in its favor. The Arabians, it should be remembered, entered Egypt from the north, and if they had introduced the cane its culture must naturally have spread from the mouth of the Nile southward, which is quite contrary to

the probabilities of the case as these are understood in the light of latest research.

The cultivation of the cane in southwestern Asia, that is, in Syria and Palestine, must have been introduced there by the Arabs at some time between the seventh century, when they took possession of this country, and the time of the Crusades. The crusaders found the cane growing in Palestine, and brought back to Europe glowing reports of this wonderful reed which had so refreshed them in times of great hunger and weariness. From Palestine the Arabs apparently carried the cane out over the islands of the Mediterranean Sea. In Cyprus, Rhodes, Malta and Morea flourishing plantations were established, and also in Sicily. Sicily, indeed, seems to have been the first place outside of Asia where the sugar cane was grown. There are records which prove that it was taken there and cultivated by the Arabians certainly in the tenth century, and possibly in the ninth. It has been suggested that sugar was introduced into Sicily from Egypt, but the evidence for this is not very strong, and the exact means of the transmission of the cane to Sicily must remain for the present, at least, undecided. The culture of the cane in this island became a most important and profitable pursuit, and sugar yielded large incomes to the Government for many centuries. So famous indeed had Sicilian sugar become in the fifteenth century that the ruler of Portugal, when he desired specimens of the cane to plant in the Madeira Islands, turned to Sicily as the land from which the best cuttings could be procured. Sugar was carried by the Mohammedans, also, across Africa to its northwestern coast. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there are references to sugar plantations in this neighborhood. Sus al Aksa, in the Morocco of to-day, and Ceuta, on the Straits of Gibraltar, are mentioned as centers of its growth. The actual way in which sugar entered Spain has never been determined, so many possibilities exist, and so little certain knowledge of the subject. It may have been carried there from Sicily, or from the immediately opposite African shore. In the twelfth century allusion is made to it as growing in the neighborhood of

Seville, which lay, it should be noted, very conveniently near Ceuta on the African coast. There is not in these earlier days any evidence to show that sugar was extensively cultivated in Spain. That, however, the use of this commodity was establishing itself in this peninsula during those and succeeding centuries is amply proved by the persistency with which the Portuguese and Spanish, in the absence of plantations on their own native soil, still procured sources of supply in the world to the west of them.

The production of values by exchange in sugar and by the refining process began in this period, also, to assume considerable proportions. From each of these areas of cultivation around the Mediterranean Sea there was, so to speak, a secondary migration, not of the cane itself, but of its product, sugar, which was distributed from these centers by traders who carried it over the surrounding countries where the cane itself was not grown. The early commercial activity of the Venetians in the Mediterranean Sea soon adopted sugar as one of the chief commodities in exchange. Dr. Benjamin Moseley declares that even prior to 991, "the Venetians, then forcing their commerce with the Saracens into Syria and Egypt, brought back . . . . . not only rice, dates, fena, cassia, flax, etc., but also sugar."[1] In another place in his essay he says, "The Venetians, anterior to the year 1148, imported considerable quantities of sugar from India by the Red Sea, and also from Egypt. Sugar was likewise made before then in the island of Sicily. With the produce of this island and the sugar imported from India and Egypt the Venetians carried on a great traffic and supplied all the markets of Europe with this commodity."[2] [3]

[1] Moseley, l. c., p. 71.

[2] Moseley, l. c., p. 71.

[3] This statement of Moseley's evidently rests for support on an entry in Anderson's "Treatise on Commerce," for the year 1148. It reads as follows: "Several authors agree that about this time there were very considerable quantities of sugar produced in the Island of Sicily, with which the Venetians traded to the ports in the Indian Ocean as well as with the sugars of Egypt and what was brought thither from the Red Sea." Although in the commerce of Venice sugar in those years played so

It was in Venice also, the seat of the sugar trade, that the art of refining sugar in the modern sense of the word was discovered. The close and necessary interrelation that exists between the refining of sugar and its extensive appearance as an article of trade, is by this very fact strongly emphasized. It is to appear again, in a succeeding century, when Antwerp becomes at once the center of the refining industry and of commerce in sugar, and is to find its greatest example at the close of the seventeenth century, when the great powers of western Europe become at one and the same time the cultivators of the cane and the refiners and exchangers of its product. In the earlier days, however, these jurisdictions in the production of values were in great measure separate, and while some countries planted and watered, it was left to the rising city of Venice to bring forth the final increase by her industry and trade. The refining of sugar is absolutely essential, as remarked above, if this commodity is to become a staple article of trade. Only in a refined or more or less crystallized form can sugar be preserved for any length of time, or transported with facility. Ritter has even gone so far as to point out the counterinfluence which the refining of sugar had upon the cultivation of the cane. He shows that refined sugar was accessible through the channels of commerce to all the outlying districts of the earth, and that this accessibility naturally created a demand for the commodity which could be met only by increasing the areas of cultivation of the sugar cane.

important a rôle, we have no reason to believe that it was then used at all generally among the people of Italy itself. The climate of Italy was too cold for the successful cultivation of the sugar cane, and for some reason the Italians do not seem to have demanded the product from the surrounding warmer countries—at least not until the age of the holy wars, when the crusaders returned from Palestine with their wonderful accounts of the sweet-tasting reed which they had found growing there. This is further attested to by Ritter, who says: "In Italien mag der Zucker durch einzelne Handelsleute der Amalfitaner, Venetianer u. A. schon lange vor den Kreuzzügen eingeführt worden sein, aber die Kreuzfahrer verbreiteten erst allgemein den Geschmack und Gebrauch dieses Aromas das seitdem aus dem Medicament zum Gegenstande eines Luxus des täglichen Lebens wurde durch das ganze Abendland."—Ritter, l. c., p. 401.

In 1470 a Venetian discovered the art of refining the juice of the sugar cane, and received one hundred thousand crowns for his invention, a fact which in itself suggests very strongly what must have been the importance already attached to sugar as an economic good. Up to this time the sugar in use about the Mediterranean had been imperfectly refined, and was probably cruder, even, than that which had been formerly made at Jondisapur. By this discovery at Venice, however, large clear crystals of sugar candy were made, and later by the application of constantly improving means and methods of production the Venetian sugar refiners succeeded in offering to the world the far-famed "pains de Venise." These were, as is well known, in the shape of cones and loaves, and were so far superior to anything that had been produced before that the demand for them spread with great rapidity over the surrounding European countries.

It was not only, however, in the realm of production that history was making itself in this period with regard to the sugar cane. In the consumption of this good, also, great changes were taking place. It was during this era of the Mohammedan supremacy, namely, that sugar ceased being used merely as a medicine and began to be consumed as an article of food. Circumstances as they existed among the Mohammedans all combined to make this transition almost a necessary one. As a medicine sugar was naturally very expensive. It was at first, most probably, produced outside of India only in botanical gardens, as at Jondisapur, and at great expenditure of energy and trouble. The ordinary difficulties attendant upon the cultivation of the sugar cane are at all times greater than those incurred in raising almost any other agricultural product, and, as already shown, the smaller the scale at which sugar is produced the greater is the relative expense. It was therefore only as a medicine that sugar could first have found a place among the utilities of a people outside of India, its original home, where conditions were so pre-eminently suited to its production, and where, from time immemorial, apparently, it had been an established food of the people. Its adoption as a food among any people who were not accustomed

to it must of necessity have been very gradual, since the cost of production was comparatively so great in the first stages of its cultivation that it must have been reserved for those demands whose utilities were very high. Medicine is by its peculiar nature always rated at a very high utility, since often even life itself is dependent on its consumption, while the very small quantities in which it is consumed make it possible that a very high price can be paid for it. The desirableness of sugar as an article of food must have become evident as soon as it was consumed in any capacity, for its sweetness was calculated to satisfy a fundamental want of man's sensory nature. It is therefore evident that only the stimulus of objective forces and conditions were necessary to insure the expansion of its consumption, and these forces and conditions were, as it happened, present among the Mohammedans, in the form of great stores of wealth which enabled them to pay the necessary price for this article of luxury.

CHAPTER VII.

The Discovery of America.

The introduction of sugar into Spain was the stepping-stone over which the cultivation of the cane came into contact with the civilization of western Europe. For, although the Moors were at that time dominant in the Spanish Peninsula, their supremacy was shortly to fall before the rising powers of the West, and the Mohammedans at their expulsion from Spain were to leave behind them, among their other rich gifts to modern civilization, the cane fields of Granada and Andalusia. The significance of this cane culture in Spain, carried there in mediæval times, was not to be realized, however, until the modern era set in; for it was in this latter age that sugar attained its fullest importance as an economic good. The fact, therefore, of its presence in Spain where these two eras came together, where the last and greatest people of the Middle Ages was brought face to face with the first great state of western Europe—this fact, to repeat, contains in it all the possibilities which appeared in their full fruition in the subsequent history of sugar.

As the Christian states grew stronger in Spain, events shaped themselves rapidly which were to lead naturally to the demand on the part of the inhabitants of the country for the product of the cane. With the growth of their prosperity the demand for the pleasures of the senses was increasing rapidly, and men were striving instinctively to find means to satisfy this demand. Trade with the East had brought the knowledge of Oriental luxuries to the Europeans, to whom these articles now appeared as essential to comfortable well-being. In close touch with this "consumers'" desire for the luxuries of the East there was on the production side a complementary demand equally great. The many traders of the day, and those engaged in adventures and enterprise, saw

in this commerce with the East a way to increase their treasure and so to procure great prestige and distinction. And, finally, overtopping and completing all, there were the governments of the European states, just beginning to take on a semblance of nationality, who were eager as were their individual citizens to obtain power and position among their neighbors through the great wealth which foreign commerce would bring. Thus the desire for national prestige and the individual desire for social prestige and sensory satisfaction stood side by side as the great motive forces which were to lead these adventurous seamen toward the Western World.

The growth of wealth in the countries of western Europe during the latter Middle Ages had, as already stated, led to a "vast increase" of the trade with India. The travelers who in the thirteenth century had gone to Asia brought back with them marvelous tales of the world-old civilizations there. Coloring these narratives with the pictures of their own excited imaginations they succeeded in stirring those who heard or read of them to attempt to procure for themselves some of the fabled eastern treasures. In the fourteenth century the Venetian and Genoese traders were moved to attempt explorations in the East, and in the fifteenth century, when the mercantile classes had begun to accumulate their wealth, more and more interest centered in these eastern stores, and the eastern trade assumed even larger proportions. This trade had already grown considerably, notwithstanding the many disadvantages that it was compelled to encounter. It was in fact these very disadvantages that led later to the discovery of America, in this way: by making it necessary for the nations of the Atlantic seaboard of Europe to attempt to open up a new trade route which should be unhampered by the obstructions that lay along the old road between Europe and the East.

Communication with India and the far-famed "Cathay" was hampered in so far as all Europe was concerned by the fact that the Mohammedans had taken possession of all the lands through which the trade routes lay, and demanded exorbitant tolls and

other charges, thus diverting the profits that might otherwise have accrued to the Venetian and Genoese merchants. "To carry this trade, therefore, direct to India," says Payne, "became the dream of the age."[1]

The maritime states of western Europe, which were then beginning to attain to some sort of political as well as economic power, also suffered an extra disadvantage from the old trade routes. The Mediterranean traders, possessing as they did a practical monopoly, furnished eastern goods to these western customers only at prices high enough to cover all the Mohammedan charges, and also an extra profit for themselves. Both these causes combined, *i. e.*, the Mohammedan occupation of the commercial centers, and the Italian monopoly of the Mediterranean trade, to bring the balance of trade in favor of the East. Payne says, apropos of this:

"Beside the valuable exports of Europe, such as iron, copper, quicksilver, timber, slaves and corn, the ships of Venice alone brought yearly three hundred thousand ducats in coin to Alexandria. This is but one instance of an extensive process, and from it we may gather some idea of the extent of this drain of bullion from the west to the east. Such a drain the scanty mines of silver in Europe were totally unable to support. The growth of the Indian trade thus naturally led to a serious and perplexing dearth of the precious metals. In the fifteenth century the purchasing power of gold and silver in Europe was double the same power in the century preceding, and the produce of Europe was universally depreciated in a corresponding degree. Some direct communication, if possible, of Europe with the East, leading to a readjustment of this disturbed balance, thus became an economic necessity."[2]

While Europe was thus looking to the fabled East as to the source of gold and pearls, and of spices and rich silks—that is, translated into economic terms, of wealth and distinction, and of luxury in food and dress, another market nearer home was opened up to her people, which offered them opportunities for satisfying in new and unexpected ways many of their old desires. This was the western coast of Africa, that Portuguese enterprise

[1] Payne, "History of the New World, called America," 1892, I, p. 54.

[2] Payne, l. c., I, p. 71.

had revealed to Europe as a great trading station for gold dust and slaves. From these fields great stores of riches could be procured and great numbers of Africans could be brought and sold into slavery, thus to make the lives of the wealthy, leisure and luxury-loving inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula still more luxurious by their constant service and attendance. Nor were the social wants left ungratified, for a large retinue of such creatures invariably procured great social prestige to their owner or proprietor. The Portuguese ruler himself sent many slaving expeditions to the coast of Africa, where the Mohammedans had long been engaging in the traffic, and demanded one-fifth of the returns from all the private ventures. "The impulse which grew from the hope of gain," says Payne, "was diffused through all ranks of society, from the sovereign at home to the needy adventurer who risked his life among savages on a barbarous shore."[3]

These ages of unrest led naturally to the voyages across the Atlantic, and so to the discovery of America, their inevitable outcome. Linked with the economic phases as outlined above, the intellectual uneasiness and curiosity and the religious enthusiasm of that time were quick to respond to those other forces which were leading men on in the search for satisfaction, both social and sensory. All the institutions of that day were brought into line with this dominant tendency. Slavery itself was condoned by the Pope under the claim that it was to the advantage of the wretched Indians to be brought from the paganism and savagery in which they had been born, and to be put under Christianizing and civilizing influences.

The lands in America that the Spaniards discovered in their search for India were, naturally, called upon by the European nations to serve as a substitute for the eastern countries they had hoped to find. Where powers of substitution failed, moreover, they were forced to furnish, in ways peculiar to themselves, gratifications for the desires of these western peoples. In looking to the East, Europe had expected to find gold and pearls as the chief forms of treasure, and, in addition to these, all those costly

[3] Payne, l. c., I, p. 99.

Oriental products both of nature and of art which were fitted to delight the pampered taste of her people. Of all of this list, the only article which they actually found in America was gold, and even this they did not discover in the form which they were seeking. They had expected to find it in the shape of rich ornaments and vessels, such as befitted the Hindu civilization, and instead of this they came upon it only as a dust in the sands of the river beds, from which it had to be extracted by great toil and suffering of a subject people. Gold, however, inasmuch as it is the symbol of wealth, is always the source of prestige and power, and the form in which it may exist influences but little its real significance. The Spaniards, therefore, were not disappointed in so far as gold rewarded their explorations in America.

Beyond this treasure this primeval country offered none of those things that her discoverers expected to find. India, "the rich and populous fairyland," "full of everything that man's heart could desire," with her "wealth and luxury and splendor," and Cathay, with her "rich and vast cities and numerous and civilized people," had proved for them but the figment of a dream, and instead of all the rich civilization of the East, they found themselves face to face with only "forest-clad islands . . . sparsely occupied by an utterly savage race" whose whole wealth consisted, beside their daily bread, only in a few cotton cloths and baubles. Such were the actual utilities of these people; but in their land there lay for the Spaniards great stores of potential utilities, according to their various desires, and the only course open to them, in the failure of the finished goods which they had fondly hoped to find, was to apply themselves to a converting of these potential utilities into actual utilities. In the case of Spain, indeed, this process was never so systematically carried on as it was later under England, for the Spaniards were always too eager for the golden treasure of their lands to apply themselves to a more careful scheme of cultivation. To a degree, however, they did put them under agriculture, and it is indicative of the extent to which the Spaniards craved sugar that this was one of the first things cultivated in their western plantations. The

Portuguese had begun to plant the cane on the Atlantic Islands nearer the African coast before America was discovered, moved thereto, in a measure, by the ever-increasing obstacles to eastern trade. The activity of the Spanish in America was clearly a continuation of this same process. A growing demand for the good, and an ever-decreasing market, furnished the two most powerful stimuli to an increase of supply.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Demand for Sugar in Europe.

The demand for sugar in western Europe was not confined in those early days exclusively to the Spanish Peninsula. Its use had already spread to England in the thirteenth century, 1264 being the date of the earliest price quotation there, the prices quoted ranging from one shilling to two shillings per pound.[1] These high prices continued in England with many fluctuations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and indicate that the demand in England must have been great in proportion to the available supply. Mr. Thorold Rogers has found it necessary to account for these high prices and their wide variations on the ground of the "scanty and variable nature of demand and supply of so expensive a luxury."[2] From the side of England, then, there was encouragement for anyone who contemplated the expansion of the area of sugar cane cultivation. Moreover, conditions in England at that time were such as to make possible an effective demand for the good things of life. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were marked by the growth in wealth and distinction of the mercantile classes there. "This," says Cunningham, "may be clearly shown from their increasing organization and the formation and incorporation of companies of merchants, each of which

[1] The full significance of this high price of sugar appears when it is remembered that money then was worth about twenty times what it is worth now. From this computation the price of sugar then, translated into modern terms, would have been from one to two pounds sterling per pound. When it is realized, also, that wheat in 1264 was selling at from three to six shillings the quarter of eight bushels, or in modern terms at from seven and one-half to fifteen shillings per bushel, the full extent to which sugar was a superfluity and a luxury becomes apparent.

[2] James E. Thorold Rogers, "History of Agriculture and Prices in England," 1866, I, p. 633.

dealt in a particular class of goods."[3] Cunningham goes on to show that the various centers of trade in England were centers of considerable wealth, a fact for which he brings proof from the lists of the various towns, with the amounts received from each, from which Richard II found it necessary to borrow money for carrying on his government. From the lists which Cunningham reproduces one may readily see how largely the various English towns were drawn on in this levy, and how significant this fact was for the state of English society. "When," says Cunningham, "the towns were able to contribute in this fashion, we may see that there was already a class of moneyed men not only in London, but in provincial towns as well, who were able to bear a large part of the burdens which had hitherto been defrayed by the landed interests, either ecclesiastical or lay."[4] In the fifteenth century the merchant classes of England attained such prestige that they at times entertained even royalty itself.

Nor was France much behind England in her demand for luxuries. White sugar is mentioned in the accounts of the household of the Dauphin du Valumois Humbert II for the year 1333, and also in an ordinance of John II, in 1353. In 1420 Eustace Deschamps, a poet, mentions sugar as one of the greatest expenses of a ménage. "For a long time in France," says Figuier, "they sold sugar only in medicinal quantities,"[5] and he ascribes the high price of it in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the fact that the Venetians at that time had the monopoly of the commerce of the Mediterranean, and could thus regulate prices through their control of the supply. However this may be, it is evident that the high prices paid in France, by indicating a demand for sugar, must have acted as an extra inducement to the transportation of the cane to the Atlantic islands by the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula.

In Spain at that age there was a like era of general prosperity.

[3] Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce." I, Early and Middle Ages, 1890, p. 340.

[4] Cunningham, l. c., Early and Middle Ages, 1890, p. 344.

[5] Figuier, "Les Merveilles de l'Industrie," II, p. 144.

Castile in itself had long enjoyed a certain measure of economic prosperity through the early development of its towns. Forced into cohesion by the invasions of the Arabs, these small political units early reached a state of solidarity unknown at that time in other parts of Europe, and this political strength was accompanied by great production of wealth. From the Arabs the people had learned "a better system of agriculture and a dexterity in the mechanic arts unknown in other parts of Christendom."[6] "Augmentation of wealth," Prescott declares, "the usual appetite for expensive pleasures, and the popular diffusion of luxury in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is attested by the fashionable invective of the satirist and by the impotence of repeated sumptuary enactments."[7] When Ferdinand and Isabella united under the crown of Spain the two kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, the economic well-being of the country received fresh life, for all the energy that these two states had spent in struggle with each other, and in vying for superiority, could now be put to developing the resources of Spain as a whole. Trade and industry were accordingly fostered and protected, and in their joint reign the "grand period of Spanish history" was ushered in. "At the beginning of the sixteenth century," says Bernard Moses, in a study of Spain at that time, "Spain stood in relation to other nations of Europe economically higher than she ever stood before or has ever stood since."[8] The chief significance of this period, both in England and in Spain, for the history of sugar, lies in the development of moneyed wealth which was taking place in both of these countries at that time. Such wealth naturally brought with it, as already pointed out, a demand for articles of luxury, and, as subsequent years have shown, sugar occupied in this economic movement a position of no slight importance, since among the luxuries then demanded sugar stood in the first rank.

[6] Prescott, "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," edited by John Foster Kirk, Philadelphia, I, p. 27.

[7] Prescott, l. c., I, p. 29.

[8] Bernard Moses, "The Economic Condition of Spain in the Sixteenth Century," published in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1893, p. 125.

CHAPTER IX.

Spanish and Portuguese Activity.

The westward migration of the sugar cane belongs in its earliest stages to the activity of the Portuguese navigators. In their voyages toward the south, undertaken in the hope of finding a new trade route to India around southern Africa, they carried the cane with them and planted it on newly discovered lands. As early as 1422 it was brought to the Madeira Islands by Henry of Portugal, and by 1472 it had been carried as far south along the west coast of Africa as the island of St. Thomas, on the equatorial line.

Great diversity of opinion exists, however, among those who have attempted to say just how the sugar cane finally reached the New World. The controversy hinges on the question as to whether the sugar cane was originally a native of America, or whether it was introduced by the Spanish discoverers. The weight of evidence seems to rest with those who claim that the cane was not indigenous to American soil, but was brought from Europe in the first years of the sixteenth century. The real significance of the discussion for the present study is not very great, and the various details of proof need not be adduced. Whichever side is right, the essentially important fact remains, to wit: that the economic conditions of the times were such that the Spaniards found it to their interest and advantage to plant and cultivate the cane in their American possessions. For all men are unanimously agreed, that however and whenever the cane may have been introduced into America, the stimulus to the development of its later culture was brought to the New World with the adventurers from the old, and that the whole phenomenon of the sugar plantations in America belongs exclusively to the period of European occupation of her shores. It is of small moment, also, whether the cane was taken first to Brazil and then brought to

the West India Islands from this South American colony, for here again the significance centers in the application of European capital to the cultivation of the sugar cane in these undeveloped lands, regardless of which of them may have been the first to receive it.

For any permanent change in the supply of an economic good, psychic and physical circumstances must be favorable. In other words, there must be an increased demand, and, as complementary to this, certain external conditions of environment must exist, which make it possible for the increased demand to become actually effective. In analyzing the circumstances under which the expansion of sugar culture from Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries took place, just such a favorable combination of psychic and physical factors is seen to have been at work. On the psychic side there was the generally increasing demand for all forms of luxury that has already been dealt with at length. Beside this, there was a much more specific stimulus in the consumption of a Spanish colonial product, newly introduced into Spain, and calling for sugar as its complementary good. This product was the fruit of the cacao tree, which had been used and cultivated by the American Indians long before the Europeans found their way to the shores of the western world. "The bean," says Payne, "was at once introduced into Europe (after its discovery in America by the Spaniards), where a demand for it speedily arose."[1] "Spain," adds the article in the Encyclopædia Britannica, "was the first nation in which its use became common, and to this day cocoa is more extensively consumed among Spaniards than by any other European community."

It did not take the Spaniards long to recognize the great value of cacao as a condiment, a food and a stimulant, and they early began to cultivate it themselves in their American possessions. "Cacao," says Payne, "usually though not universally preceded other objects of tropical agriculture in the West Indian Islands, the reason being that, as compared with sugar and tobacco, it required little expenditure of either capital or labor. From cacao,

[1] Payne, l. c., I, p. 424.

as they became richer, the planters turned to the more profitable culture of sugar, tobacco and indigo, and hence the cultivation of this earliest special product of tropical agriculture in the New World tended to diminish where European capital was abundant, and to become more and more restricted to the districts where it had originated."[2]

This apparent shrinkage in the area of the cultivation of cacao after the first expansion under the stimulus of European demand was associated with another fact of great importance in the economic and social history of Europe. This was the introduction of tea and coffee. Although these two eastern products entered Europe later than chocolate,[3] so popular did they immediately become, that before many years had passed they had in great measure usurped the place held up to that time by cacao. Payne has enumerated the reasons why this should have come to pass. He says:

"Owing to the state of international relations, the cacao of Spanish America was less easily procured than the corresponding products of the East. Coffee and tea, moreover, were more easily prepared, required no admixture of other ingredients and proved better suited than chocolate to the taste of the people of Northern Europe. The last-named beverage nevertheless has held its ground. Its fine aromatic quality, its cheapness, the comparatively mild stimulus which it communicates to the nervous system, and the positive alimentary properties which it largely possesses, render it in the present day of increasing importance, and the cacao tree may fairly be assigned a rank with maize, manioc and potatoes among the

[2] Payne, l. c., I, p. 424.

[3] The use of the three terms, cacao, cocoa and chocolate, in connection with this one commodity requires perhaps some explanation here. Cacao is properly applied to the tree itself. It is defined by the Century Dictionary as follows: "Cacao—the chocolate tree. The seeds when roasted and divested of their husks and crushed are known as cocoa nibs. These are ground into an oily paste and mixed with sugar and flavoring matters to make chocolate—the most important product of the cacao. Cocoa consists of the nibs alone, either unground or ground, dried and powdered, or of the crude paste dried in flakes." Under "Chocolate" I find: "Cacao, under its native name of chocolatl, had been used as a beverage by the Mexicans for ages before their country was conquered by the Spaniards." Under "Cocoa" the following explanation of the term is given: "Cocoa

chief benefits which the discovery of America has conferred on the world at large."[4]

In considering thus the relation between cacao and coffee and tea I have anticipated the events of about a century and a half, for these two last-named beverages were not introduced into Europe until the middle of the seventeenth century. One fact, however, which Payne has mentioned incidentally in the above quotation had very vital importance for cacao in the earliest years of its European experiences. This was the fact that the cacao bean requires in its consumption the "admixture of other ingredients." The fruit of the cacao trees can never be consumed alone. The American aborigines pounded the bean and maize together into a paste, which they consumed either as it was or as a liquid made by adding hot water in sufficient quantities. Among the European nations sugar has been universally selected as the most general admixture for cocoa, and it is to this fact that the great imporatnce of chocolate for the present investigation is due. The introduction of cacao into Spain followed very closely upon the Spanish discovery of America, and the subsequent popularity of this article doubtless added greatly to the already existent demand for its complement, sugar. With these general and specific causes at work, the expansion of the culture of the cane to Spanish America was the most natural consequence, especially since the physical conditions there were peculiarly favorable.

In the tropical parts of America nature seems to have done her uttermost to bring together all the circumstances of soil and climate and position which are best suited to the growth of the sugar cane. Wray's "Practical Sugar Planter" makes the following statements with regard to the essential climatic features:

"The climate most congenial to the sugar cane plant is of a warm and moist character, with moderate intervals of hot dry weather attempered

(a corruption of cacao by confusion with cocoa, coco, [a palm belonging to the genus Cocos producing the cocoanut]). . . . the ground kernels of the cacao and chocolate tree." From this it is clear that cacao refers to the tree, cocoa to the product of the tree unmixed with other substances, and chocolate to the product ground and mixed with various substances.

[4] Payne, l. c., I, p. 425.

by the refreshing sea breezes. It has already been found to grow most luxuriously on islands and along the seacoast of mainlands, which leads us to suspect that the saline particles brought on sea breezes are very favorable. . . . Within the tropics the cane attains its greatest perfection. Cold to any degree does not suit its growth or development. Hence it cannot be cultivated with success in Europe, although it has often been tried in Spain. . . . In the West Indies periods of hot, dry and rainy weather are well defined and pretty regular, and the planters commonly choose spring and fall as the most eligible times for planting out their fields in cane, but on some estates canes are planted and manufactured all the year round." [5]

The ideal conditions for the cultivation of the cane here enumerated by Wray were realized in the West India Islands and on the adjacent shores of America, ready to be utilized when the demand for sugar arose among European peoples. The planting of the cane, therefore, in these parts of the New World was but the bringing of these two factors—demand and supply—together into a favorable economic conjuncture.

The culture of the sugar cane in America prospered accordingly. The first of the West India Islands on which it was grown was Hispaniola or Hayti, and from Herrera we learn that it throve there so well that the Jeronomite friars, who were sent to the island in 1515, issued orders that every inhabitant who would erect a sugar mill should have five hundred pieces of eight in gold lent to him. By this contrivance there were, Herrera declares, forty water or horse sugar mills on the island.[6]

In Spain, also, there was evidence of the profit which accrued to the mother country from these sugar plantations in the New World. Charles V is known to have obtained funds for his palace building at Madrid and Toledo, from the dues levied on imports (of sugar) brought from San Domingo to Spain."[7] The growing commercial importance of the Spanish colonies to the mother country is well attested by the gradual extension in Spain of her organization of the trade relations with her American possessions, in which commerce sugar had an increasingly important

[5] Wray, l. c., p. 48.

[6] Herrera, II Decade, Book II. p. 155.

[7] Encyclopædia Britannica, XXII, p. 658 a.

part. The famous "Casa de Contratacione or House of Trade" was established at Sevilla in 1503 to arrange all matters of commerce with the colonies and to supervise and manage all export and import cargoes. The powers granted to this body at its first organization were very extensive and full, and although they were later somewhat limited by the erection of the Council of the Indies, this House of Trade at Sevilla continued to be the great commercial medium between Spain and her colonies. Its constitution was finally settled in 1543 by the Ordinanza de la Casa. "C'est par la Casa," we read, "que passerènt toutes les richesses fabuleuses de l'Amérique Espagnole pour être réparties aux ayants droit, y compris la part royale."[8]

This was clearly the era of Portuguese and Spanish supremacy in the sugar world, and the cultivation of sugar was steadily extended by these peoples throughout the sixteenth century. According to Ritter, the cane was taken to Brazil in 1531.[9] Brazil was long the source of the finest sugars that were made, and in the early years of the English cultivation of the cane the great object of the English planters was to equal the product of the Portuguese colony. The date of the introduction of sugar into Cuba is most uncertain, various writers claiming various dates from 1535 to 1580. According to Alexander von Humboldt, who waives the question of the exact date of the first sugar cultivation there, the island did not in any case participate in the sugar industry to any extent in the sixteenth century, so that its whole significance belongs to a later era.[10] The island of Hispaniola, on the contrary, seems early to have attained great importance as a sugar colony. In 1562 the slave trade was very profitable there—a reflection of what the sugar industry must then, also, have been. In that year Sir John Hawkins took some negroes there from Guinea, "where he sold his negroes and English commodities, and loaded home his three vessels with hides, sugar and ginger, and also many pearls, returning in the year 1563, after making a prosperous

[8] Lavisse et Rambaud, "Histoire Générale," 1894, IV, p. 919.

[9] Ritter, l. c., p. 409.

[10] Alexander von Humboldt, "The Island of Cuba," 1825, translated by Thrasher, 1856, p. 251.

voyage.—This seems," Anderson adds, "to have been the very first attempt from England for any negro trade."[11]

The monopoly of the sugar trade was in these years in the hands of the Portuguese. Spain managed the carrying of her own sugars, as is evident from the very exclusive commercial policy that she adopted at that time. "No foreigner," says Mr. Egerton, "might enter a Spanish colony without express permission, and the penalty of death was enacted against the colonist who should trade with any foreign ship. Even the intercourse of colony with colony was either absolutely prohibited or limited by severe restrictions."[12] The bulk of the transportation of sugar at this time rested, nevertheless, with the Portuguese. Their great colony of Brazil, according to Mr. Egerton, their "one example of genuine colonization,"[13] afforded them an unfailing source of supply to be carried to the refiner and consumer in Europe. In their expeditions about Africa, also, sugar formed a favorite cargo. Portuguese sailors visited Madagascar as early as 1506, and in 1515 there are accounts of the tales they told of the sugar cane growing on that island. During the rest of the century, also, their voyages around Africa did not cease, and sugar was brought in increasing quantities to Lisbon, both from these plantations in the southern Atlantic and from the American cane fields. Figuier and Butel-Dumont,[15] in their comments on the sugar trade, unite in declaring that during the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth the Portuguese navigators retained the naval supremacy in their hands, among the nations of Europe, and as a part of it the monopoly of the carrying trade in sugar. "Lisbon owed to this traffic," says Figuier, "together with the commerce with India, the greatest splendor. But various causes contributed to take from them this source of wealth. The Portuguese fell under Spain, and the establishments of other European nations in the West Indies . . . began to cultivate sugar."[16]

[11] Anderson, l. c., II, p. 117.

[12] H. E. Egerton, "Origin and Growth of the English Colonies and of Their System of Government," 1903, p. 44.

[13] Egerton, l. c., p. 45.

[14] Ritter, l. c., p. 383.

[15] "Histoire et Commerce des Antilles Angloises," attribué a M. Butel-Dumont, 1758, p. 210.

[16] Figuier, l. c., II, p. 10.

CHAPTER X.

The English Refining Industry.

Even during the period when the Portuguese were still supreme in the raising of sugar and in transporting it to Lisbon, the people of the Netherlands were taking to themselves the refining industry and the actual distribution of sugar to European ports. The Dutch in the sixteenth century were accustomed to call at Lisbon and carry the sugars to Antwerp, where they were refined, for Antwerp was during this century the great center of the refining industry. Antwerp was, says Anderson, "the most celebrated magazine of commerce in all Europe, if not of the whole world, it having been at this time a common thing to see two thousand five hundred ships in the Scheld laden with all sorts of merchandises . . . in one word, Antwerp was then almost what Amsterdam is now, a general store-house for the whole world."[1] Antwerp continued to hold her place as the chief center for sugar refining until the latter part of the sixteenth century, when by force of circumstances she finally gave 'way to England, who was to become supreme in this department of producing sugar values long before she possessed the monopoly of the cultivation of the cane, or of the carrying trade.[2]

[1] Anderson, l. c., II, p. 87. quoted in part from M. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, in "Memoirs of Dutch Commerce."

[2] The entries in Anderson's "Treatise on Commerce" for the year 1560 throw valuable light upon the part that Antwerp was then playing in the commerce of the world, as also upon the sources and manner of distribution of sugar among the European ports. I have extracted the data relating to sugar and shall review them here. Anderson's notes are taken from "The Description of the Netherlands," by Louis Guicciardini. "As the famous city of Antwerp," says Anderson, "was in this year (1560) in its zenith of prosperity, we imagine that a general view of its commerce at this period (as exhibited by Guicciardini) . . . will not be unacceptable to our curious readers." Sugar, it will also be remembered, was in

Indeed, the first attempts in England at sugar refining were made as early as the first half of the sixteenth century. According to Mr. Reed, who quotes Stow's "Survey of London," two sugar houses were started in London in 1544, but there were at that time so many sugar refiners already at Antwerp, "who could supply refined sugar to England, and cheaper than it could be made at home, that these two houses drew little profit from it."[3] The English industry was destined to thrive but little in this respect, and no more than these two original sugar houses were established in London until toward the end of the century the Flemish base of supply was cut off from the English consumer.

The first interruption between England and the Netherlands came in 1568, when the Duke of Alva seized "on the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp to the value of about £100,000 sterling,"[4] in

1560 selling in England at 1s. 3d. per pound. The merchants of Antwerp were, according to Anderson's quotations, sending sugar to Germany, and to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Eastland, Lavonia and Poland, along with "vast quantities of spices, drugs and saffron." She sent sugar also to England and Scotland, and forwarded it to Venice and Milan, a fact not without significance for European commerce at that time, since it indicates quite clearly that the Venetians had already "found themselves unable to compete with their rivals, the Portuguese . . ." and that the former supremacy of Venice as a trading center had been obliged to yield before the rising power of Lisbon, which had now become the resort of traders from every part of Europe." (Craik, "British Commerce," 1844, I, p. 215). The Lisbon merchants, Craik tells us, also carried the productions of India in so much greater quantities than had ever been known before, to the great intermediate mart of Antwerp, that the wealth and grandeur of the latter city also may be said to have commenced with this date (the sixteenth century). Antwerp received from Portugal most of the sugar that she again exported. Portugal, in her turn, had it (according to Guicciardini) from "St. Thomas under the equinoctial line and from other isles on the African coast," and from Madeira. Spanish sugar from the Canary Islands, and the sugar of Barbary, also found its way to Antwerp at this time. "No sugars," adds Anderson, "were as yet brought from Brazil nor from any other part of America." (Anderson, l. c., II, p. 113.) To this last statement I have later taken most decided exception. See pp. 67 sq.

[3] Wm. Reed, "History of Sugar and of Sugar Yielding Plants," 1866, p. 10.

[4] Anderson, l. c., II, p. 127.

retaliation for a seizure by English sea-rovers of some treasure that Spanish ships were carrying to the low countries. "The breach with Spain that followed," says Cunningham, "and the interruption of the Netherlands trade, led to the transference of the Merchant Adventurers' factory from Antwerp to Hamburg, where the trade was carried on successfully for some ten years, till the Hansards drove them out."[5] It is, therefore, most probable that in 1568 the English were obliged to turn to refining sugar for their own use. Seventeen years later, when the Duke of Parma, in 1585, completed the sack of Antwerp and the destruction of all her shipping and industry, the English were driven decisively to undertake the refining of sugar. It passed as by natural right across the North Sea from Antwerp to England, where the merchants immediately began to grow wealthy from this pursuit. From that date England became the chief seat of the refining of sugar in Europe. After the sack of Antwerp, Reed says, these two sugar houses already established supplied England with sugar, "and became so wealthy that many other persons embarked on the business,"[6] and Moseley adds in his treatise that "England, which had formerly been supplied with refined sugar from Antwerp, the chief commercial city then in Europe, now not only supplied itself, but exported great quantities to other countries."[7] [8].

[5] Cunningham, l. c., II, Modern Times, 1892, p. 25.

[6] Reed, l. c., p. 10.

[7] Moseley, l. c., p. 73.

[8] As would be expected, there is in 1585 in England a rise in the price of sugar over that of the period immediately preceding. The higher prices prevail for about two years with slight fluctuation until the end of the year 1586, when, evidently, English capital was able to respond to the extra demand put upon it. The entries in Rogers for 1585 are very numerous, and it is worthy of note that while in 1583 sugar sold in general at about 1 shilling or 1 shilling 2 pence the pound, some of the entries for 1585 showing also this low price, in the latter part of this year the price rises suddenly to 1 and 7 or 1 and 8 the pound.

CHAPTER XI.

Increasing Supply of Sugar.

Despite this early beginning of the refining of sugar in England, the English did not commence to cultivate the sugar cane until well on in the seventeenth century. "We must," says Mr. Egerton, "wait for more than a hundred years (after the voyages of the Cabots) for the first English colony,"[1]—and the first ventures in cane culture in the West India Islands were not made until about thirty-five years after the first successful attempt at English colonization in America. During these intervening years events general and specific were shaping themselves in England which were to make her planting of sugar when it should finally come, not an isolated phenomenon, but the natural consequence of the tendency of that age.

That sugar had been consumed in England long before the seventeenth century has already been made clear. As mentioned above, the first account of its use there is for the year 1264, and the entries for the years after that date are increasingly numerous. There were in those early years various kinds of sugar in use in England, distinguished from each other by the names of the localities from which they came, and differing greatly in price. The sugars from Alexandria and Cyprus seem to have been much cheaper than the other sorts, and this can probably be explained on the ground of the very poor refining which was practised in those neighborhoods. In Sicily, in the thirteenth century, this art was encouraged and fostered by Frederick II, so that it is most probable that the most expensive sugars quoted in England then were brought from this island.[2] In the year 1319 there is the first explicit mention of a shipment of sugar to England. It is in

[1] H. E. Egerton, "A Short History of British Colonial Policy," 1897, p. 13.

[2] In 1264 "sugar" in England cost 2 shillings the pound, while that from Alexandria is quoted at 10 pence, and in 1334 Cyprus sugar at 7 pence.

Marin's "Storia del Commercio de Veneziani,"[3] and records that one hundred thousand pounds of sugar were sent to England, there to be exchanged for wool. There is furnished also a clue as to what sugar was worth in England in that year, for in the accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland there is an item of the purchase of sugar at one shilling and one-half pence the pound.[4]

Probably owing to the extension of cane culture to the islands near Africa, and the subsequent increase in the supply of sugar, the price in England during the first decade of the sixteenth century was much lower than in preceding years. The majority of the entries in Rogers for this time are quoted at three or four pence the pound.[5] Relatively low prices continued in England

In the latter year "sugar in cake" is sold at 1 shilling 2 pence the pound. In 1285 there are records of numerous purchases by Earl Clare, who, according to Rogers, "buys two 'pots' designated as 'sugar of roses' and 'sugar of violets,' the former of which costs 14 shillings, the latter 13 shillings." (Rogers, l. c., I, p. 633.) The prices of sugar in England at that time were very various, and Mr. Rogers is inclined to attribute this fluctuation to the "scanty and variable nature of the demand and supply of so expensive a luxury." (Rogers, *Ibid.*) He points out that "in 1285, when the large purchases of Earl Clare are made, the average price of two quantities is 8½ pence, the lowest price recorded, with the exception of the Cyprus sugar of 1334. But in 1264 the Countess of Leicester buys sugar in London on the 29th of March and the 5th of April at 1 shilling, while on July 15th another quantity costs 2 shillings, some of that purchased for the King's Wardrobe being also purchased at the latter rate. In 1392 half a pound of sugar is purchased at Shrewsbury at 2 shillings, and, generally, the article is dearer during the latter half of the fourteenth century." (Rogers, l .c., I, p. 634.) This rise must be due to the fact that the demand in England was growing faster than the available supply, and illustrates without doubt one of the potent causes which led Spain and Portugal to begin to extend the area of cultivation to the islands of the Atlantic Ocean in the latter fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

[3] Reed, l. c., p. 8.

[4] Encyclopædia Britannica, XXII, p. 658 a.

[5] The prices quoted by Mr. Rogers for wheat in this same decade range from 10 shillings the quarter of eight bushels to 3 shillings for the same quantity, or from 1 shilling 3 pence to 4½ pence the bushel. Com-

until about 1545, when they advanced rapidly. This was, as Mr. Rogers remarks, due doubtless in largest part to the debasement of the currency by Henry VIII, although the discovery of silver in America in the latter half of the sixteenth century must also have been in great measure responsible.

In the year 1518 the Turks took possession of Egypt, thus finally closing to western Europe all eastern sources for sugar, as for other Oriental commodities, in so far as the Mediterranean trade routes were concerned. The result of this interruption to commerce was that the prices of eastern products in general rose immediately and to a great height. Other things being equal, it would have been natural to suppose that the price of sugar should have followed this general tendency. Mr. Rogers goes so far as to say that it did.[6] In examining most carefully his tables, however, I have been unable to find any such advance in the price of sugar as he claims for the years after 1521. In fact, despite the disturbing events in the East, I find in these years persistently low prices of sugar, which I attribute to the steady increase of the supply from the western plantations. Mr. Rogers seems to look only to the East as the source of supply, whereas the whole tendency of the era with which he is dealing was, by extending the cultivation of the cane always farther and farther to the west, to open up independent bases of supply for the nations of western Europe.

This process of the western expansion of sugar culture had been going on for a century in 1521, for it was just ninety-nine years

paring the highest prices quoted in this period for wheat and for sugar, we find that 1 shilling 3 pence for wheat stands over against 4 pence for sugar. Comparing this ratio with that of 1264, namely, 2 shillings for one pound of sugar, and 6 shillings for one quarter, or 9 pence for one bushel of wheat, it is evident that in the first decade of the sixteenth century the price of one pound of sugar was much less compared with that of one bushel of wheat than it had been in the earlier period. The ratios stand as follows:

Sugar (1 pound)		Wheat (1 bushel)
1264	2 shillings	9 pence = 24:9
1500-1510	4 pence	1s. 3d. = 4:15

Reduced to a common denominator these become $\frac{2}{9}\frac{4}{6}\frac{0}{0}$ and $\frac{2}{9}\frac{5}{6}\frac{2}{0}$.

[6] "If," Mr. Rogers says, "my readers will consult the annual prices or

before that date that the Portuguese carried the first cuttings from Sicily to the Madeira Islands. It had, as already recorded, been going on steadily ever since that date, and all positive evidence goes to show that by the year 1521 considerable quantities of sugar were being brought from these western cane fields into western Europe.

Contemporary writings of this period abound in mention of the flourishing condition of sugar culture in America at this time, and of the large imports thence into Spain. While absolute reliance cannot be placed on what these old chroniclers have said, still it is safe to assume that there must have been a large amount of truth behind such glowing accounts. The action of the Jeronomite Friars in Hispaniola in the early sixteenth century has already

still more conveniently the decennial averages, he may notice that during the twenty years, 1521-1540, a marked rise takes place in all articles of Eastern produce. The progress of the Turkish arms in Western Asia and Eastern Europe had undoubtedly, as it dammed up the old channels of trade and drove commerce into the only course left to it through Egypt, heightened the price of the product continuously for fifty years and more. But the sharpest rise takes place after 1520. The rise is about 30 per cent. on paper, over 40 per cent. on cloves, over 90 per cent. on mace, over 25 per cent. on cinnamon and on dates, then produced entirely in Egypt. The case of sugar is more striking still. In the latter part of the fourteenth century sugar was worth 19 shillings the dozen pounds. It became still dearer in the first half of the fifteenth century. The entries, indeed, are very few, for the price, 24 shillings the dozen, was almost prohibitive, and two out of the three entries are from the expenditures of opulent persons. Nor do I doubt that the price of this article was during this period everywhere in England at such rates as my entries represent, for I am sure that it would have been found at occasional feasts given at the visits of distinguished persons if the price had not been considered too extravagant for prudent purchase, and too much to expect from any host, however grateful, expectant or prudent he might be. Between 1490-1510 it rapidly declines; in 1495 and 1503 it is about 2s. 9d. the dozen. After the conquest of Egypt these latter prices are more than doubled." (Rogers, l. c., IV, pp. 656, 657.) A careful examination of Mr. Rogers's tables does show that the price of sugar did, indeed, begin to rise somewhat after 1510, for while the decennial average for 1501-1510 was 3s. 4½d. the dozen pounds, that for 1511-1520 was 6s. 2½d. For the decade 1521-1530, for which Mr. Rogers claims the sharpest rise, the average price is 6s. 9¼d., as will be seen, a relatively small advance

been alluded to, and need not here be reviewed.[7] Peter Martyr is quoted by Moseley as having declared that in 1518 there were twenty-eight sugar mills in Hispaniola, established by the Spaniards. He says, "It is a marvelous thing to consider how all things increase and prosper in this island. There are now twenty-eight sugar presses, wherewith great plenty of sugar is made. One root beareth twenty and often thirty canes."[8] The great revenues of Charles V from duties on sugar have also been referred to above.[9] Purchas in "His Pilgrimes" writes of His-

over the preceding decade. This same advance of 7d., moreover, is seen also for the years 1531-1540 over 1521-1530, without the influence of any new disturbing causes. These figures seem conclusively to refute Mr. Rogers's statement with regard to the "sharp and sudden rise in the price of sugar" after 1520. The decided difference between the average for 1501-1510 and that for 1511-1520 was most probably due to the Turkish conquests in the East. That, however, this rise did not continue and with much greater emphasis after 1520 seems to point unmistakably to the western cane fields which, after 1520, surely, were beginning to yield rich returns. Mr. Rogers does, indeed, mention these sources of supply, but he is so impressed with the necessity of a great rise in the price of sugar as the logical consequence of the capture of Egypt that he is unwilling to give them their full due, and dismisses them as follows, with but partial recognition:

"I have, indeed, no proof, but I have no doubt that up to the end of the sixteenth century the sugar industry was steadily growing in Alexandria. It was, indeed, introduced into Madeira in the early part of the fifteenth century, and into the New World shortly after the discovery of Columbus. It became an industry in Brazil and Mexico early in the sixteenth century. Supplies from these regions would no doubt check the reaction on prices which the conquest of Egypt in 1518 effected, and the almost entire annihilation of the industry. But they were not sufficient to arrest the rise, and thus prices tend upwards till it becomes impossible to distinguish the effect induced by the destruction of the Egyptian trade from that which came in the first place by the issue of Henry and Edward's base money, and the final exaltation of general prices. But there is no article in which it seems more easy to trace—few as the entries are—the effect of political events on merchantable commodities."—Rogers, l. c., IV, pp. 675, 676.

[7] See ante, page 59.

[8] Peter Martyr, English edition 1577, p. 172, quoted by Moseley, l. c., p. 30. Original edition published in Spain in 1530.

[9] See ante, page 59.

paniola as follows: "Their swine did multiply exceedingly, but as an enemy to their sugars, a great commodity in Hispaniola, where in 1535 Oviedo reckons almost thirty ingenios, the number daily increasing, they were forced to root out this rooting kind of beast."[10] Southey narrates that in 1519 a royal audience stated to the King of Spain that in Jamaica . . . they had sugar mills, and requested him to settle with the King of Portugal about a supply of negroes for the islands, which if not speedily obtained the islands would be ruined."[11] Martin adds that in 1523 there were thirty sugar mills established in Jamaica.[12]

For the continental parts of America there are also similar records. Peter Cieza, who traveled in Peru and other parts of South America during the years 1533-1550, is quoted by Moseley as saying: "In several parts of the vales near the city of St. Michael there are large fields of sugar cane whereof sugar is made in several towns and preserves."[13] Oviedo declares, also, for the year 1515, that "there is such abundance of sugar in Mexico that certain Spanish ships are yearly freighted therewith and bring the same to Sevilla, in Spain, from whence it is carried to all parts of Christendom."[14]

Nor were the islands nearer Europe failing in their sugar supply during this period. The island of St. Thomas, particularly, held a prominent place among the areas of sugar cultivation. It will be remembered that sugar was planted there by the Portuguese in 1472, and according to Ritter rich harvests followed soon after its first planting. Actual accounts for the first years of the sixteenth century are lacking, but the extent to which the sugar industry had been carried in the island at the middle of the century leads one inevitably to the conclusion that in the earlier decades it must have assumed considerable proportions. Ritter records the report of an unnamed Portuguese pilot to the Portuguese Count Rimondo della Torre, to the effect that at the middle

[10] Purchas, "His Pilgrimes," 1625, V Book, VIII, p. 804.
[11] Southey, "Chronological History of the West Indies," I, p. 143.
[12] Martin, "History of West Indies," 1836, I, p. 9.
[13] Moseley, l. c., p. 32, quoted from Cieza, cap., 64, p. 167.
[14] Moseley, l. c., p. 32.

of the sixteenth century St. Thomas had already sixty plantations, with many canals, sugar mills, boiling pans and other necessary utensils.[15] The Madeira and Canary Islands were also in the early sixteenth century still in a most prosperous condition, their period of decline not having yet set in. To the generally flourishing state of sugar culture in the Atlantic Islands at this time Ritter bears full testimony in the following words:

"Als später die Zuckerpflanzungen in den oceanischen westlicheren tropischen Inselgegenden und Gestadewelten mit viel üppigerem Ertrage angesiedelt wurden, musste die Cultur in Sicilien weichen. Bei Syrakus wo sie noch allein ausser der Umgebung von Palermo mit einigem Nachdruck betrieben wurde am Fluss Mirando zwischen Syrakus und Pachino nahm sie schon unter Kaiser Karl V sehr ab." [16]

In Hakluyt there is direct reference to the fact that in 1526 and "for some time previous certain merchants of Bristol did by the ships of St. Lucar in Spain trade to the Canary Islands, sending thither cloth, soap, etc., and return with dyeing drugs, sugar and kid skins," and that "they also sent thither their factors from Spain."[17]

These several notices referring to the production of sugar in the single plantations make, when combined into one testimony, a great weight of evidence against Mr. Rogers' conclusion. The witness that they bear to the amount of sugar that was then being produced in the Atlantic islands and on the mainland of America, together with the fact, taken from his own tables, that the price of sugar did not after 1518 rise immediately or decidedly over that of the preceding decades;—these two circumstances make it clear beyond a doubt, I believe, that the western plantations were already asserting their supremacy in the sugar world. On no other grounds can one explain the phenomenon of the relatively low price of sugar in the midst of the great rise in the prices of other eastern commodities at the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

[15] Ritter, l. c., p. 398.
[16] Ritter, l. c., p. 404.
[17] Hakluyt's Voyages, II, p. 3, quoted by Anderson, l. c., II, p. 48.

CHAPTER XII.

Sugar a Luxury in England.

As already stated in the preceding chapter, there was a quick and decided rise in the price of sugar after the great debasement of the English currency in 1544. Between the years 1543 and 1545 the price is more than doubled, and, as Mr. Rogers declares in a note already quoted, these high prices continue to prevail without interruption for many years.[1]

The fact that in 1545, when prices in general in England were enhanced, the price of sugar responded so readily to the general advance, indicates with certainty that its use was becoming established among the English people. In a time of rising prices, from whatever cause the rise may come, those articles which are considered most essential are the first to show the increase. Sugar had not, however, as yet passed beyond the rank of a superfluity, insofar as the great mass of the English people were concerned, and was still regarded as dispensable by most of those who consumed it. That, therefore, at this time of rising prices, which in common with all such periods worked misfortune for many classes of the English people, sugar still continued to be consumed at the higher price, and in increasing quantities,[2] indicates that there

[1] In 1543 there is the entry of the purchase of 30 pounds of sugar for 18s., *i. e.*, at a little over 7d. the pound, and in 1545—only two years later, but the year after Henry's greatest debasing took place—the average price per dozen pounds was 18s., making the average for 1 pound to 1s. 6d., the actual entries for 1545 being 1s. 8d., and 1s. 4d. the pound. From 1545 to 1552 there is a curious lack of entries. In 1552 sugar is quoted at 1s. 1d. the pound, and the price fluctuated about this point for many years after that date.

[2] The increase in prices due to an increase in the amount of money in a country is brought about by the fact that an increase in the demand for the commodities results immediately from the increased purchasing power of the consumers. If, therefore, the price of any specific commodity does

must have been a part of the population of considerable economic importance, who in some way still possessed the means to gratify their desire for luxury.

Every increase in price indicates a change in the ratio between demand and supply. To understand thoroughly the exact causes and nature of any such rise as the one in question, the various conditions of consumption and production must be investigated. Only thus can the true nature of the resultant be ascertained. The fact that in the present case the rise in prices was the acknowledged result of the debasement of the currency, indicates clearly that it was in the realm of the demand for sugar as embodied in purchasing power that the prime causes of this especial change were operative. The necessary process in the solution of the problem is, therefore, to examine the various economic classes existent in England at that time, and to find out what was the state of their demand, and what influences were combining to make it what it was. This done, it will be a matter of little difficulty to see how these various classes were affected by the debasement of the currency, and what part they respectively played in giving character to demand under the changed circumstances.

The first point to be borne in mind is that the rise in prices was general, not confined to a few commodities, but affecting all alike. All classes in England, therefore, in so far as they were consumers, were directly affected by the higher prices which they were thus obliged to pay for the satisfaction of their wants. The extent to which the various classes were affected, and the sum total of the

rise under such circumstances it is evident that there has existed a potential demand for the good, beyond the effective demand. If, also, at the same time with the rising price, there is an increase in the *amount* consumed, it is evident that some people are spending a larger relative part of their income than formerly in purchasing the commodity. This is, in fact, what took place in the case of sugar. The price rose quickly and decidedly, and the number of entries in Rogers grows more numerous despite the higher price, indicating that more sugar was steadily being consumed. For the year 1535 there are two entries in Rogers, and one respectively for 1536 and 1543. For 1545 there are two, as also for 1552, and for 1553. For 1554 there are five; for 1557 four, and for 1558 and 1559 seven respectively.

influence which the enhanced prices had upon their well-being, were different for the various economic classes, according as they were predominantly consumers or producers, and according as, if producers, they lived chiefly by agriculture, industry or trade.

In setting forth the results of the debasement of the currency in the sixteenth century, Mr. Rogers has mentioned the manner in which the English people were affected. "In the preamble to Elizabeth's first proclamation on the currency," he says, "the loss of the base money is said to fall principally on pensioners, soldiers and all hired servants and other mean people who live by any kind of wages, and not by rents of land or trade of merchandise."[3] Rogers objects to this statement of Elizabeth, and claims that the landowners also suffered from the increase in prices, on account of fixed or customary rent, long leases for land and other things. According to his version, therefore, those engaged in trade were the only members of English society who did not suffer economic loss from Henry's tampering with the currency. This conclusion has been reached purely by a process of elimination, for Mr. Rogers himself does not mention what the effect on the trading classes was. In omitting to do so, it may here be remarked, he has entirely ignored what was the key to the whole situation as to the ultimate influence of the base money in England, both in general and also with especial application to the demand for sugar. Mr. Cunningham declares that its influence upon commerce was "a far more important point than appears in the proclamation,"[4] inasmuch as a debased currency at home must have disturbed commercial relations with other countries by making it profitable for foreign merchants to come to England to purchase goods with base money, which they themselves brought into the realm, thus enhancing the price of foreign produce in England, since under the circumstances it was imported in much smaller quantities.[5] In this way the merchants engaged in trade in foreign wares felt the evil effects of the debased currency. It is true, also,

[3] Rogers, l. c., IV, pp. 191, 192.

[4] Cunningham, l. c., II, Modern Times, p. 63, n. 2.

[5] Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," 1885, (small volume), pp. 292, 293.

that domestic trade must have fallen off considerably at that time. The wages of labor did not rise relatively with prices, and fixed incomes decreased in real value, so that the general purchasing power of society was lessened, and consumption, accordingly, had to be curtailed.

In the measure here indicated it is evident that the mercantile classes did suffer along with the others from the debased currency. It is also evident, however, that those identified directly or remotely with commercial enterprise suffered much less from this cause than did other economic groups. Those who sold the goods whose prices were enhanced were, obviously, in large part recouped by the extra amounts of money they received from sales, for the high prices which they were obliged to pay for what they themselves bought.[6]

The increased quantities of silver in Europe, by reason of the importations from America, were at that time, also, redounding especially to the profit of the trading classes, and thus serving to counteract in part, at least, whatever bad effects they were suffering from the debased currency. "In mercantile undertakings," says Mr. Warner, "a time of rising prices when the rise is not due to a debased currency, is generally a time of activity and expansion. Profits are high and it is easy to accumulate capital, and encouraging to invest it,"[7] and again, "Rising prices may be satisfactory to those who embark in commercial undertakings and

[6] This relative advantage of the mercantile classes is well evidenced in the "Dialogue concerning the common weal of this realm of England" of 1581. (See Shaw's "History of Currency," 1896, p. 125.) The merchant in the pamphlet declares: "We that be merchants pay dearer for everything that cometh over the sea, even by the third part well. . . . When we have thus bought dear outlandish things, then we have not so good vent of them again as we have had before time, by reason there be not so many buyers for lack of power, though indeed in such things as we sell we consider the price we bought them at." The Doctor responds to this: "I doubt not if any men have licked themselves whole (*i. e.*, recovered the loss), you be the same, for what odds soever there happen to be in exchange of things, you that be merchants can espy it anon."

[7] Townsend Warner, "Landmarks in English Industrial History," 1899, p. 174.

gain the profits; but they press hardly on those whose incomes are fixed or change slowly and with difficulty, and in this class are the wage-earners."[8] "It is undoubtedly the case," says Mr. Cunningham, "that a rise of nominal prices, and a fall of the value of bullion favors the mercantile classes, and gives a stimulus to industrial activity at the expense of *rentiers* of all kinds."[9]

From this it becomes clear that we should look to the mercantile classes in England at that time for an explanation of the fact that sugar, a luxury inaccessible to the many, continued to be consumed at an advanced price and in increased amounts. If these men, who suffered least in the general economic depression, were numerous enough and wealthy enough to keep up the effective demand for sugar, then the phenomena above referred to are already explained. No proof is needed of the importance of the commercial classes in England at that date. The accumulation of moneyed wealth in the merchants' hands was the characteristic feature of social life in Tudor times, and these men were in consequence becoming the dominant economic force in England. "Merchants and manufacturers," says Professor Andrews, "were becoming more important than landholders and agricultural laborers, and were controlling the policy of the government."[10] These "rich burgesses" were thus occupying the position of the "moneyed classes" of England, and were using the means at their disposal in procuring satisfaction for their various desires. The sensory wants under these circumstances were not neglected, and these "merchants and manufacturers" became, as Mr. Cunningham remarks, the "chief consumers" as well as the chief purveyors of those "foreign goods,"[11] among which sugar then occupied so important a place.[12]

[8] Warner, l. c., p. 175.

[9] Cunningham, l. c., (small vol.) p. 296.

[10] C. M. Andrews, "History of England," 1903, p. 303.

[11] Cunningham, l. c., (small vol.) p. 293.

[12] The extent to which luxury was indulged in in the sixteenth century by these classes in England is well shown in two quotations from Anderson for that year. (Anderson, l. c., II, p. 140.) The first one he took

There was another class of people in England in the early sixteenth century who, though originally not identified with the mercantile interests, were still at this time closely in touch with them, and whose wealth was increasing by reason of the activity of the merchants. These were the landholders, who at that time were universally enclosing their lands and putting them to sheep farming. The advantage of these people was two-fold: first, they shared, as sellers of their wool, in the relative advantage of the strictly trading classes, attendant upon the general rise in prices from the debasement of the currency and the discovery of American silver; and, secondly, they had also an extra return from the high prices that were being offered for wool, independent of the general rise.

This enclosure system was not to escape the all-pervading activity of the commercial classes in England, for very soon after it started, and the great profits it yielded became evident, merchants began to seek here investment for their accumulated capital. The result was that to a large extent the old landed nobility in England gave place to the new régime of capital, and the country-side as well as the towns became subject to its power. Professor Andrews writes of this transformation as follows:

from "a treatise in Sir Robert Cotton's 'Remains,' p. 196, published in 1651, being an essay first written in 1609." "He observes," says Anderson, "'that in the year 1573 there was brought in an immeasurable use of luxurious commodities in England, as wines, spices, silk and fine linen; for of the latter sort of above ten groats the ell there is above three hundred and sixty thousand pounds yearly spent, which is half the value of our woolen cloths exported; and maketh the state to buy more than they do sell; whereas a good father of a family ought to be *vendacem*, a seller, not *emacem*, a buyer.'" The second quotation is from Camden in his "History of Queen Elizabeth." "Under the year 1574," says Anderson, "(he) says the people (by which he meant the rich) wore silks glittering with gold and silver, either embroidered or laced, which it seems the Queen in vain endeavored by her proclamation to restrain, and to oblige people to conform to a prescribed rule. Feasting also was much in fashion at this time; also great improvements were made in buildings, and more noblemen's and gentlemen's country-seats were re-edified, in greater beauty and largeness than had ever before been known. 'And certainly,' says he, 'to the great ornament of the kingdom through to the decay of hospitality.' All which, however, when rightly considered, was no other than the natural effects of our increasing riches and commerce."

"Since the accession of Henry VII the enclosure movement has taken on a new form. While the old manorial system was breaking down and trade was growing, thousands of acres were passing out of the hands of the old nobility into the hands of newer men, merchants and the members of the new nobility, who were getting profit out of them without regard to the condition of the people upon them. The old manorial lords were giving place to a class of landlords who racked the tenantry, evicted those who failed to pay their rents, enlarged their estates by buying up new lands, and enclosed the commons and arable fields without any consideration for those who tilled the soil for a living. In consequence, rents rose, prices trebled and misery increased."[13]

Further than this one need not go in the search for the reasons why the effective demand for sugar, even at its enhanced price, was maintained, and at an increasing ratio, during the latter sixteenth century. The secret of the situation is found in the fact that the owners of purchasing power in England were not so seriously affected by the economic crisis as to be forced to give up their consumption of the good things of life. The merchants and the landholders who were raising sheep, and selling the wool at a greatly enhanced price, had been the chief consumers of sugar before Henry's debasement began, and these men were those who under the changed conditions were still most able to enjoy it, even at its higher price. The rising prices resulting from the base money fell less hardly on these moneyed classes than on the other ranks of society, while the increasing amounts of silver from America, and the consequent effects in England in a general enhancement of prices, worked directly in their favor.

[13] C. M. Andrews, "History of England," 1903, p. 272.

CHAPTER XIII.

English Cultivation of the Cane.

In the preceding chapter the mercantile element in England, and the allied groups of the population, have been regarded exclusively as consumers in creating through the wealth they owned an effective demand for sugar. This, however, was by no means their most important function in society, for even while they were consuming a part of her finished products, they were acting at the same time as the chief producers of her wealth. In their capacity as consumers they were seeking direct gratification for their organic and sensory wants, but with the accumulation of their capital the prestige wants asserted themselves, and these wants could be assuaged only by productive activity. The merchants, therefore, began to demand investment for their capital, and the era of colonization and plantation in America, under the direction of English merchants and merchant companies, was the inevitable consequence. The interests of these men, moreover, became so powerful in England, that the class as a whole finally gave its name to the English national policy which was formulated and made articulate as the Mercantile System. Moreover, just as these individuals and companies were looking to America for opportunity to invest their wealth, and so to increase their individual prestige, so from the national point of view colonization in the New World offered the opportunity for realizing the main objects of the Mercantile System, and so for advancing national power, which is natural prestige. "Whatever the nature of the 'economic man,'" says Egerton, "prestige will always be dear to nations no less than to individuals."[1] With national and individual interests thus at one, the planting of the American shores was the natural result.

[1] H. E. Egerton, "Short History of British Colonial Policy," 1897, p. 5.

Elizabeth came to the throne with clear realization of the economic condition of her realm. Her eyes were not dimmed to the great importance of her mercantile, wealth-producing classes, nor to the fact that by a wise fostering of these commercial interests she could eventually raise England to a place of equality surely, and to one of predominance probably, among the nations of Europe. To accomplish this all the phases of the mercantile policy had to be carefully guarded, and if this were done the interests of the merchants themselves would be assured. The echoes of the national policy are to be noticed in contemporary documents bearing on the exploring and colonizing movement, and it is worthy of note that in these documents, too, the personal interests of the merchants are not left unexpressed. In discourses on the subject, the profit "to the whole realme in generall" is commonly set forth alongside of the "particular profit of all adventurers."[2]

In the methods, also, that are set forth, by which these adventurers might grow rich in the New World, sugar planting is early suggested—long, indeed, before any actual attempts at its cultivation were made by the English planters. This was but natural, for in this form of productive activity there was an opportunity to obtain gratification at once for the two demands then so powerful in England, to wit, the desire on the part of the English people for sensory gratification and pleasure, and the desire on the part of the moneyed classes for successful investment, and so for prestige and distinction. These early allusions to sugar testify to the place that it held among English utilities at the end of the sixteenth century. In the directions given "to certaine Gentlemen that went with Mr. Frobisher in his Northwest discoveries" Hakluyt admonishes them as follows:

"And (this seat is to be chosen) for the possessing of mines of golde, of silver, of copper, quicksilver, or of any such precious thing, the wants of those needful things may be supplied from some other place by sea. . . . Or if the soyle shall yield Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces,

[2] "Hakluyt's Voyages," published 1904 by James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow, "A discourse of the necessitie and commoditie of planting English Colonies upon the North partes of America," VIII, p. 89.

Oranges, Lemonds, Potatos &c there may arise some trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Marmelade, Sucket, &c."[3]

In his "Discourse on Western Planting" Hakluyt also adds as a remedy for England's surplus population, that they be sent "for certen yeres in the westerne parts, especially in Newfoundland, . . . and in the more southerne partes in setting them to work in mynes of golde silver copper leade and yron, in dragging for perles and currall, in plantinge of sugar canes as the Portugales have done in Madera."[4]

The colonial energy of Great Britain in the Western Hemisphere was in its first ventures directed exclusively toward the more northerly parts of North America. Sporadic expeditions did touch at the West India Islands, but they did not in the earlier years result in any permanent occupancy. The first attempts at colonizing the English West Indies belong to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The first land in these islands that was claimed for the English crown was on the island of Barbados, and it is significant that it was here, also, that the first sugar cane was planted by English settlers.

Barbados was discovered first by the Spaniards, who, as did also the Portuguese, visited the island in the early sixteenth century. The first English vessel touched there in 1605, and its master and crew took possession of the country by erecting a cross upon the spot where a city later was built. In the bark of a tree which stood near they cut the words "James K of E and this island." No settlement was effected on Barbados until 1625, when Courteen, a Dutch merchant with interests in England, fitted out a colonizing expedition thither under the patronage of the Earl of Marlborough, to whom the King granted the island. The claim to Barbados was in the succeeding years the subject of much dispute and many rivalries, for the English kings granted it away to one petitioner after another, with no regard to previous patents or charters. The result is an almost hopelessly complex set of documents on the subject.

[3] "Hakluyt's Voyages," edited by Edmund Goldsind, 1889, I, pp. 109 sq.

[4] "Hakluyt's Voyages," edited by Edmund Goldsind, 1889, II, p. 194.

Meanwhile the planting of Barbados went steadily on. The earliest settlers put themselves to raising cotton and tobacco. Their success in this was not great, however, and the early years of Barbados bore but little promise of its future greatness, "of all," to quote Charles Kingsley, "the wealth and commerce and beauty and science which has in later centuries made that lovely isle the gem of all the tropic seas."[5] "The tobacco," says Ligon, "was worthless and earthy, and they lingered on in a lamentable condition."[6] "But when," he goes on to say, "their sugar canes had been planted three or four years, they found that to be the principal plant to improve the value of the whole island, and so bent all their endeavors to advance their knowledge in planting and making sugar, which knowledge, though they studied hard, was long a-learning."[7]

According to Ligon, sugar was introduced into Barbados from Brazil in about 1641. The methods of cultivating and boiling it were learned also from Dutch planters in that country, and although, as he says, this knowledge came but slowly, still in 1650 the island was on a fair way to prosperity. From that time on for many years the English continued to gather to themselves the monopoly of the sugar plantations, as they had already acquired that of the refining industry. This process had advanced at such strides by the end of the century that Sir Dalby Thomas was led to declare in unfeigned admiration:

"Invention in Barbados has proceeded so fast and so far for planting, pressing, boiling, separating and cleansing cane, as well as for drawing excellent spirits from molasses, . . . that now the English exceed all nations of the World in regard to Cane. The Pleasure, Glory and Grandeur of England has been advanced more by sugar than by any other commodity, wool not excepted."[8]

[5] N. Darnell Davis, "Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbadoes," 1887, p. 39. Quoted from "Westward Ho," Chapter XVII, Charles Kingsley.

[6] Ligon, "A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados," 1673, p. 24.

[7] Ligon, l. c., p. 24.

[8] Sir Dalby Thomas, "Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Collonies and of the Great Advantages They are to England in Respect to Trade," London, 1690, printed in the Harleian Miscellany, London, 1808-1813, II, p. 365.

CHAPTER XIV.

The English Sugar Trade.

England's next care, after her sugar plantations in the West Indies were assured, was to secure for herself the monopoly of the carrying trade in sugar. During the days of the Spanish and Portuguese supremacy in the sugar world Portuguese vessels had, as already shown, managed the transportation of sugar from the various plantations chiefly to Lisbon, and Dutch ships had performed the service of distributing it thence to the various ports of Europe. The Dutch early extended their commercial activity to the western world, their possession of Brazil from 1624 to 1654 giving them strong foothold in the sugar regions there. When the English started their plantations in the tropics, therefore, the Dutch immediately included them among their clientèle, and for many years Dutch vessels furnished by far the most of the communication among the colonies, and between America and Europe. "From their busy trading center at Curaçao," says Woodward, "(they) conducted nearly the whole of the inter-colonial trade of America, and supplied both English and French settlements with European produce. The sugar trade between America and Europe was almost entirely in their hands."[1]

The Dutch carriers offered the English sugar planters much more favorable terms than did the vessels of their own country, and it was, therefore, against these odds that England was forced to struggle in her attempts to win this trade for herself. "The colonists," says Darnell Davis, referring to this period, "now prospered mightily, the Dutch giving them credit almost *ad libitum* and supplying them with negroes, for whom payment was not required until these laborers had planted canes for a crop, and that crop had been reaped and converted into sugar.

[1] Woodward, "The Expansion of the British Empire," 1902, p. 115.

When the Civil War broke out in England, the Dutch managed nearly the whole trade of the English West India colonies, and thus they furnished the Barbadian planters not only with negroes, but also with coppers, stills, and every other appliance needed by the ingenios, and also with the ordinary requisites of life."[2] [3]

The rigorous policy of the English Navigation Acts was adopted in large measure in order to drive the Dutch from this inter-colonial commerce, and from their European coasting trade in so far as England was concerned. In the Navigation Act of 1660 sugar holds the first place among the so-called "enumerated articles" which were thenceforth to be exported only to England, Ireland or to some other of His Majesty's plantations, and only in English, Irish or plantation-built ships, "owned by Englishmen, and whereof the Master and three-fourths of the Marriners at least are English." This act had in great measure the desired effect in driving out the Dutch from the inter-colonial trade, and England was soon enabled to assert her mastery. The enormous increase in sugar production on the English islands after the middle of the seventeenth century threw always more and more of the sugar trade into the hands of whoever might have the monopoly between the West Indies and England. The fact, therefore, that the Navigation Acts were bringing that trade to the English, gave these people an ever expanding advantage, and in the course of a few years the balance had swung decidedly to their favor. Long before the dawning of the eighteenth century

[2] Darnell Davis, l. c., pp. 70, 71.

[3] In a letter written on October 19, 1651, from Sir George Ayscue, sent to subdue Barbados, to Lord President Bradshaw, there is the following statement: "Made the Island of Barbados over night, and the next morning surprised in the bay 15 sail, most of them Dutch." From this an idea may be gained of the great part played by the Dutch in Barbados trade. (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, p. 362.) And in a report from Governor Dan Searle (*Ibid.*, p. 390) to the Council of State there is the following statement pointing to the Dutch activity: "Sends by the Endeavour, one of the prize ships, Capt. Robt. Story, commander, an account of the prize goods. Their trade was most of all carried on by the Dutch, but since the late Act of Navigation there has been some scarcity and want of commodities."

the English succeeded in winning for themselves the monopoly in the production of sugar values in exchange just as she already possessed them in the cultivation of the cane and the refining of its product, so that thenceforth for many years, England was rightly the center of the sugar industry of the world.

At the close of the period with which I am here dealing, the English star was still in the ascendant, although its light was beginning to be threatened by that of another luminary, in whom before many years the chief brightness of the sugar world was to center. For the present work, however, interest centers in the English at home and abroad. Within the time limits it includes the last great step in the production of sugar values was taken.

With production thus centering in England it was but natural that the most characteristic phenomena of consumption for this period should also occur there. The English industry in the West India Islands was producing great quantities of cane and grinding it to make muscovadoes, which muscovadoes English vessels were transporting to England, where English capital was refining them into the finished product. In this way there was furnished to the English consumer a supply always increasing, and a chance was offered him to expand his consumption. Along with this increased supply there was a demand that was always expanding, not only in natural ratio with the growth of population and of wealth, but in an accelerated rate, because of additional circumstances. From the supply side, also, subsidiary causes were at work in determining more exactly the actual amount of sugar that was put on the English market. It is to the tracing of this process of the expanding consumption of sugar among the English people that the remaining part of this work is to be devoted.

The various stages of the process were marked by the reciprocal action of changing conditions of supply and demand, and each stage was characterized by the specific circumstances of the moment. Amid all fluctuations, however, one general tendency was evident, and one single direction of events asserted itself.

The price of sugar was falling, and its consumption was spreading rapidly among the English people. By the end of the period sugar had passed well out from among the luxuries and was regarded by increasingly greater numbers as necessary to comfort and happiness.

CHAPTER XV.

The Demand for English Sugar.

In large, it may be said that the price of sugar declined constantly throughout the seventeenth century. Fluctuations appear at times, but the general tendency is undoubtedly in a downward direction.[1] The conclusion that must be drawn from this is obvious, namely, that during the century the consumption of sugar was spreading steadily among the English people. As its price continued to fall, those who up to that time had been obliged to rank it among their luxuries for feast days and the like, were enabled to enjoy it on common days at the regular family board, while many who perhaps had never been able to expend money for such a superfluity could now raise it to a place among their utilities. "C'est au dix—septième siècle," says Figuier, "grace aux

[1] A list of prices taken from Rogers, as nearly as possible a decade apart, show figures gradually diminishing, as follows:

For 1600, the cheapest quotation is 1s. 6d. per pound for sugar, 2s. being the price of "fine" sugar for that year.

In 1610, the prices for "sugar" range from 1s. 10d. per pound to 1s. 2d. per pound.

In 1620, the highest price quoted is 1s. 6d. for "refined sugar," while the prices of "sugar" unqualified range anywhere from 1s. 2½d. to 1s. per pound—in one case only 11d. being paid for the so-called "kitchen sugar."

For 1630, Mr. Rogers quotes no prices, but in 1631 1s. 8d. is the regular price for "fine" sugar, and 1s. 4d. or 1s. 3d. for "ordinary" sugar.

In 1641, the price of "sugar" is about 1s. 2d. or 1s. 1d. per pound; while—1650 shows three entries at 1s. 6d., 1s. 5d. and 1s. 6d., respectively.

For 1661, the prices are 10d. and 9d. per pound, and for 1675, 9½d. and 10¾d. for sugar-loaf by the pound.

In 1685, sugar is selling at 8d. and 7d. per pound, and in 1690 at 6d., 7d. and 8d. per pound.

In 1699, "fine" sugar is quoted at 7d., and "sugar" at 6d. per pound, while 1700 shows "double-refined" loaf sugar at 1s. 2d. per pound, and "fine powder" sugar as low as 9d.—Rogers, l. c., Vol. VI.

envois d'Amérique que le sucre entra dans les habitudes de la vie domestique, et devint chez tous les peuples de l'Europe une substance de première nécessité.[2]

Mr. Rogers testifies also to the increasing consumption of sugar in his remarks upon the greater quantities, as compared with the earlier era in which it was bought at the end of the seventeenth century. "The growing cheapness of sugar," he says, "is further illustrated by the quantities, now much larger, by which it is bought. In the earlier times rich people bought it by the pound, or at most by the loaf, a loaf of sugar being a favorite present to a distinguished personage. Even such an opulent person as Lord Spencer buys stocks of sugar by the loaf, though on two occasions, 1613, 1614, the weight of twenty loaves bought is given. In 1664 it is first bought (and without the designation of loaves), by the hundredweight at eighty-four shillings. It is again purchased in the same manner in 1679."[3] "There is no doubt," he declares, "that as the supply of sugar was increased the demand for the produce was increased also. Tea and chocolate and coffee became in the last forty years of the century common and favorite beverages, and the use of sugar to sweeten them was as general as the consumption was."[4]

The influence of the use of chocolate upon that of sugar has already been dealt with at length.[5] Although cocoa was introduced into Spain and the southern countries soon after the discovery of America, its use does not seem to have reached England until the middle of the seventeenth century. In the decade between 1650 and 1660 the consumption of chocolate spread extensively in England, as is proven by the record of its importation into English ports and of the widespread cultivation of the cacao tree in the English West India Islands. As early as 1658 there is the account of a receipt of Captain John Wentworth for "seven puncheons of cocoa laden on board the states' ship Paul of William Dalyson, to be delivered to Robert Blackborne, Secre-

[2] Figuier, l. c., II, p. 13.
[3] Rogers, l. c., V, p. 463.
[4] Rogers, l. c., V, p. 462.
[5] See ante, pp. 56 sq.

tary to the Commissioners of the Admiralty at Whitehall or his assigns."[6]

In the same year it is recorded that the inhabitants of Jamaica were busily engaged in clearing cocoa walks.[7] Cacao was indeed at that time the chief commodity of that island, and for several years to come the main source of her wealth.[8] Its economic importance as a commodity may be seen in the fact that it was then commonly employed in that island as a measure of values, and, in so far as actual fines were sometimes payed in cacao, as a medium of exchange.[9]

In 1668 Sir James Modyford declared cacao to be the "best commodity of the island (Jamaica)," adding that "neither sugar nor indigo will turn to account nearly so well."[10] In 1670 there

[6] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1674, Addenda; 1675-1676, p. 122.

[7] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1674, Addenda; 1675-1676, p. 125.

[8] The Calendar of State Papers furnishes three separate entries of exportation of cacao from Jamaica to England in the year 1660. The first (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1674, Addenda; 1675-1676, p. 132) is of 5,000 pounds; the second (*Ibid.*, p. 134), of 12,400 pounds, "which," adds the account, "will yield far greater sum than he is engaged for," and the third (*Ibid.*, p. 135), of 4,000 pounds.

[9] In an order of the Government and Council of Jamaica of June 18, 1661, we read that "sugar shall pass at 25 shillings per cwt., and cocoa at 4 pence the pound." (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, p. 37.) Another entry for October 10, 1662, mentions this same custom. It is the account of a proclamation of Governor Lord Windsor to the effect "that on account of the scarcity of money and in accordance with the practice of Barbadoes and other plantations, sugar shall pass current at 3 pence per pound, and cocoa at 4 pence per pound." (*Ibid.*, p. 111.) That cocoa was thus adopted as a measure of the value of other commodities, and in many cases as the actual form in which paymentss were made, indicates much for its general desirability at that time, not only among the inhabitants of Jamaica itself, but among the people of the mother country as well. In April, 1666, "Don Juan Ximenes de Bahorgues desired Sir Thomas Modyford to send to London what belonged to himself in pieces of eight bills or in cocoa and sugar assigned to Giles Lydcotte," indicating obviously that for the cocoa thus consigned there would be sure and ready sale. (*Ibid.*, p. 374.)

[10] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, p. 551.

were in Jamaica "forty-seven cocoa walks, yielding one hundred and eighty-eight thousand pounds of nuts, in seasonable years in these improving,"[11] while in a "Summary Prospect (written in the same year) of the advantages and conveniences capable to arise to His Majesty from the planting of Jamaica)" we read:

"As to the commodities, as no island abounds in cacao more than Jamaica, it is easy, with good management, to beat out the Spaniard, which commodity is not only exceedingly valued (as it is ready money in Spain, France, Flanders, Holland and England) but is greatly growing in request, and the profit is such that if it keeps up but the moiety of its price it will be of far more gain to the planter than indigo, ginger, cotton or sugar. Wherefore if sugar has raised our plantations to far greater value than most plantations in the world, what may we expect cacao may do if once strenuously followed; and if Barbadoes have risen to be so rich by sugar alone where land is dear, and cattle, provisions and wood scarce, what may Jamaica arrive to where all these are in plenty?"[12]

The various references here quoted speak for themselves with regard to the growing popularity of cocoa in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Cocoa was not, however, despite this popularity, to become England's "national beverage." This place was reserved for the eastern concoctions coffee and tea. "Coffee and tea," Payne tells us, "were more easily prepared, required no admixture of other ingredients and proved better suited than chocolate to the taste of the people of Northern Europe."[13] Certain it is that in a few decades the consumption of cocoa in England was far outstripped by that of coffee and tea, both of which were introduced into England almost at the same time as was cocoa.

Coffee was first taken to England in about the year 1650, the first public coffee-house being opened in London in 1652 by a Greek, the servant of an English turkey merchant, one Mr. D. Edwards. Its use in England spread from that time on, and the coffee houses established in various parts of London became the meeting places for people of all social classes and political parties and religious sects. Since in the consumption of coffee sugar

[11] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674, p. 104.

[12] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674, p. 151.

[13] Payne, l. c., I, p. 425.

played so essential a part, any idea of the place occupied by coffee in the England of the seventeenth century will throw much light on the importance that was then attached to sugar. To ascertain just what rôle coffee played in the life and manners of the English people at that time one cannot do better than turn to the pages of Macaulay:

"The coffee-houses," he says, "must not be dismissed with a cursory mention. . . . The first of these establishments had been set up in the time of the Commonwealth by a Turkey merchant who had acquired among the Mohammedans a taste for their favourite beverage. The convenience of being able to make appointments in any part of the town and of being able to pass evenings socially at a very small charge was so great that the fashion spread fast. Every man of the upper or middle class went daily to his coffee-house to learn the news and to discuss it. Every coffee-house had one or more orators to whose eloquence the crowd listened with admiration, and who soon became what the journalists of our time have well called a fourth Estate of the Realm. . . . Nobody was excluded from these places who laid down his penny at the bar. Yet every rank and profession and every shade of religious and political opinion had its own headquarters. . . . There were coffee-houses where the first medical men might be consulted. Dr. John Radcliffe, who in the year 1685 rose to the largest practice in London, came daily at the hour when the exchange was full from his house in Bow Street, then a fashionable part of the Capital, to Garraway's, and was to be found surrounded by surgeons and apothecaries at a particular table. There were Puritan coffee-houses where no oath was heard, and where lank-haired men discussed election and reprobation through their noses—Jew coffee-houses, where dark-eyed money changers from Venice and from Amsterdam greeted each other, and Popish coffee-houses, where, as good Protestants believed, Jesuits planned over their cups another great fire, and cast silver bullets to shoot the King."[14]

This great popularity of the coffee-houses in London was due as much, perhaps, to the taste and desire for coffee as to the general political and social conditions of the age. In that age, Macaulay tells us, "no Parliament had sat for years. The municipal council of the city had ceased to speak the sense of the citizens. Public meetings, harangues, resolutions and the rest of the modern machinery of agitation had not yet come into fashion.

[14] Macaulay, "History of England," Harper & Bros., New York, 1879, I, pp. 339 sq.

Nothing resembling the modern newspaper existed. In such circumstances the coffee-houses were the chief organs through which the public opinion of the metropolis vented itself."[15]

Combined with these circumstances, however, the nature of coffee must still have been an important determining element in making it the beverage that should give those meeting places not only their character but also their name. Coffee was, in short, a drink to which no one could object on moral or on other grounds. Its qualities, furthermore, as a stimulant rendered it attractive and generally desirable and desired at a high and slowly declining degree of utility. These various circumstances of supply and demand had as their natural consequence a greatly extended consumption of coffee, and attendant upon it a great increase in the use of sugar.[16]

Tea can scarcely be said to have entered into popular use in England in the seventeenth century, for in 1700 the price per pound was still tremendously high. Its use was introduced into England almost simultaneously with that of coffee, but its value remained apparently much higher than that of the latter commodity, and it was for succeeding centuries to witness the final triumph of tea as the national beverage of England.[17]

"Tea," says Phillips, "appears to have been first used in Eng-

[15] Macaulay, l. c., p. 339.

[16] Coffee, unlike cacao, was not in the seventeenth century an English colonial product. "Till 1690," we are told in the Encyclopædia Britannica (Vol. VI, p. 111), "the only source of the coffee supply was Arabia; but then Governor-General van Hoorne, of the Dutch East Indies, received a few coffee seeds by traders plying from the Arabian Gulf and Java, and one of the first plants thus grown in Java was sent to Holland and planted in the Botanical Gardens in Amsterdam. The plants grew and flourished also in Java. Cultivation was established in Surinam in 1718 and ten years later, in 1728, the plant was introduced in the West India Islands, and gradually the culture extended throughout the New World."

[17] High prices prevailed until the dawning of the eighteenth century—according to Phillips ("History of Cultivated Vegetables," 1822, Vol. II, p. 294), until 1715, when "green tea began to be used, and as it was imported in greater quantities the price was lessened." All the records of the price of tea before that date show prohibitive figures.

land during the Commonwealth, for on the restoration of Charles II, in 1660, Parliament in that year laid a duty of eight pence on every gallon of the infusion of tea that was sold at the coffee-houses. This duty could not have been very productive to the government, as the price of common tea was then sixty shillings per pound in London.[18] . . . 'An exact description of the growth, quality and virtues of the leaf tea,' declares that in 1659 and 1660 tea was very scarce and dear, and in respect of its scarceness and dearness it hath been used only as a regalia in high treatments and entertainments and presents made thereof to princes and grandees."[19] [20]

A contemporary mention of the three "dietetic beverages"—chocolate, coffee and tea—in the seventeenth century is quoted by Phillips and is of great interest as showing the place that they held in the esteem of the people of that age. It is from the pen of Father Athanasius Kircher, who wrote after 1655. From his words it is evident that these three commodities—chocolate, coffee and tea—were all in more or less general use when he wrote. He says, in part:

"There is a plant called cha, which not being able to contain itself within the bounds of China hath insinuated itself into Europe. . . . For its physical properties of exhilaration . . . though the Turkish coffee administer the like cordiality and the Mexican chocolate be another excellent drink, yet tea, if the best, very much excelleth them both, because that chocolate in hot seasons inflameth more than ordinary and coffee agitateth choler, but tea in all seasons hath one and the same effect." [21] [22]

[18] Phillips, l. c., II, p. 290.

[19] Encyclopædia Britannica, XXIII, p. 108 b.

[20] "In 1666," says Phillips (l. c., II, p. 291), "tea appears to have been used by families of distinction, as we are told that in that year it was imported from Holland by the Lords Arlington and Ossory, who brought it into the fashion among people of quality. He suggests also that inasmuch as this was the year after the great plague of London . . . it may have been considered an antidote against that disorder—If this opinion," he concludes, "was entertained, we need not be surprised at the rapidity with which tea came into use."

[21] Phillips, l. c., II, p. 287.

[22] Tea has been here taken into account more for its potential and pros-

The inevitable effect of the growing use of tea and coffee upon the demand for sugar has been generally recognized by students of its history. "The quantity of raw sugar consumed in England," says Reed, "was inconsiderable until tea and coffee came into use, both of them being introduced toward the end of the seventeenth century. Its use commenced from this period to be general."[23]

In addition to the increasing consumption of sugar within the confines of England during the seventeenth century, there was beyond her borders also, an extensive demand for English sugars. A petition of grievances to the King from Barbados, dated April 16, 1675, states that "the half of the sugars that are brought into England are not consumed in your Majesty's dominions."[24] In 1691 (-2), moreover, in a statement of the case of the sugar refiners, it is declared that the "trade of refining sugars" in England had "extended itself to the supply of many foreign parts, and particularly the greatest part of the East Country, which is a very profitable trade to this kingdom."[25] In this same paper, however, the loss of the English foreign sugar trade is deplored, and is attributed to the relative advantages that the other European nations, especially the French and the Dutch, possessed in this respect over the English.

The influence of France was exerted indirectly upon the English sugar market through the foreign market. France won from England the foreign demand for her sugars, and so put at the

pective effect on the consumption of sugar than for any appreciable influence—then at best only incipient—which it actually exerted in the seventeenth century. In later years, when the price of tea had become much less, and that beverage began to be used in England in somewhat the same proportions as now characterize its consumption, the reaction on the consumption of sugar was a most important element in determining the demand for the last-named article. It has, therefore, seemed well to stop a moment over the very first introduction of tea into England, as preparatory to an understanding of the influence which it later wielded.

[23] Reed, l. c., p. 188.

[24] Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 13, pp. 179, 180.

[25] A report of the Commissioners of Customs to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury on the case of the Sugar Refiners, January 13, 1691 (-2); Treasury Board Papers, Vol. XVII, No. 14.

disposal of the English consumers much greater quantities of that commodity than would otherwise have remained in England. The power of the French in the West Indies asserted itself early in the seventeenth century, and French statesmen soon realized the possibility of acquiring great riches in those regions. "Cardinal Richelieu," says Anderson in an entry for 1638, "seems to have understood very early the importance of which the French West India Isles would prove even before they had any sugar canes planted in them, and having the glory and interest of France very much at heart, he labored to give his sovereign Louis XIII favorable impressions of them, although they produced nothing yet but cotton, ginger and bad tobacco. Wherefore he at this time got his King to appoint the Governor of those isles to be his own Lieutenant General there. By such means the French isles soon became much improved, more particularly Martinico and their moiety of St. Christopher."[26]

French sugars began to assert their supremacy over the English toward the latter part of the century. A complaint of the year 1668 declares that "the French have greatly increased by setting a great imposition on foreign sugars, and a low one on their own, so the English cannot buy necessaries half as cheap as their neighbors, nor make sugar on nigh such easy terms, and go and live among the French, who give them all sorts of encouragement. English commodities, production, inhabitants and navigation are thus much decreased and their neighbors much augmented, and if some remedy be not suddenly applied the English islands, inhabited only by masters of great plantations and their blacks, will either be cut off by their own negroes or become a prey to any assailant."[27] So far had the matter gone by 1690 that Sir Dalby Thomas declared in that year:

[26] Anderson, l. c., II, p. 380.

[27] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, p. 542.

"The French," I find elsewhere, (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674, p. 98) "are seated (in 1670) upon part of St. Christopher's and have much increased the number of their people and their forces, trade and plantations there and in the neighbouring islands." For the year 1676 the following entry occurs: (*Ibid.*, 1574-1674, Addenda; 1675-1676, p. 421)

"Should the art of making sugar be so discouraged as to take its next flight to the Dutch or French, as it did from Portugal to us, the loss would prove of the like consequence which is no less than the decay of the greatest part of their shipping and the fall of half their revenue—they being forced to abate the 10 per cent. duty lately to get some to be exported, and that with little or no success." [28]

Butel-Dumont has drawn an adequate summary of the French activity with regard to sugar, and I shall quote it as a conclusion to the question. He says that in early days the French West India Islands were left relatively undeveloped, because the French colonists had not enough capital to grow the sugar cane. Finally, however, the French Government resolved to encourage sugar cultivation, and began accordingly to multiply plantations. In this state, the French were ready to seize any opportunity that should be offered of making themselves masters in the field. The chance came finally when James II laid his additional heavy burdens upon sugar, and when the French islands could, therefore, supply France with sugar as cheaply as England could. "Depuis ce temps," he concludes, "le commerce de sucre que faisoient les Anglois avec les étrangers sortit par degrés de leurs mains et passa entièrement dans celle des François." [29]

In the midst of this danger from the French the Dutch were still persistently pushing their attempts to maintain the carrying trade in sugar. Despite the Navigation Acts they were unwilling to give up the struggle for commercial supremacy. It is recorded that in 1671 some millions of sugar were carried from Nevis into Holland." [30] In 1690 Sir Dalby Thomas assures us that "great quantities of commodities are sent out of the Leeward Caribby Islands and sold to the Dutch at low prices for private lucre—for those people saving all the duty as well as four and one-half per

"The French are possessed of Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Christopher's (in great part), Marigolante, Cayenne. . . . Their strength is very considerable as shown by their resistance to the attack by the Dutch in 1675."

[28] Sir Dalby Thomas, Harleian Miscellany, l. c., II, p. 367.

[29] Butel-Dumont, l. c., p. 217.

[30] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674, p. 339.

cent. there as the customs in England, and having goods in barter for them directly from Holland, can afford their sugar much cheaper than their neighbors, so that there go out of that back door for Holland under the name of 'St. Eustace Sugar' above fifteen hundred hogsheads of muscovado sugar, which refined with great advantage to that nation in Holland keeps markets low in all foreign parts."[31] [32] By this means, obviously, the Dutch carried from the English colonies sugar that would otherwise have been taken to England to be refined. By transporting this same sugar to various parts of Europe, and selling it cheaper than the English sugar refiners could sell theirs, these Dutch traders added their influence to that of the French in the losing of the foreign sugar market to England.

These, then, were the conditions of demand which the English sugar market was called upon to meet, namely, a foreign market for her produce, greatly diminished by the successful competition of the French and the Dutch; and a demand at home greatly increased by reason especially of the consumption of chocolate and coffee and tea.

[31] Sir Dalby Thomas, Harleian Miscellany, l. c., II, p. 382.

[32] In 1685 (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1681-1685, p. 84), the Lieutenant-Governor Molesworth, of Jamaica, wrote to Wm. Blathwayt: "I must not omit to tell you of the vast discouragement that will be thrown on planting by the additional duty on sugar. . . . Those that persuade the King that the duty will fall only on the expender argue well, supposing that no other nation made sugar but ourselves. But when we consider that the French, Dutch, and Portuguese are all our competitors and that the chief vent for our own is in foreign markets (which by this additional duty will be lost to us), all their reasoning is invalid and tends only to the destruction of the plantations. The short of it is that Virginia receives a mortal stab, Barbadoes and the Islands fall into a hectic fever, and Jamaica into a consumption."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Supply of Sugar in England.

The cultivation of sugar once introduced into the English West Indies spread rapidly. Although the cane was not planted in Barbados until 1641, and although her greatest prosperity did not begin until after 1647, yet in 1655 one thousand four hundred and nineteen pounds and four shillings, sterling, were received at the port of London as customs on white sugars from that island, and ten thousand pounds and ten shillings were received on brown sugar from the same place.[1] The amounts of sugar sent from Barbados to England between the years 1697 and 1700, as given in a later manuscript, reveal an enormous productivity for that island at the close of the seventeenth century.[2] Jamaica under Spanish rule did not produce great quantities of sugar. Under the English her fertility was first turned to account in the production of cacao. In 1660 the sugar cane was planted on the island, and although for some years after that cacao was her chief product, still the amounts of sugar produced were not inconsiderable, and increased

[1] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, p. 434.

[2] The figures referred to are taken from the Rawlinson Manuscript (B-250, Folio 64) in the Bodleian Library. No signature is attached, and there is no mention of authority; but I shall quote them here as in large measure indicative of actual conditions at that time. They are as follows:

Of Muscovado sugars there were sent from Barbados to England:

Hogsheads	63,666
Tierces	4,450
Barrels	14,693
Pounds	8,800
Small Casks	163

and of white sugar:

Hogsheads	2,148
Tierces	372
Barrels	1,267

rapidly. In the year 1670 she was producing seventeen hundred and ten thousand weight of sugar annually,[3] while at the close of the century this production had been greatly augmented.[4]

The area of sugar cultivation by the English in the West India Islands expanded constantly. Its growth was, however, not without many vicissitudes. The international relationships in Europe during the seventeenth century were more or less faithfully reflected in West Indian conditions, and the last fifty years of the era were marked in those islands by a constant shifting of possession. It is, therefore, most difficult to obtain any clear idea of the exact range of the English sources of supply of sugar. The best that one can do is to attempt to stay the kaleidoscope at a point when its picture seems most representative. This has in a measure been done for us in an account of the bounds of English and French influence in the West Indies in 1666. "In the year 1666," we read, "the English were possessed of Barbadoes, the better half of St. Christopher's, Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua and Suranam; those Plantations did then employ above ffower hundred saile of English shipps annually and in them above ten thousand English seamen and did also furnish a native commodity of above eight hundred thousand Pounds Value per annum to this Nation besides a considerable revenue to the crown."[5] In addition to the islands here enumerated, Jamaica must, of course, be included among the English sugar plantations at that time.

[3] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674, p. 104.

[4] Manuscript Rawlinson, Bodleian Library, B-250, Folio 59. According to this manuscript there were sent from Jamaica to England in the years from 1680 until 1684, 31,647 hogsheads of sugar and 57 barrels of molasses. In the years from 1686 until 1691 (Folio 60) there were sent from Jamaica to England 57,102 hogsheads of sugar and 1,073 barrels of the same, while (Folio 61) in the years 1698-1700 the amounts sent from Jamaica to England were 19,412 hogsheads, and 719 barrels of sugar.

[5] Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 13, p. 56. Papers appended to a letter of the Gentlemen—Planters of London to the Council and Assembly of Barbadoes concerning their efforts against a proposed duty on English sugar, which papers contain the various appeals handed in to Parliament. The quotation is taken from the "State of the Case of the Sugar Planters in America."

This increasing productivity of the sugar islands in the seventeenth century meant, of course, a great increase in the supply of sugar on the English market. Not all, however, of the yield of the English West India plantations found its way to the mother country. There was at that time a great demand outside of England for sugar and the by-products of sugar—molasses and rum. The chief area of this demand was the continent colonies of North America. Trade relations between the North American colonies and the West India Islands were very early established. The West Indies served for the continental settlements, both as a vent for their native products, and as a base of supply for various articles that they needed. To the islands, on the other hand, trade with the mainland colonies was essential as the means by which they might procure such commodities as "boards, timber, pipe-staves, horses and fish, without which they could not maintain their buildings nor send home their sugars."[6]

Great quantities of sugar were transported from the West India Islands to the continent colonies. In the year 1677-1678 Jamaica, St. Christopher's, Nevis and Barbados sent large imports to New England, New York, Virginia and the Carolinas, and this year was a representative one for that time.[7] All of this sugar, however, was not consumed in the North American colonies. The

[6] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674, p. 475.

[7] Colonial Papers, Vol. 43, No. 180; West Indies—An account of goods entred in his Maties Custome Houses in the American Plantations as exported from one Plantation to another in the respective Tymes hereafter menconed: Vizt—Extracted out of such Accts. as are Remaining in ye custody of ye Comptroller General (Giles Lytcott) of the Accts. of his Maties Customes at Xmas, 1679.

Mchās 1677—Mchās 1678.

From Jamaica to	
Virginia	33,100 ℔s. sugar
Bay of Campeachy	19,600 ℔s sugar
New England	
New York	
Carolina	1,200 ℔s. sugar
Caracoa	
Total	53,900 ℔s. sugar

development of inter-colonial trade had been such that the continental colonies regularly exported their products to the West Indies, and received in return West Indian sugar, tobacco, etc., which they in turn sent on to Europe. In so far as the Navigation Act was obeyed, this sugar was sold ultimately on the English market, so that the round-about trade through the mainland colonies did not necessarily act as a great check upon the supply in England. It was, therefore, by the amount actually consumed in the colonies that the English supply of sugar was chiefly lessened, compared with the amount produced in the English colonies.[8] That great quantities of sugar did find their way to England through the continental colonies is evident from the many records extant of ships laden with sugar which arrived in English ports from points on the American mainland. An account

From Nevis to		
Virginia	3,136 lbs.	sugar
New England	130,266 lbs.	sugar
Barbados		
St. Xophers	3,136 lbs.	sugar
Bermudas	3,920 lbs.	sugar
Total	140,458 lbs.	sugar
From Xophers to		
New England	152,541 lbs.	sugar
Virginia	22,230 lbs.	sugar
Bermudas	6,852 lbs.	sugar
Nevis	896 lbs.	sugar
Montserrat		
Total	182,519 lbs	sugar
From Barbados to		
Bermudas	36,530 lbs.	sugar
New Yorke	30,550 lbs.	sugar
New England	373,114 lbs.	sugar
Virginia	131,970 lbs.	sugar
Carolina	9,325 lbs.	sugar
Jamaica	3,800 lbs.	sugar
Total	585,289 lbs.	sugar

[8] It should be remembered, also, that some of the sugar that was consumed in the mainland colonies was itself brought from England.

of the present state of New England, written in 1676, declares that "tobacco, sugar, indigo, cotton-wool, ginger, logwood, fustic, cocoa and rum are imported and again transported."[9] "On Sunday," I find elsewhere, in an entry for the year 1666, "a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons from New England laden with sugar, tobacco, indigo and some beaver, by a violent storm was cast away in Plymouth port and little or nothing of her lading saved;"[10] and again, "On Friday night the 'Exchange' of Boston, New England, was driven in this harbour (Swansea) bound for London, laden with tobacco, sugar, oil and some beaver-skins."[11]

The chief form that the sugar trade—in the widest acceptance of that term—between the sugar islands and the continent colonies assumed—was that of the traffic in rum. Inasmuch as rum is merely a by-product of sugar, the importation of the liquor into America did not seriously affect the supply of sugar upon the English market. It will, nevertheless, be well to pause a moment at this point to consider the character and nature of this commerce in rum, since it is indicative of the extent of the communication that then existed between the islands and the mainland, and also suggests the encouragement that the steady demand for rum must have given to the raising of sugar in the island colonies. In the northern colonies rum was the commodity in return for which the settlers received from the Indians most of the peltry which for many years was one of the chief articles of colonial export. It is interesting to note that whereas in Virginia tobacco was long one of the most important articles of barter with the Indians, in New England and New York rum, another narcotic-stimulant, took its place as the product in exchange for which the white man obtained indirectly for the European market the riches of the American forests.

[9] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1674, Addenda; 1676-1676, p. 466. Answer of Edward Randolph to several heads of inquiry concerning the present State of New England.

[10] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, p. 430.

[11] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, p. 429. Another entry for this same year (1666) states that Mr. Bendal's (Kendal's) from New York with sugar, tobacco and furs was . . . cast away on St. Francis Island." (*Ibid.*, p. 429.)

Colonial entries abound in mention of the rum that the colonies had from the West India Islands. The great part, moreover, which they played in taking off the rum there produced is clearly shown in the enormous discrepancy between the amounts of rum sent from the West Indies to England and the northern colonies respectively.[12]

Beside the great demand for the West Indian rum to supply the North American Indians in exchange for furs, another large mar-

[12] The figures referred to are taken from the Rawlinson Manuscript (B-250, Folio 64) in the Bodleian Library. No signature is attached, and there is no mention of authority, but I shall quote them here as in large measure, at least, indicative of actual conditions at that time. They are for the years 1697-1700, and are as follows: Of Muscovado sugar exported from Barbados there were sent:

	To England	To Plantations
Hogsheads	63,666	402
Tierces	4,450	189
Barrels	14,693	4,733
Pounds	8,800	.....
Small Casks	163	380

and of white sugar:

	To England	To Plantations
Hogsheads	2,148	.....
Tierces	372	1
Barrels	1,267	103

For rum, the figures are quite turned about, showing:

	To England	To Plantations
Hogsheads	4	6,875
Tierces	1	6,403
Barrels		6,837
Small Casks		3,452

A partial explanation for these figures rests, doubtless, in the fact that French brandy was then filling a place which the West Indian rum might well have occupied among the utilities of the English people. This is very strongly suggested in an excerpt from the Journal of the Assembly of Barbados for April 15, 1679 (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1677-1680, p. 352) in which it is resolved "To apply for His Majesty's favour in setting a moderate custom on rum, the native produce of this island, that they may be enabled to transport it into England on reasonable terms, and in the room of French brandy supply it to His Majesty's Fleet and other occasions."

ket was opened up for this product among the natives of Africa. The European traders yearly carried great quantities of rum to the African coast, where they gave it in exchange for slaves. These slaves they carried back to the West Indies and sold to the planters there, who straightway put them to work in cultivating the sugar cane. The sugar was in due season converted in part into rum, which in its turn was carried again to Africa, and thus served to bring still more members of the black race into bondage. Thus was the seemingly paradoxical economic circle completed over and over again during the years of sugar and slavery in the West India Islands.

In addition, also, to the sugar imported into England from her American colonies there were some Portuguese sugars on the English market at that time. From Portugal the actual importation was not very great; but English merchants in Portugal managed great supplies of sugar there, and re-exported them thence without carrying them into England. The effect on the English market, therefore, was the same as if the commodity had in reality been put on sale in England, as the account of it was recorded to the credit of the English merchant.[13] By the year 1691 the importations of sugar from Lisbon had apparently been obliged to yield before the increasing supplies from the English plantations, so that

[13] Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 13, pp. 59, 60. Letter of the Gentlemen-Planters in London to Council and Assembly there (in Barbados) concerning their exertions against proposed English duty on sugar. Dated London, May Day, 1671. In a paper appended to this letter and entitled "The State of the English Sugar Trade with that of Portugal," it is stated that "there was not imported into England from Portugal above 2,000 chests of sugar annually, which do not cost there above 40,000 pounds; . . . for one-quarter of the sugars received in Portugall in exchange of English manufactures are not brought into England. But are in English shipps carryed to the several Markets of the straits and other places and returns for them are made to England either in the manufactures of those places or moneys. . . . (it) would be much more to the advantage of the navigation and no damage to the Portugal trade to have all carried the same way than to have returns made into England in sugars to the benefit of the Portugal plantations and the ruin of the English. The sugars that are brought into Portugal for the market of England are the very best that come from Brazil, and are usually sold

at the end of the century sugar from Portugal did not have any significant effect upon the English market. In a paper referred in 1691 (-2) to the Commissioners of Customs by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury it is stated that "The antient Trade of refining sugar has within these forty yeares past very much increased in this Kingdom by reason of the plentiful supply of Browne sugars from our owne Plantacons and has . . . beaten out the Lisbon trade from whence we were formerly supplied with white sugars."[14]

While Portuguese sugars did not permanently affect the English market, the influence of the other European nations engaged in the sugar trade was more decided and more lasting. The activity of the French and the Dutch in usurping the foreign market for English sugar had its counter effect upon the domestic supply. Moreover, the setting in of the law of diminishing returns in some of the West India Islands had, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, an additional effect upon the supply of sugar in England.

As the inevitable consequence of the increase in French sugar cultivation and trade, much of the sugar that England had formerly supplied to her foreign consumers was thrown back upon her domestic market, and the supply of sugar in England was relatively increased. "In the year 1666," we read, "the French made sugar on half of St. Xopher's and a very inconsiderable quantity on Martinico and Guadaloupe. In the said yeare the ffrench took from the English theire halfe of St. Xopher's, Antigua and Montserrat, and in them above fifteen thousand negroes and materials for one hundred and fifty sugar works, amounting in Vallue to four hundred thousand pounds which the(y) carryed to their own sugar Plantations and are thereby not only very much Increased in the making of sugar, but in strength alsoe by the coming to them of great numbers from ffrance and ffrom the

here from £3 to £3 10s. per cent., whereas the English being by the Act of Navigation confined all to England and the most part of their whites being coarse in comparison of those of Brazil are sold for about 45s. per cent . . ."

[14] Treasury Board Papers, Vol. XVII, No. 14.

English Collonyes.[15] the ffrench Kinge bending his designe to be great at sea and knowing the trade to the Plantations to be the best nursery for seamen did furnish his West India Company with a very great stock of money, other acts of grace and ffavors in order to be engrosseing of that commodity and Beating the English out of that Trade and for the Better Compleating that Designe hath since the taking of the English islands imposed a custome in ffrancs but of ffower Livres p. cent upon the sugars of his owne Plantations of what quallity soever, and ffifteene Livres upon whites and thirty-two Livres and ten sous upon Refined made by the English and all other fforaigners. By reason of which great Imposition the English and other fforaigne sugars are not transported into ffrance as formerly and greater quantityes of sugars are Imported into England which soe Llessens the vallue of english sugars that there is very little profitt to the Planters in making them."[16] [17].

The Dutch activity in the sugar trade had much the same effect on England as had the French. Contrary to the Navigation Acts the Dutch traders continued to load their vessels with sugar from the English plantations. Of this sugar they carried some directly to foreign ports, or indeed sometimes to the American colonies

[15] These three island possessions were returned to England by France in the next year (1667), according to the Treaty of Breda.

[16] Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 13, p. 56; Barbados—Letter of Gentlemen-Planters in London to Council and Assembly there concerning their exertions against the proposed English duty on sugar. London, May Day, 1671. In the "State of the case of the sugar planters in America" appended thereto.

[17] Mr. Rogers notes that "the duties imposed on sugar in 1685 were remitted in 1693 because it was found that they interfered with the foreign trade of the English refiners and traders." (Rogers, l. c., Vol. V, p. 462.) It is interesting to note also in this connection that the price of sugar rises slightly in England during the decade 1693-1702 over the decade immediately preceding. Mr. Rogers attributes this rise to the "risks of war," but I would suggest that it was directly connected with the regulation of 1693. The evil, of course, was not entirely remedied by this enactment, but the repeal of the tax was undoubtedly calculated to bring about slightly higher prices in England, removing, as it did, one disability of the English sugar trader.

themselves. The rest they transported first to Holland, where it was refined by Dutch capital, after which Dutch vessels distributed it to various European countries. In either case the effect upon the English market was the same, namely, the increase of sugar in England by reason of the falling off in her market outside her borders.[18]

One other influence affecting the supply of sugar in England must be considered here. It is undoubtedly true that the sugar lands in Barbados had begun before the end of the seventeenth century to show diminishing returns. One of the most crying evils of those islands, until comparatively recent times, was the inadequate manuring and fertilizing of their soil. This was especially the case when the English sugar planters, already burdened with debt, were struggling against all the extra hardships imposed upon them by the English colonial policy. As early as 1661 the Barbados planters began to protest that the productiveness of their island was waning. "The land," they assert, "is much poorer and makes much less sugar than heretofore and much worse."[19] In 1668 we read: "Barbados contains one hundred

[18] It is true that in large measure at least the Dutch activity must have annulled in itself any real influence which it might have had upon the English domestic market. For the sugar carried direct to foreign ports, or to foreign ports *via* Holland, obviously never reached England, and, therefore, never actually swelled the amount upon the English market. The cutting off of the foreign demand for sugar, therefore, met this market depleted by the amount carried direct to other countries, and the resulting effect on price must have been the same—or in large measure the same—as if neither of the phenomena had existed. Inasmuch, however, as the Dutch carried sugar that was not English, they did have a very real effect upon the price of sugar in England. The complaints against the Dutch came, naturally, from the English traders and refiners whose profits were thus cut off by the Dutch industry in those fields. The persistency with which the planters employed Dutch vessels, and with which, especially later, the Colonies of North America used foreign sugars, show clearly that it was greatly to their advantage to do so. For the actual consumer in England it made, most probably, very little real difference.

[19] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, p. 45. The President and Council of Barbados here declare that "they fear that the condition of the island has been represented to the King far richer than it is, and

thousand acres and renders not by two-thirds its former production by acres. The land is almost worn out, and the thickets where cotton and corn are planted are so burnt up that the inhabitants are ready to desert their plantations." Nevis is also declared in this same article to be "much decayed by long settling."[20] [21]

In 1671 the Assembly of Barbados addressed a letter to the "Gentlemen Planters in London," which gives in summary a graphic account of the state of Barbados at that date. In the letter they enclosed a petition to the King, which "sheweth":

"That they have been informed of some motions in the last session of Parliament for Increasing the Custome on Sugars the chief produce of this yor Maty's Island, and haveing by very grievous experience found that length of time hath soe much impoverisht their Lands that notwithstanding their vaste and endless Labours in Improvements they yet remaine near Barren and unfruitfull, the timber and wood made use of and destroyed[22] and the difficulties in making that commodity so much Increased as its Vallue hath of late yeares Lessen'd. . . ."[23]

Coupled with this natural decline in the productiveness of the soil in the small and overworked island of Barbados there was the enforced abandonment of estates by impoverished planters borne down by debt and unable to pay the heavy exactions of the

that offers have been made to raise taxes greater than the people can well bear which would grieve his good subjects in Barbados."

[20] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, p. 586.

[21] About this same time, also, "several planters belonging to His Majesty's sugar plantations" petition the Council for Plantations to the following effect: "That the growth of said plantations has diminished ¼ and the charge of making sugar has much increased, by reason whereof the English planter finds little or no recompense for hazard and labour."—Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674, p. 129.

[22] This statement is the more remarkable, and indicative of the extent to which the land of Barbados must have been put to sugar planting, when it is remembered that at the first coming of the English, virgin forest covered the entire island. Such also was the character of the growth that it was almost impossible for the first settlers to clear enough of the ground to plant the necessary food supply, and when the trees were felled the colonists were often obliged to plant in among their branches as they lay upon the ground, because by reason of their enormous size they were unable to remove them. (See Ligon, l. c., p. 24).

[23] Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 13, pp. 88, 89.

English Government. Butel-Dumont states that in the eight years during which the act of James II was in force more than forty mills in Barbados were abandoned, and planters everywhere were reduced to great extremities.[24] These two forces, therefore—the decreasing productivity of the cultivated lands by reason of the working of the law of diminishing returns and the decreasing extent of these cultivated lands by reason of the enforced abandonment of estates—these two forces together imposed a check upon the rate of increase in the amounts of sugar sent from the sugar islands to England. The Navigation Acts fell more heavily on Barbados than on her neighbors, because of her dense population and her already hard-worked soil. All her resources were being drawn on before the final blow came, so that in the time of depression she had no reserve force upon which to call.

Jamaica, on the other hand, was, as already noted,[25] producing increasing quantities of sugar in these years. In 1673 Lieutenant Governor Lynch writes to the Council for Plantations that "if Jamaica have easy government, be defended from enemies and supplied with negroes and servants and have no privateering, in six years it may produce as much sugar as Barbados, which island lessens every year both in quantity and quality, while those of Jamaica improve in both, so that their sugars are sold at 30 per cent. more than theirs."[26] From this it is evident that the effect which conditions in Barbadoes were having on the English sugar market were being in great measure counteracted by the increasing sugar culture in Jamaica.

In comparing all these various circumstances of the English sugar market one readily understands the falling prices of sugar and the complaints of the planters and refiners concerning the glut of their sugars in England. It becomes clear how it was that, as these phenomena indicate, the amount of sugar in England remained at a progressive ratio ahead of the demand. The English supply was growing constantly larger by the natural increase from

[24] "Histoire et Commerce des Antilles Angloises," attribué à M. Butel-Dumont, 1758, p. 215.

[25] See ante, pp. 98, 99.

[26] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674, p. 477.

the colonies, in particular Jamaica, as well as by reason of the great quantities thrown back upon England by the failure of her market abroad. It is true that in some islands, as in Barbados, the law of diminishing returns was setting in; but this was operative for a relatively small part of the entire sugar-producing area. As the supply of sugar in England increased, and the prices fell, sugar, formerly a costly luxury, became more and more accessible to the great majority in England, among whom the desire for it was already strong. At the end of that era it was, properly speaking, an article of regular consumption among the English people.

Conclusion.

With this point reached, the goal indicated at the beginning of this paper as its ultimate aim has been attained. Through the events reviewed in these pages sugar has traversed the pathways of geography from India to America, in migration and conquest and exchange. In the course of this westward advance, also, the commodity sugar has run its economic course as well. From the pharmacopœia of the physician it has passed by successive stages to the table of the average Englishman who has come to regard the addition which it makes to his daily food as one of the conditions of his happiness. Sugar has, in short, passed forever from the lists of superfluities in which it stood at the beginning of the paper, and has assumed the humbler rôle of a necessity of life, as that term is commonly conceived.

In tracing the history of sugar the subject of the research has been very carefully adhered to, all subsidiary questions, such as taxation and the regulation of the sugar trade, having been almost entirely omitted. These must remain for future investigations in this field, when the subdivisions of the sugar question will be dealt with at length. In such a study the attention will center in the various problems of production and exchange, as it has here gathered especially about the phenomenon of consumption, and the subjects of taxation and slavery will be duly emphasized and examined. Slavery was in the West Indies as inextricably bound

up with the sugar culture there as were the Navigation Acts with the trade in sugar, and neither of these questions can be properly understood apart from that one to which they are allied. For present purposes, however, reference to these subjects has been restricted to those aspects in which they have exerted an influence directly upon the actual conditions of the demand for sugar or of the sugar supply, and so indirectly upon the main investigation of the paper, namely, the history of sugar as a commodity.

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La Vie Seint Edmund Le Rei

An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Twelfth Century

BY

DENIS PIRAMUS

Edited, with Introduction and Critical Notes,

BY

FLORENCE LEFTWICH RAVENEL

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, U. S. A., February, 1906

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1906

INTRODUCTION.

The author of *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei* alludes to himself twice in the poem as Denis Piramus; but neither he nor his work is referred to by any other writer of the Middle Ages. The existence of the shorter lyric productions to which he lays claim, the "Serventeis, Chanceonettes, Rimes, Saluz," is attested only by his own word.

The only manuscript in which his work is preserved was found in 1838 in the British Museum, by Francisque Michel. In his *Rapport à Monsieur le Ministre de l'Instruction publique* (II, p. 258 seq.) he described the manuscript and printed an extract from the beginning and one from the conclusion of the poem, and until very recent times all that was known concerning Denis or his work was gathered from these lines.

For many years every student or critic who turned his attention to Marie de France or to the unknown author of *Partenopeus*, quoted from *St. Edmund* the lines referring to the author of the *Lais*, or those beginning[1]

"Cil ki Partenope trova"

and drew from them evidence to confirm his own opinions or discredit those of his opponents; but no one studied Denis' work as a whole, or thought it worth while to ascertain the real purport and connection of the much quoted couplets.

One theory was built upon the misquotation of certain lines, and was supported in all seriousness by scholars of reputation. I refer, of course, to the hypothesis that Denis Piramus was the author of *Partenopeus*, an opinion first expressed by Francisque Michel (*Rapport*, 1838, pp. 250 *et seq.*). Duval (*Histoire littéraire de la France*, Paris, 1838, Vol. XIX, pp. 629–648) accepts this assump-

[1](cf. *St. Edmund*, lines 25-50.)

tion without question, as does also Paulin Paris (*Manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris, 1840, Vol. III, pp. 72–87). As late as 1876, Kölbing (*Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie*, Breslau) alludes to Denis' authorship of *Partenopeus* as to an admitted fact, and Chevalier (*Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1877) saw no reason to reopen the discussion.

However, even before the publication of the *Life of St. Edmund*, this theory had been abandoned (cf. G. Paris in *Rom.* IV, p. 148). Indeed, a superficial examination of the two works should suffice, one would think, to remove every doubt; for a stronger contrast can scarcely be imagined than that between *St. Edmund* and *Partenopeus de Blois*. The latter is one of the most charming, picturesque and frankly pagan of Old French romances, and its author allows himself flights of fancy and extremes of realistic description which would have been impossible to Denis at any period of his career.

Even without regard to the internal evidence in the case, the hypothesis of Michel must remain one of the curiosities of literary interpretation, for it is based upon the omission of certain lines from the text, and the arbitrary juxtaposition of others which, in the original, have no connection, but form parts of separate paragraphs. Line 6 of *St. Edmund* says:

"Jeo ai nun Denis Piramus"

This is followed by eight lines in which the author speaks of his advancing years and the change of heart which has induced him to undertake his present task; and then, at the opening of a new paragraph, he writes:

"Cil ki Partenope trova,
E ki ces vers fist e rima,"

and proceeds to characterize, in terms of mingled admiration and disapproval, the work of an author whose name he either did not know or did not choose to mention, but which was manifestly not his own. If we bring

together the three lines cited, and omit the middle and end of the passage, a certain plausibility is gained for the hypothesis, and the followers of Michel seem to have read no farther, and asked no embarrassing questions.

But this is not the only false impression to which Denis' introductory lines have given rise. His evidence is cited in another literary controversy.

In lines 35–48 of our text, Denis alludes to Marie de France as the author o the *Lais*, but makes no mention of the *Fables* nor of the *Espurgatoire Seint Patriz*. The latter omission might be easily explained if, as we suppose, Marie's latest work had not appeared when Denis began the *Vie Seint Edmund;* but that he should ignore the existence of the fables, seems to demand justification. One reason for this silence readily suggested itself to scholars who were concerned, not with Denis Piramus, but with Marie de France. If Denis does not refer to the fables, they maintain, it is because they were not yet written, and therefore it is evident that the *Lais* were Marie's earliest work, preceding the fables by at least five or ten years. It is in this order that they are placed by Gaston Paris (*Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1890. *Tableau Chronologique*, p. 248) and by Warnke in his edition of the fables, 1898 (Introduction, pp. 115–117). In 1895, however, Gaston Paris (*Rom.* XXIV, *compte rendu*, p. 295) abandoned his former position, and for reasons which seem to me conclusive, restored Marie's works to their more natural order.

A closer examination of the introduction to the *Life of St. Edmund* would have promptly disposed of Denis' testimony in this question. For is not Denis' object simply a comparison between these two authors, who wrote to amuse, and himself who had in view the edification of his hearers? As he says (lines 59–63):

> "Si vus volez entendre a mei,
> Jeo vus dirrai, par dreite fei,
> Un dedut qui mielz valt asez
> Ke ces altres ke tant amez."

And again (lines 67–71):

" Um deit mult mielz a sen entendre,
Ke en folie le tens despendre.
Un dedut par vers vus dirrai,
Ke sunt de sen e si verrai."

Partenopeus and the *Lais* of Marie are to Denis Piramus representatives of that romantic and erotic literature, against which was directed the influence of the Church, soon to triumph in the reaction of the thirteenth century. He may well have been acquainted with Marie's fables and yet have avoided all allusion to them here; for though fables are technically fictitious, they have always a didactic intention, and a reference to them in this connection might have weakened the force of his argument.

The complete edition of Denis' authentic work, which should clear up all these misapprehensions, was slow in making its appearance. Finally, in 1892, *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei* was published as part of the *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, a collection contained in two quarto volumes of the Rolls Series, and edited by Mr. Thomas Arnold. We have no reason to question Mr. Arnold's qualifications as an historian; his introduction contains valuable and interesting material which I have been glad to utilize. But his numerous errors, both in reading and in interpreting the manuscript, lead us to the conclusion that he is but scantily equipped for editing an Old French text. (Compare the *Compte rendu* by Gaston Paris, in *Romania* XXII, p. 170.)

After alluding to the fact that nothing had been known hitherto of the work of Denis Piramus except the extracts printed by Michel, Paris adds:

"Il est d'autant plus regrettable que l'éditeur soit aussi peu préparé à sa tache. Son édition est encore plus mauvaise que celle de Garnier, parue dans la même collection, dont nous avons rendu compte il y a quelques années. (XVIII, p. 314.) Les fautes de lecture et de ponctuation abondent dans le texte, les fautes d'inter-

prétation dans le glossaire. . . Il va sans dire que l'éditeur, incapable de comprendre le texte qu'il publiait, n'a même pas tenté de corriger les nombreuses fautes que renferme l'unique MS. de la *Vie Seint Edmond.*"

As examples of Mr. Arnold's false reading of the MS., I refer to line 260: MS. *algent*, Arn. *a le gent;* 196: MS. *ateinstrent*, Arn. *atemptrent;* 198: MS. *doterent*, Arn. *docerent;* 274: MS. *desrayner*, Arn. *defrayer;* 320: MS. *desrey*, Arn. *defreie;* 449: MS. *irra*, Arn. *ura;* 55: MS. *ires*, Arn. *tres;* 362: MS. *resceyvre*, Arn. *rescuyvre.*

When a correction of the text is obviously necessary, Mr. Arnold in a number of instances neglects to make it, leaving the unintelligible word or construction as it stands, *e. g.*, line 61: *milez* for *mielz;* 9: *creire* for *treire;* 89: *quns* for *quens;* 445: *regum* for *regiun;* beside the many cases where the rhyme or metre calls for some small emendation, *e. g.*, line 9: *teles* for *tels;* 60: *dreit* for *dreite;* 61: *valut* for *valt*, etc.

As examples of emendations, where the manuscript has evidently the correct reading, I cite line 758: MS. *leire*, Arn. *terre;* 534: MS. *cresance*, Arn. *creance;* lines 1025–26: MS. *doune*, *abandoune*, Arn. *donne*, *abandonne;* etc.

The following are a few examples of Mr. Arnold's conjectures, definitions and glossarial notes: MS. ll. 705–706. (Arn. ll. 703–704):

> Si est il feit le reis di mey,
> Ki iesqu ci ay été rey![1]

Cf. *Glossarial Notes* p. 398: "The natural order of the words is changed: 'All is over with me the king;' unless *reis = campaign* is intended, in which case the meaning would be: 'my career is ended'. But Prof. Atkinson is of the opinion that the first is the more probable explanation."

Note on line 1576, (Arn. 1578) p. 399: " 'A tut dis mes'. This is another tag, padding to fill up the verse

[1](N. B. I quote the MS. as it stands.)

and round the rhyme. See *dis* and *mes* in the Glossary." And under *dis* in the Glossary we find: *dis* = 10; *dis* = word, with reference to the above passage.

Lines 355–360, where the MS. reading is evidently corrupt, (cf. text criticism below) Mr. Arnold disposes of the passage as an example of *anacoleuthon*. (*Glos. Notes*, p. 398.)

For definitions I refer to the following: *defreyner* (MS. *desreyner*): "to open, to free oneself from restraint;" *defreier* (MS. *desreier*): "to trouble oneself;" *altre* (in the phrase, "*tries un tries altre s'enveit,*" 1. 3569): the editor simply places an interrogation point after this word.

Of Mr. Arnold's conjectures as to the meaning of unfamiliar words, I will cite only one: l. 3878:

"Tant par ert encrisme felun."

In the footnote we find the following: "'Crisme': Does this refer to the story told by Malmesbury of the sullying of the font at Ethelred's baptism?" (p. 246.)

Line 158 of the MS. is omitted in the Arnold edition, and the former half of line 229 is connected with the latter half of line 330, making a line without either meaning or rhyme.

SOURCES OF LA VIE ST. EDMUND.

As the chief sources of the work of Denis Piramus are included among the *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, and published in the first volume of the collection, it will be needless to go into detail on this point. I merely give, for the sake of completeness, a summary of the facts known concerning these sources, with such comments as seem necessary, referring the reader to the documents themselves, and to Mr. Arnold's Introduction.

The principal sources from which Denis Piramus drew the material for his *Vie Seint Edmund*, are:

1. *De Infantia Sancti Edmundi*, in Latin, by Galfridus de Fontibus, composed between 1148–1156 (cf. *Memorials*, Vol. I, pp. 93–103; and *Int.* pp. XXXIV and XXXV).

2. *Passio Sancti Edmundi*, by Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004) (cf. *Memorials*, Vol. I, pp. 26–92, and *Int.*, pp. XXVIII and XXIX), written about the close of the eleventh century.

3. At the close of the introduction, where Denis gives a brief history of the Saxon conquest of Britain, and the retreat of the Britons into Wales, with a parenthetic account of the treason of Hengist and Horsa, he follows Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Britonum* (Bk. XII, 15, 16, 19; Bk. VI, 15, 16, 10).

Beginning with line 433, Denis follows the *De Infantia*, or, according to Mr. Arnold's conjecture, an English version of Galfridus, as far as line 2000. Cf. Arnold's note on line 3268, where Denis says:

> "Translate l'ai desque a la fin,
> E del Engleis, et del Latin."

"It seems therefore," says Mr. Arnold, "that there must have been an English version of the *Infancy* lying before him, which is not now extant. This English Life may perhaps be indicated by someone among the titles of the works on the Edmundian story, not now existing, which are written on the margin of MS. Bodl. 240 (*Memorials*, p. XVI of Introduction), *e. g.*, the book of *Bliburgh* or *Alia Legenda*, or *Nicholaus of Warengford*, or *H. Norwicensis* (p. 228, footnote)."

This suggestion of Mr. Arnold has in its favor only the expression used by Denis himself, as no English version of the *Infancy* is known. Even if Denis had access to certain English sources, I should be inclined to believe that he handled his material with a certain freedom. Some of the most interesting passages in *St. Edmund* are those in which the author, while following the general outline of his original, alters the details, greatly to the advantage of the effect.

The long account of Edmund's voyage, moreover, is not found in Galfridus nor in any known source, and this recalls a statement of Sir Thomas Hardy, quoted in Arnold's Introduction (Catalog. 1107; cf. *Memorials*, Vol. II, pp. 18–26) to the effect that Denis Piramus composed his *St. Edmund* to amuse the king and his nobles during a long journey by sea. Certainly the wealth of detail with which Denis describes every episode of the voyage, and the knowledge of nautical and geographical terms which he displays, seem to imply that he had himself at some time in his life accomplished the voyage he attributes to his hero.

From line 2000 to line 3268, the *Passio* of Abbo is the only known source. The principal differences between Denis' treatment of the story and that of Abbo are:

1. The account of the partition of Britain between Saxons, Jutes and Angles, including the glowing description of East Anglia, form part of Abbo's introduction. Denis has inserted this passage between his sketch of British history and the opening of Galfridus' *Infancy*. If we may attribute this rearrangement (to which Mr. Arnold makes no allusion) to Denis himself, it shows considerable skill in the ordering of his material.

2. The motive which induced the invasion of the Danish brothers, as given by Galfridus and adopted by Denis, is sheer malice combined with envy of the bloodless conquest achieved by their young neighbor. Denis makes no allusion to the version of Abbo, written from an intensely clerical and theological point of view, according to which Inguar and Hubbe are messengers of Satan, sent to tempt the servant of God. (Cf. Abbo, *Passio*, p. 8, *Memorials*, Vol. I.)

3. Inguar does not, according to Abbo, summon Edmund to renounce his faith, nor even to yield up all his treasures, but merely to divide his possessions and rule as Inguar's vice-gerent. Such moderate conditions could give his hero scant claims to the crown of martyrdom and naturally Denis, or his unknown source, modi-

fied the story to meet the requirements for sainthood. Moreover, in Abbo's account, Edmund does not refuse at once and without qualification, to accept the invader's terms; he only stipulates that before he, a Christian king, shall swear allegiance to Inguar, the Dane shall become a Christian.

The account of the miracles of St. Edmund, which forms the second part of the poem, is based upon the *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Edmundi*, of Herman, Abbot of St. Edmund's Abbey (cf. *Memorials*, Vol. I, pp. 26–92; also cf. Introduction, pp. XXVIII). From Herman comes the account of events succeeding the martyrdom of St. Edmund, the chronology of the kings of East Anglia, etc., to line 3937, where begins the history of Sweyn's invasion.

From this point Denis makes use of sources quite unknown (cf. Arnold's edition, p. 240, footnote), perhaps simply the oral traditions with which he was familiar. The manuscript breaks off with line 4030, and the story of the treason of the four earls in the reign of Ethelred is left incomplete.

HISTORICAL FOUNDATION AND LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGEND.

All that is known of St. Edmund is comprised in a few lines of Ethelwerd's Chronicle, of Asser's Life of Alfred and of the Saxon Chronicle.

There was a Saxon king of East Anglia who bore that name and reigned in the ninth century (the accepted date of the martyrdom is 870 A. D.). King Edmund was attacked by the Danes, and, according to the historical version, fell in battle defending his throne. (Cf. *Ethelwerd's Chronicle*, Bk. IV, Chap. II, in *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 26; Bohn's Library, London, 1875; Asser's

Life of Alfred, *ibidem*, p. 54; also *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. 71, Plummer, Oxford, 1892; and Memorials, Vol. I, Int., pp. 18–21.)

The legend as we have it in the work of Denis Piramus, has not yet assumed its final form. In its later development, not only is Edmund sprung from the royal stock of Old Saxony, but his father and mother are both named: Alcmund and Siward. The date 841 is assigned as the time of his birth, and Nuremberg as his native city.

Moreover, the later versions assign another motive for the Danish invasion. Lodbrok, it is said, the father of Inguar, had already visited England *incognito*, and having, by his superior marksmanship, excited the jealousy of Bern, Edmund's chief huntsman, was treacherously slain by him in the forest. The guilty Bern (as we see, he is no longer the son of Lodbrok) condemned by King Edmund and set adrift upon the ocean, was borne by the winds and waves to Denmark; and once there, he gave a false account of Lodbrok's death, incriminating Edmund, and thereby arousing against the holy king the implacable hatred of Inguar and Hubbe, Lodbrok's two sons.

In its completest form, the legend of St. Edmund is found in the *Curteis Register* (Wm. Curteis, Abbot from 1429 to 1457). Cf. *Memorials*, Vol. I, Int., p. XV; also Horstmann's edition of *Nova Legenda Angliae*, Oxford, 1901. App., pp. 573–688.

METRE.

La Vie Seint Edmund is written in octosyllable rhymed verse, rhyming *a a*, *b b*, *c c*, etc. The metre presents those peculiarities which distinguish the versification of insular poets from that prevalent on the mainland at the same period. Denis Piramus seems to have been neither more nor less remiss than his fellow coun-

trymen in the observance of metrical rules; and though there is a relatively large number of irregular lines in the manuscript, yet a considerable portion of these can be corrected by a slight emendation of the text, and are therefore to be set down to the account of the copyist.

Among the licenses admitted by Anglo-Norman usage, we find the following (Cf. Suchier, *St. Auban*, pp. 33–37; Koch's *Introduction to Chardri*, pp. 41–42; Rolf's *Adgar Legenden, Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. I, pp. 193–200):

a. Elision of atonic *e*:

1. Pretonic (before consonant or in hiatus):—

De sage rei (e) bon justiser	716
E recov(e)rer vostre comfort	867
Ke lenfant namen(e)runt nient	960
Li decol(e)ur si fu irez	2472
La meite del host i men(e)reit	2091

2. Posttonic:—

De Bur(e)s qui encore est assise	1775
En ceste ter(e) lenfant menames	1678
Car il murust en tel(e) creance	748
Ke lalb (e) del jur fu escrevee	1404
E de sa vi(e) traist a la fin	755
Tel(e) dignete aveit la cit	1774

3. In the termination *ent* of verb forms:—

Tant cum il fur(e)nt, ceo mest avis	1351
Kant la nef avei(e)nt aprestee	1383
Bon vent avei(e)nt e bien portant	1459
Pur ceo le fesei(e)nt sujurner	1591
Iluc le fesei(e)nt curuner	1761
Quil avei(e)nt en lur companie	1915

b. Double vowels and diphthongs contracted when necessary:

Pur nus e pur nostre r͡aanceun	2372
Pur la vergoine quil unt e͡u	1995

Remark: On the other hand, diphthongs and atonic *e* have often their full syllabic value:

Kal tierz jur unt Frise veüe 1411
Ke Jesu nostre salveür 2321
Cest repons que as ci oï 2328
Cume le membre Jesu Crist 2357
Ke le reis sucurs nen oüst 2189

c. Contraction of pronouns and particles:

Jeo le vus dirrai, sempres maneis 3280
Quil pais mist devers Galerne 134
Ne saveit daltre, ceo est le veir 199

d. It is frequently possible to correct the six and seven syllabled lines by the restoration of an atonic *e*, or, in the case of lines of nine or ten syllables, by the elision of this *e*. In a few instances, where a simple verb has been substituted for a compound, the metre may be made right by the restoration of the prefix:

Ke assemble les puisse [re]treire

In my correction of the text I have, as a rule, adopted only such forms as are supported by other examples in the MS., or by the requirements of both metre and sense. Not all the irregular lines, however, will yield to such treatment. There remains a relatively large number of seven syllabled lines, both masculine and feminine, a smaller number with nine, and a very few which cannot be made to count more than six syllables. The few ten syllabled lines of the manuscript can all, I believe, be reduced to eight or nine.

Examples:

1. Seven syllables (feminine):

E trop ai use ma vie 3
En peche e en folie 4
Kil tel ore lur tramette 1441

2. Seven syllables (masculine):

Seit of mei e si aït, 24
E les vers sunt mult amez 33
De trestuz ses pechez net, 662
Tantes lances truncuner 3758

3. Nine syllables:

Le rei Suain veit quil nad nul ados, 3823
Iluc li prist maladi(e) si grant, 643
En maladi(e) dunt apres murust, 872
Tant cum il vesqui, si pout bien estre, 3730

4. Six syllables (masc. and fem.):

E li grant e li mendre 3270
Quil mustre sa pussance 3635
Kant de li sen ala 1001

5. As I have said, the ten syllabled lines can be reduced to eight or nine (cf. under nine syllables): *e. g.:*

Denis Piramus quil(ad) translate 3279

Here it is evident from the rhyme word (baratte) that the present tense is intended.

LITERARY VALUE.

Like any other document of unquestioned authenticity, *La Vie Seint Edmund* is of interest to the historian and to the student of language; but has it, as mere literature, any claim upon our attention? Is it at all worthy of a place among those literary productions which have come down to us from the same period and in the same tongue?

In his introduction, Mr Arnold characterizes the style of Denis as "earnest" and "copious" beyond that of most writers on similar themes. The justice of the epithets is indubitable, but they ought not, perhaps, to be employed in an unreservedly complimentary sense. Earnestness is indeed a virtue, but to one who has toiled through the four thousand lines of *St. Edmund*, its "copiousness" will scarcely seem altogether commendable. For indeed Denis carries the habit of repetition to an extreme seldom reached even by a mediæval poet. Each episode is recounted at least twice, and with a tasteless

emphasis, a wearisome iteration that quickly chills whatever sympathy his story may have aroused. In the very first lines we have an example of this peculiarity:

> Mult ai use cume pechere,
> Ma vie en trop fole manere;
> E trop ai use ma vie
> En peche en folie.

The habit grows as the work progresses, until it may be affirmed that two thousand lines would have sufficed to tell St. Edmund's story, with greater clearness and better effect than Denis has achieved in more than four thousand.

Perhaps, however, we should not be too severe with Denis for all these duplicated passages. The poem is evidently intended to be recited, or to be read aloud, as the frequent appeal to his audience would indicate, and even in an age when books were rare and difficult of access, the reader may have found his hearers often drowsy and inattentive. When, then, some of the more impressive passages failed of their effect, it is not improbable that the author, or some ambitious copyist of later date, may have added other and more detailed versions to emphasize the original story. Some such supposition is necessary to explain the length to which certain episodes are drawn out; for example, the account of the Roman lady's vision, which is first told by the author and then, almost without variation, put into the mouth of the lady herself (lines 1115–1294). Other illustrations are not wanting, the most conspicuous being the story of the martyrdom, where the verbiage befogs the mind of the reader and obscures the outlines of the narrative.

On the other hand, if we would do justice to the work of Denis Piramus, we must compare it with other saints' lives and edifying tales of the same period. Written almost at the end of the Twelfth century, there lingers in the work of Denis something of the epic tone, of that combination of boldness and *naiveté*, of manly daring

and childlike credulity, which is the distinguishing note of the *Chanson de Geste*. In spite of his pacific theme, Denis loves to sing of arms and heroes, of long voyages across perilous seas in search of new worlds to conquer. There are not fewer than three such voyages recounted by him, in more or less detail, while raids, sieges and massacres are scattered thickly through his pages and always dwelt upon with keen relish.

As to the form of his work, there is little to be said, aside from the technical considerations of metre and rhyme. His verse is the verse of his time and of his country, the vehicle in which have come down to us romances of chivalry and legends of saints. Denis is no inspired poet; he is at his best, and that rarely enough, only a writer of graceful verse. No doubt his earlier experiences and courtly training were not without their effect upon his style and his point of view; and though not one verse has come down to us of those "*rimes*," "*saluz*" and "*serventeis*," which he professes to have composed, yet we may catch sometimes, in the midst of his graver work, an echo of their lighter tone. In his introduction, where he is addressing an audience made up of his social superiors, he gives evidence of a tact and lightness of touch not unworthy of a contemporary of Marie de France.

Again, in the episode of Offa's visit to the Saxon king, the picture of the young Edmund, growing up at his father's side, in the exercise of all courtly and Christian graces, is not badly done, although the ideal of Denis is distinctly priestly rather than chivalric. In particular, the scene of parting between the old king and the boy has a freshness, a warmth of simple human feeling, which we certainly do not find in the ponderous phrases of the Latin original.

The story of the landing of Edmund on the shores of his unknown kingdom is worthy of note, as it is one of the author's rare, and in this case not unsuccessful, attempts to portray natural scenes and objects.

'Quant Seint Edmund fu venuz
A tere, e hors del nief eissuz,
En une planesce acceptable
E bele e verte e delitable,
De liez la mer en oreisuns
Chei li ber a genuilluns,
E preia Dieu pitusement
Pur le païs e pur la gent.
. . . . . .
Ses hommes li amenent devant
Un palefrei, sueif amblant.
Si cum le ber munter deveit,
Vers occident [re]garde e veit
E veit hors [de] la tere sailler
Dulces funteines, par aïr,
Od dulz curs, od clere gravele,
Nul ne poet choisir la plus bele:
Cuntre curent vers la mer,
Semblant funt de li welcomer.
Del liu dunt les russels sunt surs,
Jusquen la salse funt lur curs,
E isnelment se destendent,
Od duz murmure, en mer descendent."

(lines 1501-8; 1521-1534.)

In the *Vie de Seint Gregoire*, for example, we look in vain for lines like these; and the difference is not only in the century, but in the spirit of the author. The hero of Frere Angier is a mere abstraction, to whom the affections that bind the natural man to his fellows are but stumbling-blocks in the road to perfection. No reader of *St. Edmund* can question the sincere piety of Denis Piramus, nor his faith in the wonders he relates; and yet, compared with the puerile, often immoral, legends attributed to Adgar, the ideal set forth in the life and death of the English saint is sane and sober, pure and wholesome, and even the miracles ascribed to him seem akin to life and reality. Written at the close of the Twelfth century, Denis' work may be called in some sort a work of transition; but his standpoint is certainly not further removed from the romanticism to which we owe *Partenopeus* and Thomas' *Tristan*, than from the asceticism which brought forth such works as *St. Gregoire*, or the *St. Josaphaz* and *Les Set Dormanz* of Chardri.

I.

LANGUAGE OF THE AUTHOR AS INDICATED BY THE RHYME WORDS.

PHONOLOGY.

A. *Vowels.*

1. Free in tonic position:

a. Latin a > e before oral consonants: *laisse* (: lee) 173; *mer* (: justiser) 1653.

Orthographic variants of e are:

(1) ie: *nief* (: tref) 1451.

(2) ee: *regnee* (: devise) 168; *haitee* (: lee) 3942.

Remark: In the foregoing examples, the second e might be explained as ĕ posttonic. However, the orthography ee < a occurs frequently out of the rhyme. Cf. Language of Copyist, under free a: *greef* 158; *neefes,* etc.)

(3) ei: *melleies*: *espeies* 2755–6.

Remark 2: -aticum becomes *-age*: *sage*: *message* 3915.

Remark 3: a in -alis remains in *leal* (: *seneschal*) 1725; *real* (: estal) 732; rarely > el: *espiritel*: *hostel* 2857.

b. a + pal > ai often reduced to *e* especially medial: (1) e (medial): *mestre* (: *estre*) 31, 1953; *pes* (: *apres*) 431, etc. (2) *ai* (final): *verrai*: *dirrai* 69; (lais:) *verais* 38, etc.

Remark: Final ai < a + pal. has often the value of a true diphthong: *pais* (: *pis* 271, : *dis* 421, : *pris* 33, etc.). Beside *e, ei* is a frequent variant of *ai,* though rarely occurring at the end of a word : *retreire* : *fere* 1825–6; *feire*: *cuntreire* 3781. The three orthographies rhyme each with the others, apparently without restriction.

Remark 2: -ariu > -ier as in General Old French, the -ier being frequently reduced to -er in Anglo Norman. The frequency with which both forms (ier and er) occur in our text, both in and out of the rhyme, suggests that probably both sounds, as well as both orthographies, were familiar to the author.

Moreover, -ier and -er (< ariu, e and pal. + a) rhyme as a rule only with each other; not more than half a dozen examples are found where the -ier and -er rhyme with e < a: *bachelcr*: *conquester* 187; *justiser*: *mer* 1553, etc. It seems possible that, though *ie* had ceased to be felt as a true diphthong, at the time when our text was composed, yet it may have had at times something approaching a diphthongal value, *e. g.*: *ye.*

c. Pal. + a > ie, often reduced to e, (cf. under -ariu) rhymes preferably with itself or with *ie, e* (< ariu or e).

d. a + free nasal > ain (written often ein) *vilain* (: *plain*) 2113; *faim*: *pain* 117; *luinteins*: *prochcins* 1077; *Romeine*: *demeine* 1193.

Remark: (1) *celestiene* (: *ben*) 2313. This combination of pal + a + n > ien has usually two syllables (cf. 1293); (2) ain (< a + n) rhymes, as we see, with ein and ain (< e + n).

e. a + nas. + pal. > ain (for the different orthographies of n cf. under Language of Copyist, Consonant n): *Almaine*: *cumpaine* 3934; *chevetaine*: *cumpaine* 209.

2. A checked:

a. a remains before oral consonants: *quatre*: *cumbatre* 295; *colpasent*: *decolasent* 2434.

b. a + checked nasal remains, *e. g.*: *lance*: *demurance* 274–5; *enfant* (: *vivant*) 284; *an*: *ahan* 1095, etc. -ant does not rhyme regularly with -ent, cf., however, the word *talent*: *portant* 1459.

c. a + l + cons:

There is no rhyme that is absolutely conclusive as to the quality of this combination. However, as l is consistently written in the rhyme words, though often vocalized in the middle of the line, it seems probable that it has not entirely lost its consonantal value; *e. g.*: *halz*: *asalz* 234; *orientals*: *vassals* 169–70.

E̥.

I. E̥ free in tonic position.

a. Becomes ie (frequently reduced to e) before oral consonants:

Of ie and e (< e) the same may be said as of -ie(r) and -e(r) out of ariu, and ie out of pal. + a. The two orthographies are used interchangeably in our text, but they rhyme preferably each with itself or with each other, rarely with e < a.

For examples, cf. 997, 2185, 3633, etc. (cf. under -ariu, pp. 18 and 19, also pal. + a, p. 19).

b. Ę + free nasal > ie: *e. g., biens : riens* 493, 413; *bien : revien* 2211.

Very rarely we find the reduced form ie > e; but this is probably to be ascribed to the coypist: (*celestiene*) : *ben* 2313. The forms *avent* and *revent* (635–6) are, of course, analogical.

c. Ę + pal. > i: *matire* (: *dire*) 28; pris (: avis) 1351; despist (: dist) 2165, etc.

Ę + pal. > e in *matere : artere* 2709.

Remark: *muster* (: *mariner*) 3161; here we have the familiar exchange of suffixes.

2. Ę checked.

a. Ę checked before orals and nasals remains: *estre* (: *mestre*) 32; *ancestre* 135; *Vent : suppprent* 1381, etc.

b. Ę + l + Cons.

l is written consistently in the rhyme words, but as this combination does not rhyme with e + l + cons. from other sources, the quality of the *el* must remain uncertain: bels : dancels 475; *kernels : chastels* 229, etc.

Ẹ.

I. Ẹ free in tonic position:

a. Becomes ei before oral consonants: *veit : dreit* 785; *veie : desreie* 319–20; *veir : aver* 3333.

Variants of ei are: (1) e *crere* (: *arveire*) 77; *aver* (: *veir*) 613; (2) ai : *fai : lai* 2678. Ai is a very rare variant of ẹ, and though found once or twice in the rhyme may very well be due to the copyist.

b. Ẹ + free nasal > ẽi: *peine : demeine* 1875, 2533, etc.

(1) E is a rare variant of ei: *mene : demeine* 851; (2) i : *serin : demain* 1457; (3) ai : *plain* (: *vilain*) 2113.

c. Ẹ + pal. > ei : *reis* (: *curteis*) 3481; *rei* (: *mei*) 3335, etc.

d. Ẹ + l > ei (ai) : *vermeil* : *soleil* 1250; *cunseil* : *soleil* 1265.

Remark: It is worthy of note that ei < ẹ, including its variants, does not rhyme with ei, e or ai from other sources (e < a; e < ie; e, ei, ai < a + pal.; or ie(e) < pal. + a and -ariu).

Two rhymes only in our text appear to conflict with this rule, and they are susceptible of other explanation; namely: (1) *cuntreerent* : *armerent* 2064, where *cuntraire* may have passed over to Conjugation I (cf. *treier* = *traire* (3769 not in the rhyme) (e) *cerchir* : *veir* (2674) where the original cerchir may have passed over to Conjugation II. The frequent examples of *esteit* : *aveit* are analogical.

2. Ẹ checked in tonic position remains: *prist* : *conquist* (277), etc.; *entendent* : *defendent* 267; *gent* : *cointement* 254; *sens* : *purpense* 505, etc.

-ent occasionally written ant, when it rhymes with -ant: *talant* (: *portant*) 1457.

I.

I remains in all positions.

Ọ.

1. Ọ free in tonic position:

a. Remains before orals in *volt* : *tolt* 1787; *ovre* : *recovre* 2419, etc. Ọ is particularly common in verb forms outside the rhyme.

b. Diphthongizes (also before orals).

(1) ọ > oe: quoer: foer 1942.

(2) ọ > ue (orthographic variant of oe, estuet: puet 1334.

(3) We find one example of ọ > e, which is probably merely a reduction of oe, quer (: penser) 53. Outside the rhyme several cases of this reduction are found: nove > nef, 2060, also quer 233, 649, etc.

c. Ọ > ue before free nasals; vesquens (: tens 4009 : sens 3669; suens (: bons) 1855). Bons remains in orthography

even in tonic position; but this is probably to be ascribed to the copyist.

d. Ǫ + pal. > ui (reduced often to u). (1) ui in nuit (: tuit) 3307; ennui (: li) 1391; (2) u nut (: dedut) 1490, etc.

e. Before l, ǫ > oi (rarely written oe) voil: doel 153; oil: soil 2331, etc.

f. Before n, ǫ > uo (occurs but once) suonge: menceonge 29.

2. Ǫ checked in tonic position.

a. Remains before orals: mort: ressort 675; cors: dehors 3689.

b. Becomes u before checked nasals (sometimes written o): cunte (munte) 68; frunt (: sunt) 3393; omme (: Rome) 1133.

Ọ.

1. Ọ free in tonic position:

a. Ọ becomes u before orals: honur (: jur) 3497; dolur (: jur) 1537.

Remark: The orthography ou, though found frequently in our text, both in and out of the rhyme, is evidently due to the copyist. Ou was not in general use (as representing Latin o and u) until late in the thirteenth century (cf. Koch's Introduction to Chardri, p. XXVI).

b. Ọ + free nasal > un (for on cf. under ǫ + oral above): draguns: leuns 1819; regiun: dun 1275, etc.

c. Ọ + pal. > oi (with ui as a variant): (1) oi: croiz: voiz 2393; (2) ui: tuit (: deduit) 3307, etc.

The forms glorie: estorie (1934 et al.) are characteristic of Anglo-Norman texts.

d. Ọ + n becomes oi (with ui as occasional variant) verguine: suessoine 1257; cf. the curious rhyme doind: Edmund 434, where the mouillation is lost and the diphthong apparently reduced.

2. Ọ checked in tonic position.

a. Before orals, o > u: jur: dolur 1537; entur 3169; segnur 3599; burc (: Gheniesburc) 3905.

b. Ọ + checked nasal > u, sometimes written o: Edmund : respunt 2717; sunt : mund 1807; parfunt : funt 3693.

Ọ + u > eu in deus (: vus) 1086.

U.

a. Tonic u free and checked remains before orals and nasals : plus (: nuls) 349; dreiture : me sure 1837; veue : neue 141; seur (: eur) 651.

Remark: u + l + s: rhymes, as we see, with u + s, so it would appear that in this combination, l had lost its consonantal value.

b. u + pal. becomes ui, often reduced to u, (1) in deduit (: trestuit) 571; (2) u : dedut (: nut) 1399.

AU.

Au free and checked becomes o before orals and nasals (before nasals written u) : chol (: vol) 316; or tresor 911; clot (: mot) 743; hunte (: cunte) 86.

B. *Consonants.*

Of the consonants in the rhymed syllables, there is little to be said.

I. Dentals.

a. t final after a vowel falls: *lie : espandie,* 2526 (cf. also *fust* alternating with *fu*).

b. d final has the value of t (checked) and occasionally falls : *Edmun : mesprisiun,* 3294; *Edmund : amunt,* 3313, etc.

c. s + t.

In our text, s before t is still written in a large majority of examples, and, as a rule, when s is retained before t, we do not find st rhyming with t, *e. g.,* preterites in -st rhyme with each other or with words like *Crist, despist,* etc. : *prist, sist, fist, parmist : Crist* (cf. 3274, 2532, 2532, 2538, etc.).

Forms without s occur more rarely and rhyme with each other. The two exceptions to this rule are *fist : escrit,* 3469; *dit : requist,* 1969. The fact however that the same forms

occur with and without the s would seem to indicate that this letter had become silent before a consonant.

d. s and z are, as a rule, kept separate in the rhyme words, z being used as an equivalent for cons. + s; however, I find *forz* : *cors,* 2665; also *sutilz* : *ustils,* 3127; *gopilz* : *cortilz,* 2111; where the l is perhaps silent as in *fiz.*

Remark: I find a few examples of the introduction of inorganic s : *vest* (: *lest*) 1364, also *cist* (: *dit*) 1590.

II. Labials.

a. f + cons. often remains in orthography, though it was certainly silent: *amis* : *vifs,* 1652; cf. also *jolifs* and *joefnesse,* 17 (not in the rhyme); *poestifs* is written sometimes with, and sometimes without, f (: vifs, 1024 : pais, 1029).

II.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE AUTHOR.

A. Case Flexion (Nouns and Adjectives).

The disorganization of the Old French system of case flexion, which was to become a characteristic of the Anglo-Norman dialect, has already made considerable progress in the text of Denis Piramus. It was however in its earlier stages, by no means so far advanced as we find it, for example, in the works of Chardri, or in the *Vie St. Gregoire,* which belong to the early years of the thirteenth century.

1. The s of flexion in nominative singular of nouns and adjectives remains:

a. In the subject: *li reis* (: *deis*), 479; *nuls* (: *plus*), 350; *vifs* (: *cheitis*), 2735, etc. Twenty-seven times in the four thousand lines of the *Vie Seint Edmund* (cf. 1465, 1819, 1846, etc.). Of these twenty-seven, all but three are assured by the rhyme.

b. After être: *reis*: *Engleis,* 107; *irez* (: *piez*), 2472 *esliz*: *berbiz,* 2479 (cf. 630, 759, 2538, 3007, 3082, etc.)—forty-eight times in the course of the poem. In all but eight examples the s is assured by the rhyme; in eight only the retention of s may possibly be due to the copyist, though the tendency of the latter, who is writing when case flexion had practically disappeared, would be rather to let fall, than to add the s (cf. 3361, 771, 1500, 3239, 1277, 887, etc.).

2. The s of flexion lost in the nominative singular (subject and after être):

a. s lost in subject: *meschyn* (: *pelrin*), 504; *chemin* (: *parfin*), 452; *enemi* (: *baili*), 14; *sene* (: *apele*), 438—(cf. 815, 1977, 3304, 2203, etc.)—forty-six times in our text. Fifteen of these examples are not conclusive, because the s might have been retained without destroying the rhyme; and fourteen belong to a class of nouns which, in

Old French, either did not assume the s, or assumed it later, by analogy:

(1) Old accusatives: *larum,* 1856; *felun,* 3900; *barun,* 3503; *traitur*: *pastur,* 2117–18; *vescunte,* 3525; *salveur,* 2321; *ome,* 3476.

(2) Old nominatives, where s of flexion is analogical: *sire,* 3304; *ber,* 2451; *lere,* 2087; nom. of homo: *hum* (um), 2176; *pechere,* 1; also *martir, frere* and *pere,* which were originally without s.

b. s of flexion lost after être: *acute* (: *reclame*), 1439; *sire* (: dire), 2253 (cf. also: 3202, 2509, etc., in all thirty-five examples).

Six of these examples do not consistently take s even in General Old French (see above and cf. 2253, etc.).

Remark: We thus see that the s of flexion in the nominative singular masculine was retained in a majority of instances in our text; while its fall is assured by a sufficient number of rhymes, to prove that the rule was not consistently observed even by the poet himself.

3. Nominative Plural.

The plural form seems to have advanced nearer than the singular to the stage of modern French:

a. Nom. plu. subject and after être: without s: (1) Subject, thirty-three times; (2) After être, nineteen times (cf. 136, 187, 287, 2063, 3131, 3895, etc.).

b. Nom. plu. masculine with s:

Subject and after être, fifty-six times (cf. 209, 363, 369, 427, 3293, etc.).

B. Conjugation.

1. *Present Indicative.*

a. *Weak Verbs.*

(1). Class I.

Singular:

1st person without e: *comant* (: *avant*), 708; *cunt* (: *Edmund*), 99; *mant*: *comant,* 1691–2.

3d person with e: *crieve* : *lieve,* 117–8; *envirune* (: *Hamtune*), 386; *devise* (: *Tamise*), 401; *conveie* (: *veie*) 607; *prise* (: *servise*), 503 (cf. also 1406, 1588, 1954, 2206, 3807, etc.).

3d person without e: griet (: dechiet), 703; also irregular verbs like *va* (: *a*) 1843; *vait* : *trait,* 2229, etc.

Plural:

1st person: -um (without s) : *avum* (: *celerum*), 1680; *parlum* (: *varun*) 1780, etc.

2d person: -ez : *aves* (: *escutez*), 1638; *parlez* : *vantez,* 1971–2.

3d person: -ent : *alient* : *afient,* 211; *aturnent* : *sujurnent;* 1779–80 (also *vunt* (: *unt*), 151–2).

(2). Class II.

Singular:

1st person: -s : *languis* (: *amis*), 613.

2d person: -s : *quiers* (: *messagiers*), 2234.

3d person: -t: *apent* (: *gent*), 1422; *somunt* (: *Edmund*), 2343; *tolt* (: *volt*) 1787–8 (cf. also 3050, 1513, etc.).

Plural:

3d person: *requerent* (: *esmaierent*), 291.

b. *Strong Verbs.*

Singular:

1st person without termination: *ai* (: *trametterai*), 591; *vei* (: *rei*), 1643, 2248; *di* (: *issi*), 3320.

3d person: -t: *receit* (: *esteit*), 468; *veit* : *feit,* 530 (cf. 1524, 2430, 3141–2, etc.).

Plural:

3d person: -ent: *veient* (: *pureient*), 2395, etc.

2. *Imperfect Indicative.*

a. *Weak Verbs.*

(1). Class I.

Singular:

(a) 1st person: -oue (once only and that not in the rhyme, 1262).

3d person: -out: *penout* (: *pout*), 499; *parlout*: *sojurnout*, 1145–6; *sonout* (not in rhyme), 3162; *gettout* (not in rhyme), 1170.

(b) 1st person in -ei: no examples in rhyme.

3d person in *-eit*: *esteit*: *aveit*, 486; *amenteit*, 1858, etc.

Plural:

3d person: (*esteient*): *viveient*, 2633; *demandeient*: *requereient*, 2649.

Remark: The imperfect of Class I is of rare occurrence in the rhyme, with the exception of the one word *esteit*, which rhymes regularly with the imperfect of other Conjugations. The form in ou occurs only in the instances cited above, but the few examples in the rhyme and probably those in the middle of the line, are due to the author. The copyist, unless a person of special culture, would be more likely to err in the other direction.

(2). Imperfect of Class II, and of

b. *Strong Verbs.*

Singular:

3d person: -eit, 1287, 1303, etc.

Plural:

3d person: -eient, 3359, 1157, 1177, etc.

The imperfect of *estre* is *ert* or perhaps sometimes *iert*, though the i of the latter form may usually be read: i < ibi.

3. *Preterite Indicative.*

a. *Weak Verbs (Classes I and II).*

Singular:

1st person: -ai, -i, ou, -u, 687–8.

3d person: -a, -it, -ut; *lava*: *aurna*, 3247–8; *vesquit*: *suffrit*, 3287; *parut*: *resceut*, 3243.

Plural:

1st person: -ames, -umes, -imes (cf. 1663–4, 1279–80, 1683–4).

3d person: -erent, -irent, (-urent) (cf. 381, 836, 3432–3, 3611–12, etc.).

Remark: Cf. also one example of Preterite in ie(t): *espandie* (: *lie*), 2526.

b. *Strong Preterites.*

Singular:

3d person: -ist, -t, -ust, -ut (cf. 559–60, 5512, 831–2, 1255, etc.).

Plural:

1st person: -ames, -imes, -umes (cf. 1675–6, 1683, etc.).

3d person: -rent (cf. 1593, 2819–20, 2145, etc.).

4. *Future Indicatives.*

Singular:

1st person: -ai (cf. 592, 2282, 2237–8, etc.).

3d person: -a (cf. 446–7, 1108, etc.).

Plural:

1st person: -um (cf. 859–60, 906–7, 1679, etc.).

2d person: -ez (cf. 3953–4, 2270).

3d person: -runt (cf. 213–14, 1057–8, etc.).

5. *Conditional.*

Singular:

3d person: -eit (cf. 2196, 2289).

Plural:

3d person: -eient (cf. 1597–8, 2671–2, etc.).

Subjunctive Mood.

1. *Present.*

Singular:

1st person with e: *repente* (: *entente*) 9.

3d person (1) without e: *ait*, 24; *doint*, 534; *port*, 1408.

3d person (2) with e: *tramette* : *mette*, 1441–2; *maintienge* : *mesavienge*, 1621–2.

Plural:

2d person: -ez : *puissez* : *conoissez*, 589–90; *creez* : *reneiez*, 2273–4.

Imperfect Subjunctive.

Singular:

1st: -sse : *eusse* : *pusse*, 4029–30.

3d person: -st : *oust* : *poust*, 2189–90.

Plural:

1st person: -um : *realisum* (: *returnerum*), 1662.

2d person: -ez : *alisez* (: *deverez*), 1244.

3d person: -isent, -asent : *colpasent* : *decolasent*, 2443–4; *cerchasent* : *menasent* 3589–90; *espandisent* : *occisent*, 2341–2.

Infinitives.

The verb *chercher* appears once as *cerchir* : *veir* (< verum), 2574; *blancheier* : *graveir*, 3994; the verb *venir* appears once as *vener* : *oyer*, 2865–6; *escorchier* : *neir*, 3371–2. Though these forms occur in the rhyme, they are all probably errors of the copyist.

Pronouns.

a. Personal disjunctive: (1) *mei*, 59, 647; (2) *tci*, 1064; (3) *li* and reflex, *sei* are frequent.

b. Possessives: (1) *li micn*, 571; *as suens*, 1855.

Pronominal forms take the place of adjectival, but not in the rhyme: cf. *la mei amur*, 542; *li mien ceptre*, 732.

LANGUAGE OF THE COPYIST.

The study of the language of the copyist, to whom we owe the only remaining manuscript of *St. Edmund,* reveals certain peculiarities distinct from those of the author.

I.

Phonology.

A. *Vowels.*

A.

1. Free in Tonic Position:

a. a > e before oral consonants:

Beside the orthographic variants of e < a, found both in and out of the rhyme (cf. Language of Author under a), we find one example of a > i: til < tale, 655.

Examples of the other variants are: (1) ee—*greef,* 158; *neefes,* 179; *freez,* 685. (2) ie—*piere* (patrem), 565; *niefs,* 1039, etc.; *piert,* 2464; *clier,* 3029. (3) ei—*hantei,* 5; *trei,* 18; *neifes,* 1365; *sueif,* 1522.

b. Pal. + a > ie (often reduced to e) (cf. 41, 593, etc.). -aticum > -age, 2915; 3338, etc.

c. a + pal. > ai (with ei and e as variants) for ai (cf. 22, 79, 54, etc.; ei: 18, 405, 1264, etc.; e: 13, 15, 33, 151).

Remark: (1) Medial, and especially before s + cons., e is the prevailing orthography for a + pal.

(2) Aqua appears as *ewe* and *euwe,* 1342, 1428, 3195, etc.

(3) *-ariu* becomes *-ier, -er.*

Outside the rhyme er is commoner than ier. Exceptional is the form lumeir, 1263.

d. a + nasal > ai, with ei as a variant (cf. Lang. of Author, p. 19).

Checked Tonic A:

a. remains before orals and nasals.

b. a + l + cons: l is sometimes vocalized, sometimes remains, in orthography at least; while in some cases we find a stage of transition:

(1) l remains, but u is inserted before it: *haulz,* 853.

(2) l > u: *autre,* 87, etc.; *fause,* 2480; *bauz,* 419; *vaut,* 316.

(3) l falls leaving no trace in *saf,* 524.

(4) l remains orthographically in *salf,* 529, etc.

Remark: While in the rhyme words l is consistently maintained so far as orthography is concerned, elsewhere the greatest irregularity prevails. At the time when our manuscript was transcribed, probably the vocalization or fall of the l was universal; while in the original the old form still remained, though the exact value of l cannot now be determined.

c. a + labial combination (secondary) appears as ou (cf. 3397, 2540).

Ę.

1. Free in Tonic Position:

a. before orals > ie, often reduced to e (cf. Lang of Author, p. 20). A rare orthographic variant is ei: *peiz,* 1434; feirt, 406.

b. e + pal. > e: *pris,* 188; *lit,* 1387. Rarely we find the suffix -eria > ire: matire, 30.

c. e + nasal > ie (cf. 336, 493, 204); ie > e very rarely.

d. In *mieldre, meldres,* 21, 1517, l has lost its mouillation.

2. Ę Checked Tonic.

a. remains before orals and nasals.

b. ę + l + cons.: l sometimes remains graphically (cf. 235, 160, 468, etc.), but sometimes a is inserted as a glide between the e and the l: *beals,* 482; more rarely l > u: *beus,* 533.

Ẹ.

1. Ẹ Free in Tonic Position:

a. becomes ei before orals, with ai and e as orthographic variants; very rarely we find oi: cf. 24, 542, 938 (cf. Lang. of Author, pp. 19, 20).

b. For treatment of e + nasal, e + pal. and pal. + e cf. Lang. of Author, p. 20.

2. Ẹ Checked Tonic.

a. remains before orals and nasals.

b. e + l + cons.: l is written in most cases, but we find two examples of l > u in eus, 735, 295.

I.

Tonic i free and checked remains or becomes y (cf. form miest = mist, 1569).

The orthography y for i is peculiarly common in diphthongs and occurs frequently throughout our text, *e. g., moy,* 540; *rey,* 566, etc.

However, y as the equivalent of i does not become usual until late in the thirteenth century, so I have ventured to restore the i throughout. (Cf. Stimming; *Boeve,* App., 186.)

Ọ.

For ọ free in tonic position, we have substantially the same development in and out of the rhyme:

a. o > ue with oe as an orthographic variant. The reduced form u is occasionally found, and more frequently the form o, which is perhops a reduction of oe, as u of ue.

(1) oe: *poeple,* 257, etc.; *soens,* 3574;

(2) o: *volent,* 261; *vols,* 2333; *quor,* 2284; *volt,* 2490.

Other rare variants of ue (oe) are: ou, *voult,* 456; u, *puse,* 707; *iluc,* 345; eo: *ceo,* 272, etc.; e: *nef* (< nove), quer, 647.

b. o + pal. > ui: *uit,* 2060; *quise,* 2408; also the characteristic Anglo-Norman reduction ui > u = nut, 1410, etc.

Remark: *Locum* > *liu* regularly in our text, 2629, etc.; but we find one example of *lui*, 731; *jocum* > *geu*, 563.

c. o + l or n > oi.

The form oe occurs in *doel*, 2624, and once o + n > on, *e. g.*, *son* (*soin*) 571.

d. o + nasal > ue: *quens*, 89, etc.

The form bons is probably to be ascribed to atonic position.

Ǫ Checked Tonic:

a. remains before orals.

b. o + nasal + cons. is usually rendered by u: *cuntre*, 953; *tundre*, 789, rarely by o: *longes*, 1473.

Ǫ.

1. Free in Tonic Position:

a. Before orals and nasals > u(ou). (For the orthography ou cf. Lang. of Author, p. 21; for examples, cf. 358, 2746, 2590, etc.)

b. o + pal. > (1) oi: *croiz*, 2310; *estoire*, 3261; *voiz*, 1753; (2) ui (sometimes reduced to u): *cunusent*, 1848.

c. o + n > oi or ui (cf. 499, 1995).

2. Ǫ Checked.

ǫ checked tonic > u(ou) before orals and nasals (cf. Lang. of Author, pp. 21, 22).

U.

a. u free and checked remains before orals and nasals (cf. Lang. of Author, p. 23); exception *murmuire*, 1534, is result of confusion.

b. u + pal. ui, sometimes reduced to u (cf. Lang. of Author, p. 23).

(For treatment of Au see under Language of Author, p. 22.)

Atonic Vowels.

1. *Pretonics.*

As very few atonic vowels are assured by the rhymes, they must be considered under the head of "the Language of the Copyist."

a. Pretonic a remains in *chai,* 283; *maladie,* 874, etc., etc.

b. We find two examples of pretonic a > ue: *suessoine,* 101, 299; *suessune,* 419.

In *suessoine* the a of the first syllable appears to have been assimilated to the oi of the tonic.

c. We have several examples of ai: *chivaler,* 1357; *chimin,* 324.

d. a + nasal + cons. appears twice as au: *garaunter,* 65 (reading doubtful); *erraument,* 964.

Ę and Ẹ.

a. e is often retained between the consonant groups b'r, v'r, d'r: *descoveri,* 1298; *devereit,* 1246.

Remark: Often this e has no syllabic value, as the metre proves; but sometimes it was evidently pronounced.

b. e > a in a few instances: *salvagine,* 758 (assimilation?); parfeite, 178, etc.

c. e is assimilated to the tonic in *boseinuse,* 631, to oi in *boisoines,* 630.

d. e + pal. remains in *medi,* 1181; > ie in *miedi,* 1449; > ei in *meite,* 1398.

I.

I becomes e in *mesprisiun,* 387.

Ǫ and Ọ.

a. o > ou in *soulement* by analogy to soul.

b. o > e in *demeine,* 851 et al.; *volente,* 1224.

c. o + pal > oi, ui (reduced often to u): *cointement,* 255; *fuisun,* 162; *pussance,* 747.

Au.

a. au > o, ou : oure, 190; loant, 3255.

b. In hiatus au > o, ou and semi-vocalic j(y) : *oyez,* 79 et al. Again, we find *oir* 3085, rhyming with words in -ir.

Forms like *oyerent*: words in -ir may be ascribed to the copyist. (Cf. 2665, 2711.)

Notes on Pretonic Ę and Ẹ.

1. Fall of e.

Under the following conditions e often falls in our text:

a. between two consonants of which r is one: *pelfrerent,* 2354; *pelrinage,* 1162; *frunt,* 260, *lerrait,* 2092, etc.

b. between two consonants other than r: *almaine,* 393, etc.

c. before vowels (in hiatus) : *veir,* 1094; *ust,* 846; *emperur,* 83. However, be it observed that this e often remains under the same conditions if the metre so require. Cf. *seurte,* 355, etc.

2. Inorganic E.

An inorganic e may be introduced before the tonic:

a. before or after vowels or dipthongs: *leez,* 419; *veneue,* 1200; *respondeu,* 289.

b. between consonants to facilitate pronunciation: *s'entrefalderunt,* 214; *liverer,* 1053.

For these rules and for further examples, cf. Stimming *Boeve d' Hamtone.* (Appendix under unaccented e; pp. 176–184.)

Posttonic Ę and Ẹ.

1. E falls or becomes silent:

a. in feminine forms: *real,* 1833; *grant,* 245; *conte,* 1322; *un,* 316; *vailant,* 1116, etc., etc.

The exigencies of rhyme and metre prove that many of these forms are due to the copyist, whether found in or out of the rhyme. (Cf. 1324, 1299 et al.).

b. in masculine forms: *sir,* 855, 1015; *chevetain,* 1619; mund, 1694.

c. after vowels, especially accented e: *moi* (posses.), 542; *la moi amur; Privement,* 1246.

d. In verb forms: *abit,* 358; *mand,* 691; *gard,* 567. Most of these are the work of the copyist, as the metre proves. Cf. Stimming's *Boeve,* App., pp. 181–184.

Consonants.

As very few consonants are assured by the rhyme, many of the phenomena now to be studied must be attributed to the copyist.

1. Liquids.

a. L + Consonant:

(1) remains. (Cf. Lang. of Author, pp. 19, 20.)

(2) l is vocalized (cf. Lang. of Copyist, pp. 31, 32).

(3) l falls after a (cf. Lang. of Copyist, p. 31).

(4) l remains, but a is inserted as a glide. (Cf. Lang. of Copyist, p. 31.)

b. ll > l: *aler,* 1243; *apele,* 531; *bele,* 532.

c. l′ loses mouillation (cf. Lang. of Copyist, p. 33).

d. l′ represented by l, il, (yl), ll, el, li: *vitaile,* 181; *muliers,* 2147; *filles,* 780; *cuilli,* 1291; *filee,* 442, etc.

l in *oels* (opus) is inorganic, 3129.

R.

a. r is metathesized in *berbiz,* 2016; *kernel,* 229; *empernez,* 1056, etc.

b. r > l in *dreiturel* (: justiser), 272.

c. r falls before cons. in *sevir,* 507; *purpalle,* 3774; *atilus,* 1930.

d. r > rr: *irra,* 447; *serra,* 264; *dirrum,* 1018, etc.

e. rr > r: *tere,* 269; *guere,* 376.

2. Nasals.

M.

a. m final > n in *nun,* 128, 153.

b. mm > m: *comandez,* 1039.

c. m > mm: *Rumme,* 936.

(1) N and N′.

a. n (initial) > m in *mumbre,* 292; (medial) *solum,* 48.

b. n after r remains in *cornes,* 2668.

c. nn > n: *vienent,* 826; *tienent,* 825 (secondary formations).

d. N′ represented by: in, yn, ygn, ngn, gn, ni: *copaynes,* 210; *chevetaines,* 209; *gaynable,* 220; *ceynent,* 232; *sesoynes,* 101; *gaygnour,* 242; *cyngnes,* 472; *alongni,* 237.

(2) Fall of N:

a. before p: *copaynes,* 210.

b. before t in *meite,* 754.

c. before v in *covendra,* 274.

d. before g in *laguages* (once), 376.

Occasionally the n of *en* falls (cf. 94, etc.).

2. Labials and Labial Groups.

a. p > b in *enberse,* 2457.

b. v (Latin medial, Romance final) > f: *vifs,* 910, etc.; *joefnes, joefnesce,* 18.

c. p inserted between m and n in *Dampnedieu,* 750; in *columpne,* 2525.

d. After m, b falls in *andeus,* 444; *amedeus,* 2753.

e. After o or u, v sometimes falls or is absorbed, in *poure,* 1752; *oure,* 20 (doubtful).

f. Between vowels v falls in *espourer,* 2835; *espontee,* 3576.

g. v = consonantal u, w under English influence: *jowes,* 2754 (cf. Eng. jaw.); *ewe,* 1343.

h. o (u) in hiatus > w (u sometimes retained as a graphic sign) in *euwe,* 3195; *geuwent,* 1393; *louwer,* 556.

1. Dentals.

a. t final remains occasionally, at least, as a graphic sign: *fut* (cf. under verbs, p. 45).

b. d intervocalic remains in vedve, 1119; cf. also d (> final in Romance) in *od* and *ad.*

c. s (voiceless).
(1) ss (medial) > s: *asez,* 294; *vavasur,* 82.
(2) ss > sc: *musceons,* 274.
(3) s > c: ceisant, 244.
d. s (voiced) > c in baptice, 2312.

2. Dental Groups.

a. Before and after consonants, t may fall: *forment,* 2385; *tanque,* 2540; *apertemen,* 3177.
b. d introduced to facilitate pronunciation in *meldre,* 1517; to replace c in *veindre.*

3. Groups with S.

a. s + cons. usually retained as a graphic sign both medial and final (cf. Lang. of Author, p. 24); cf. also *blesme,* 702; *desque,* 3059. Sometmes s falls as in memes, 3001.
b. s (pl. sign) falls in *de = des,* 322 et al.; cf. also 1st pers. pl. of all verbs except *sumes,* 871.
c. s + cons. falls in *ceptre,* 732.
d. z (< cons. + s) is regularly distinct from s in our text (for exceptions cf. Lang. of Author, p. 23).

Palatals, C and K, Qu.

1. C, K (Before o, u or cons.).

a. c is represented by k (medial and initial) in *kernels,* 224; *ovekes,* 2660; *ileokes,* 3553, etc.
b. c + u(o) written qu: *quer,* 233; *quidai,* 1234, etc.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE COPYIST.

Articles. Masculine.

1. Masc. sing. nom. li (le and l' are less common forms): *li* occurs eleven time in five hundred lines (100, 350, 467,

etc.); *l'* once only in six hundred lines; *le* seven times in five hundred lines (99, 167, etc.).

2. Plural nom. *li* seven times in five hundred lines (154, 187, etc.).

3. Masc. accus. sing.: *le* fifteen times in six hundred lines (397, 401, etc.); *l'* three times in six hundred lines.

N. B.—The elision of the e is not always indicated by the orthography.

4. Masc. accus. pl. *les* regular form (cf. 8, 26, etc.).

Feminine.

Fem. nom. sing. *la* (regular form).

Fem. nom. sing. *li* once in five hundred lines, 192.

Fem. nom. sing. *l'* twice in five hundred lines (cf. 118, 117).

Fem. nom. and accus. pl. is *les.*

Articles Contracted in Combination with Prepositions.

Masc. sing.: *de*: *del* (56, 246, etc.).

Masc. sing.: *a*: *al* (133).

Plural de: *dels, des, de* (378, 471, 125, etc.).

Plural a: *as* (460, 275, etc.).

Plural: *a* (460).

Fem. of indefinite article appears as *un* once in one thousand lines.

Nouns and Adjectives.

1. *Case Flexion Outside the Rhyme Words.*

a. In lines 1–1000, the following nouns and adjectives retain the s of the nominative singular: *quens* (1), *sires* (1), *reis* (12), *beals* (1), *nuls* (1), *pruz* (1), *Dieus* (7), *malades* (1).

On the other hand, *rei* occurs twenty-four times without s; sire three times. All other nouns and adjectives are uninflected in nom. sing. In five hundred lines (taken at random) 1570–2075, I find the following nominatives with s: *nuls, fiers,* 1820; *sages, enveziez,* 1819; *reis,* 1651 (four times); *riches,* 1880; *sorciers,* 1933.

Remark: From these figures we see that the case flexion of the copyist was in a more advanced stage of disintegration than that of the author.

An examination of the plural forms leads us to a similar conclusion.

Masculine Plural Subject.

1. Form without s is found in the following words between lines 1–1000: *joefne,* 187; *apreste,* 193; *triste e dolent,* 672. All other plurals have s.

Between lines 1575–2075, we find the following nominative plurals without s: *li barun,* 1598; *li plus riche,* 1596; *li evesque,* 1627; *les sage cumte,* 1628.

In a few examples it is impossible to determine whether the form is singular or plural.

Vocative Singular.

a. without s: *beal fiz,* 511; *ben fiz,* 533; *seneschal mestre,* 925; *Sir,* 857; *rei,* 871, etc.

b. with s: *beals fiz chers,* 599.

Vocative Plural (with s).

segnurs (4 times), 673, etc.; *chers amis,* 672.

2. *Agreement of Nouns and Adjectives.*

a. Gender (lines 1–1000).

1. Fem. noun with masc. adj.: *bons genz,* 93; *cheignes forz,* 233; *bons gestes,* 93; *Engletere . . . departi,* 112; *pescheries bons,* 223.

2. Masc. noun with fem. adj.: *poeples joiuse,* 169–174; *cointe . . . enfant,* 510–11.

b. Number:

Plural noun with sing. adj.: *poeples joiuse,* 169–174; *tute genz,* 490.

Pronouns.

1. Personal:

a. Subject pronoun of 1st person is regularly omitted, except for emphasis.

Singular:
1st person: *jeo,* 15; *ieo,* 18, 99, 125.
3d person: (masc.), *il,* 28, 32; (fem.), *ele,* 37, etc.
Plural:
1st person: *nus,* 950.
2d person: *vus,* 59, 69.
3d person: (masc.), *il,* 53, 86; *eus* = *il,* inverted order in 2888.
Il is used disjunctively in 553, 611.
b. Object.

1. *Direct Object (Conjunctive).*

Singular (masc.):
1st person: *me,* 9, 13, etc.
2d person: *te, t'* (rare), 2323, 2327.
3d person: *le,* 44, 72; *l',* 540; *li,* 560.
3d person (fem.): *la* (regular form).
Plural:
1st person: *nus.*
2d person: *vus.*
3d person: *les.*

2. *Indirect Object (Conjunctive).*

Singular (masc.):
1st person: *me,* 552.
3d person, *le, li,* 524.
Plural:
1st person: *nus.*
2d person: *vus.*
3d person: *les* and *lur* (cf. 161, 180 et al.).

3. *Direct and Indirect Objects (Disjunctive).*

Singular:
1st person: *moi,* 24; *mei,* 1008.
2d person: *tei,* 2324.
3d person: *eus,* 295, 735; *els,* 535.

c. Reflexives.
(1) Conjunctive: *se* (cf. *eus*, 228; *s'*, 785).
(2) Disjunctive: *sci*, 562, etc.

4. *Demonstratives* (*Pronouns and Adjectives*).

Singular (masc.):
(a) Pro.: *cil*, 25, 57; *cesti*, 661.
(b) Adj.: *cil*, 195; *cel*, 421, 124; *icel*, 111, 296 (rare); *cest*, 657, 688; *cesti*, 755.
Singular (fem.):
(a) Pro.: *cele*, 242, 355, etc.; *ceste*, 367, 76, 85, etc.
Neutre: *ceo*, 31, 74, etc.
Plural:
(a) Pro.: *ceus*, 177; *cels* (common form), 390, 383, etc.
(b) Adj.: *ces*, 62, etc.

Relatives.

Forms *ki* and *ke*, *qui* and *que* are interchangeable; nominative form used for accusative and *vice versa*.
(a) Subject: *ki*, 25, 81, etc.; *que*, 147, *qui*, 271, 96; *ke*, 412, 579, etc.
(b) Object: *ki*, 658; *ki* (dative), 811; *ke*, 684.

Possessives (Pronouns and Adjectives).

Adjective.
Masculine singular:
1st person: *mon;* plu., *mes.*
2d person: *tun.*
3d person: *sun;* plu., *ses.*
Feminine:
1st person: *ma*, etc.; plu., *mes.*
3d person: *sa;* plu., *ses.*
Exception: *son* = *ses*, 338.
Plural masculine and feminine:
1st person: *nostre, nos.*
2d person: *vostre, vos.*
3d person: lur.

Possessive pronoun is of rare occurrence: *li mien,* 571 (rhyme); *la moy amur,* 542; *li mien ceptre,* 732.

Verbs.

The system of conjugation agrees very closely with that of the rhyme words. There are, however, a few unusual forms attributable to the copyist which will be noticed below.

Indicative Mood.

Present.

Singular:

1st person: *su* (for *suis,* 1230); *pus* (for *puis,* 555); *estui* (*studiare*), 553.

3d person: *recoilt* (*recueillir*), 1382.

Plural:

1st person: *sumes* (only form with s, 546 et al.).

Imperfect.

1st person without s: *hantei,* 5; *fesei,* 6.

Preterites.

Remark: (1) 1st pers. sing. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the termination *ei, ai* belongs to the imperfect or to the preterite, *e. g., penai,* 9; *parlai,* 1239, etc.

(2) Two Picard forms appear: *vinch* (2), 1227, 1245.

(3) *Fut* and *fu* are both found; *fut* occurs three times in one thousand lines.

(4) Sometimes the metre demands a trisyllabic form of the 1st and 2d plurals: *meimes,* 947; *veistes,* 844.

Future.

Contracted forms:

1st singular: *durrai,* 556.

1st plural: *musterum,* 906.

2d plural: *freez,* 89.

3d plural: *frunt,* 260.

Cf. also forms with pretonic e: *averunt,* 288.

Subjunctives.

Present:

1st singular: *doigne,* 543; *murge,* 721.

3d singular: *alge,* 1329; *murge,* 652; *gard,* 567.

Plural:

Cf. the curious form *susum* (etre) which occurs but once in our text, and seems to be a sort of hybrid, compounded of *seisum* and *fussum* (960).

Imperfect Subjunctive.

There is a change of conjugation in the 3d plu.: *tenisent,* 204; cf. also the form *revenist,* 953.

SUMMARY.

Though, in general, the language of the copyist agrees with that of the author, there are the following minor differences to be noted:

1. The number of variants of ę and ẹ is greater, and their occurrence relatively more frequent, outside the rhyme. This would seem to indicate that the distinction between close and open e was less clearly felt by the copyist than by the author.

2. The orthography ou < ọ is unquestionably an innovation of the copyist and is of comparatively late date.

3. The substitution of y for i is also to be ascribed to the copyist.

4. The vocalization of l (graphically at least) is probably not due to the author.

5. The frequent insertion of posttonic e, where it is admitted neither by rhyme nor by metre, is due to the copyist.

6. To him also we must ascribe, in a large measure at least, the disorganization of the Old French system of inflection.

These phenomena justify the conclusion that the only manuscript of the *Vie Seint Edmund* which we at present possess was transcribed not earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century (1250–1260).

That we cannot set the date later than 1260, is proved by the absence from the text of certain late Anglo-Norman peculiarities:

1. a + n + cons. > au only twice, and one of these is is a doubtful reading. Cf. *erraument* and *garaunter* (?).

2. The orthography ie < ę is still very frequent, both in and out of the rhyme.

DATE OF DENIS PIRAMUS.

An interval of nearly a hundred years separates the two extreme dates assigned to the original manuscript of *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei.* Suchier places it in the first period of Anglo-Norman literature, that is, before 1150 (*Ueber die Vie St. Auban,* Introduction, p. 3), and Mr. Arnold suggests 1240 as the probable time of its composition (Mem. St. E. A., Vol. II, p. 137). The correct date will be found, I believe, about half way between these two, in the last decade of the twelfth century (1190–1200). (Cf. G. Paris in *Litt. Fr. au M. A.*, p. 215).

In the absence of all knowledge of Denis Piramus drawn from outside sources, the evidence at our command divides itself into two classes:

1. Evidence deduced from a study of the language, especially of the rhyme words.

2. Evidence derived from the character and content of the poem:

1. Evidence from the Language.

a. Comparison with those Anglo-Norman authors whose work is placed, by common consent, about the middle of the third quarter of the twelfth century, proves that the language of Denis Piramus deviates more widely from the General Old French norm than that of any writer before 1170.

b. On the other hand, a similar comparison with Anglo-Norman works composed after the beginning of the thirteenth century shows the language of our author to be more archaic, *i. e.,* more regular, than that of any work written after 1200.

1. Comparison with works composed between 1150–1170:

a. *Lois Guillaume* (Ed. J. E. Matzke, Introduction).

PHONOLOGY.

Vowels.

(1) Free tonic ǫ is not diphthongized. (Int., p. 47.)
(2) ǫ > u. (Int., p. 47.)

Consonants.

Dentals.

Probably t and d intervocalic remain in the original MS. Cf. *fiede*. (Int., p. 48.)

Inflection:

(1) Relative pronoun has always the form *ki* for nominative and *ke* for accusative.

(2) Present subjunctive has always the short form, *e. g.*, *aint, cleimt*. (Matzke, Int., p. 50.)

As the work is in prose, and the manuscript of relatively late date, we have no means of determining the state of case flexion in the original.

b. *Cambridge Psalter* (about 1170). Cf. Schumann, *Vokalismus und Consonantismus des Cambridger Psalters.* (Heilbronn, 1883.)

PHONOLOGY.

Vowels.

(1) ę > ie (rarely reduced to e), p. 24.
(2) ǫ is diphthongized (Schumann, p. 28).
(3) ǫ > u and sometimes ou, especially in the termination -osus. This frequent occurrence of ou < ǫ is one of the peculiarities of the Cambridge Psalter. (Schumann, p. 40.)

Consonants.

(1) Dentals: t and d final sometimes remain. (Schumann, p. 47.)

(2) n final retained in *journ* and *charn*. (Cf. Michel's edition Psalms IV and X.)

Case flexion still tolerably regular, though showing some signs of disorganization. (Cf. Schumann, Appendix.)

c. Comparison with Adgar's *Legendes de la Vierge,* composed about 1170. Edition of Neuhaus in *Alt Französische Bibliothek,* Vol. IV; also Rolf's Study of the Language, in *Romanische Forschungen,* I, pp. 179–236.

Remark: In general, the language of Adgar corresponds strikingly with that of our text.

Phonology.

Vowels.

(1) a + n + t > au in *erraument* (cf. Rolf, p. 206).

(2) ai and ei rhyme regularly (cf. Rolf, p. 208).

(3) Though some rhymes of ei with ai occur in Adgar, e < a in the termination -are does not rhyme with e < ei< Latin e, except in two or three legends not ascribed to Adgar. (Rolf, pp. 209–210.) According to Rolf (p. 210) the other Anglo-Norman texts in which eir < er is separated from er < are in the rhyme words are: *Estoire des Engleis, Lai du Corn, Chanson de la Premiere Croisade,* Fantome's *Chronique, La Vie St. Thomas.* To these we may add *La Vie St. Edmund.*

(4) ę, pal. + a and -arĭu become ie, or the reduced form e; beside these, we find frequently i (cf. Rolf, p. 214).

(5) ǫ often remains undiphthongized, sometimes > oe, ue (cf. Rolf, p. 211).

Morphology.

Pronouns.

(1) The long forms of the demonstrative are frequent: *icel, ico ,etc.* (Rolf, p. 228).

(2) Present subjunctive has the older form without e (Rolf, p. 230).

(3) Imperfect indicative has the form in -oue, -out, with a few examples of a transfer from Conjugation I to II in the imperfect (cf. Rolf, p. 232).

(4) Case flexion is almost regular. The editor has restored the flexional s throughout.

(5) Archaic forms of the nominative (not found in *St. Edmund*) : *enfes, cumpainz, fels, soer.*

(6) Archaic verb forms:

Infin.: *sivre, veintre.*

Pres.: *siwent, respunent.*

Future: *destruerai.*

Pret.: *vesqui, benesqui.* (Cf. Rolf, pp. 232–5.)

2. Comparison with Texts of the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century.

I. *Seint Joseph, Les Set Dormanz* and *Le Petit Plet,* by Chardri (*Alt Französische Bibliothek,* Vol. I, Koch), composed in the first decade of the thirteenth century.

Phonology.

1. *Vowels.*

(1) Latin ę, pal.+a and -arĭu have all become e (: e<a) (cf. Koch's Introduction, p. 25).

(2) ǫ > u (ou of later MSS. is corrected throughout to u, cf. Int., p. 26).

(3) a + n + cons. > au, though in the earliest MS. this is still rare (Int., p. 30).

2. *Consonants.*

(1) s and z have fallen together: *tuz* : *angussus* (Int., p. 38).

(2) l > u as in General Old French (Int., p. 30).

Morphology.

1. Case flexion has entirely disappeared (Int., pp. 37–38).

II. *Vie Seint Gregoire,* composed and written by Frère Angier in 1212. (Edition Paul Meyer in Romania XII, pp. 145–208.)

Phonology.

1. *Vowels.*

(1) a + nas. > ei (Rom. XII, p. 193).

(2) ę > ei or oi (Rom. XII, p. 196).

(3) o > ou, o or u; ou is the favorite orthography, especially in the termination -osus. The more common Anglo-Norman form u is rare, and the form o is found only in *nove* (Rom. XII, p. 197).

Morphology.

(1) Case flexion has ceased to exist, as a rule, though sporadic examples occur (Rom. XII, p. 198).

(2) Imperfects of I are found both in -ot and -eit, the latter rare (Rom. XII, p. 200).

3. La Vie Seint Edmund.

Phonology.

Vowels.

(1) Latin ę, pal. + a and -arĭu become ie, sometimes reduced to e; ie predominates in the rhyme. (Cf. Phon. of Author under a and ę, pp. 17, 18, 19; cf. also *Camb. Ps.,* p. 47 of this study; *Adgar,* ibidem, p. 48; *Chardri,* ibidem, p. 49.)

(2) ẹ > ei, e; does not rhyme with ei, e from other sources. Cf. Phon. of Author under ẹ, p. 20; Adgar, p. 48 of this study.)

(3) ǫ sometimes diphthongizes, sometimes appears as o. (Cf. ǫ in Phon. of Author, pp. 20, 21; also *Lois Guillaume,* p. 47 of this study; *Adgar,* p. 48, ibidem.)

(4) ǫ > u (ou to be ascribed to the copyist). (Cf. Phon. of Author, p. 22; *Lois Guillaume,* p. 47 of this study; *Camb. Ps.,* p. 47, ibidem; *Chardri,* p. 49, ibidem; *Vie St. Gregoire,* p. 50, ibidem.)

(5) a + n + cons. does not become au (cf. *Adgar,* p. 48 of this study).

Consonants.

(1) No sign of the vocalization of l (graphically) in the rhyme words. (Cf. Phon. of Author under a and e, pp. 18, 19; *Chardri,* p. 49 of this study.)

(2) s and z are regularly kept apart. (Cf. Cons. of Author, p. 24; Chardri, p. 50.)

(3) s + cons.: s usually written, but probably silent. (Cf. Cons. of Author, p. 23.)

Morphology.

(1) The disorganization of the Old French system of case flexion has begun, but has made relatively little progress in the work of Denis Piramus. (Cf. Morphol. of Author, pp. 25, 26; cf. other works examined, pp. 46–50.)

(2) Archaic verb forms are found occasionally in *St. Edmund:*

Infin.: *veintre, veindre,* 2395.

Pres.: *siut,* 2795.

Pret.: *siwerent,* 2718.

Fut.: *destruerai,* 1708.

Old. pret.: in -iet found once: *espandie* : *lie,* 2526. (Cf. Rolf, pp. 232–3.)

5. The evidence from the language would seem to place *La Vie Seint Edmund* about half way between the early writers with whose work it has been compared, and those who belong confessedly to the beginning of the thirteenth century. But this conclusion leaves a margin of about thirty years between the earliest and the latest date to which Denis' work can be assigned.

These limits may be, I believe, still further contracted by the evidence drawn from the character and content of the poem. In certain lines of his introduction, to which attention has already been called, Denis Piramus alludes to Marie de France as to a contemporary, and implies that he had been, in his youth, her fellow-laborer, if not her rival, in the profession of verse making.

Now, though the *Vie St. Edmund* does not belong to the period of his life when its author presumably lived at court,

yet he speaks of Marie not only as of one whose works were still familiar to the public, but as of a person still living. I quote the lines to which I refer:

"E Dame Marie, altresi,
Ki en rime fist e basti
E compensa les vers de lais,
Ke ne sunt pas de tut verais;
E si en est ele mult loee,
E la rime par tut amee.
Kar mult laiment, si lunt mult cher
Cunte, barun e chivaler,
E si en aiment mult lescrit,
E lire le funt, si unt delit,
E si les funt sovent retreire,
Les lais soleient[1] as dames pleire." Etc.

The *Lais* of Marie were, however, almost certainly not published before 1165 (cf. Warnke's edition of Fables, 1898, Int., pp. 115–117), and according to Gaston Paris (Rom. XXIV, p. 290) not before 1180; especially if we admit that the fables precede the *Lais,* and there is strong reason for believing that this is the correct order. (Cf. pp. 3, 4.)

Moreover, Denis Piramus did not acquire his familiarity with the *Lais* after his retirement to a life of religious seclusion. Marie, her glory and her faults, are to him then but a reminiscence of his past existence. It is true that Denis does not profess to be old, only "drawing near to old age"; but it seems safe to assume that at least some years separate his life at court from the time of composition of his *St. Edmund.*

I have said "some years"; but here again we must be on our guard. We must not assume that a very great interval of time elapsed between the appearance of the *Lais* and the penning of this, the only allusion to them or to their author which has come down to us from the period. After Denis Piramus a great silence falls around Marie de France, broken by no mention of her name throughout the thirteenth century. Her works, indeed, live on; but in the various countries and languages in which the *Lais* are found, they form parts of anonymous collections, and are interspersed with

[1] Correct *suelent* on account of metre.

the works of far less skilful hands. (Cf. Warnke's edition, Int., pp. viii and ix.)

One circumstance should be noted, which has a certain value, if only negative, in determining the date of *La Vie Seint Edmund.*

The latest work of Marie, the *Espurgatoire Seint Patriz,* has been assigned by both Gaston Paris and Warnke (cf. Rom. XXIV, p. 290, 1895, and Warnke's edition of the *Fables,* Int., pp. 115–117, 1898) to the year 1190 or thereabouts. Now, though it seems natural, for the reasons given above, that Denis should have omitted all mention of the fables, we cannot say the same respecting the *Espurgatoire.* Here was a work distinctly religious in character, which could scarcely have failed to appeal to Denis in his rôle of penitent and reformer. If the *Espurgatoire* had already appeared at the time when he began the Life of St. Edmund, is it probable that he would have passed it by in silence? If Marie too, in his own words, had "set her mind upon another sort of achievement," would not Denis have made use of her eminent example to increase the force of his own?

Conclusion:

1. Evidence from the language makes it almost certain that the *Vie Seint Edmund* was composed between the years 1170 and 1200.

2. Evidence from the content of the poem makes it highly probable that it was written between 1190 and 1200.

La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei

The MS. of *La Vie Seint Edmund* was copied for me by Mr. E. A. Herbert of the British Museum. This copy was subsequently collated with the original by my friend Miss Edith Fahnestock, Mistress of Modern Languages of the Mississippi College for Women, at Columbus, Mississippi. My sincere thanks are due both to Miss Fahnestock and Mr. Herbert for their careful and accurate work.

LA VIE SEINT EDMUND LE REI.

Mult ai use cume pechere,
Ma vie en trop fole manere,
E trop [par] ai use ma vie
En peche e en folie,
Kant curt hantei of les curteis;
Si fesei les serventeis,
Chanceunettes, rimes saluz,
Entre les drues e les druz.
Mult me penai de tels vers fere,
Ke assemble les puse [re] treire,
E kensemble fussent justez
Pur acomplir lur volentez.
Ceo me fit fere le enemi;
Si me tint ore a mal baili.
James ne me burderai plus.
Jeo ai nun Denis Piramus;
Les jurs jolifs de ma joefnesce
Senvunt; si trei jeo a veilesce,
Si est bien dreit ke me repente;
En altre ovre metterai mentente,
Ke mult mieldre est e plus nutable.
Deus me aït espiritable,
E la grace Seint Espirit
Seit of mei e si aït!
Cil ki Partenope trova,
E ki les vers fist e rima,
Mult se pena de bien dire;
Si dist il bien de cele matire,
Cume de fable e de menceonge.
La matire resemble songe;
Kar ceo ne poüst unkes estre.

MS. ll. 2, cum; 3, E trop ai (7syl); 5, courte; 9, teles; 10, puise; creire; 16, noun; 20, oure; 22, Dieus, ayde; 24, moy; 29, cum., 30, suonge; 31, put.

Si est il tenu pur bon mestre,
E les vers sunt mult amez,
E en ces riches curts loez.
E Dame Marie altresi,
Ki en rime fist e basti,
E compensa les vers de lais,
Ke ne sunt pas de tut verais;
Si en est ele mult loee,
E la rime par tut amee.
Kar mult laiment, si lunt mult cher
Cunte, barun e chivaler.
E si en aiment mult lescrit,
E lire le funt, si unt delit,
E si les funt sovent retreire.
Les lais suelent as dames pleire.
De joie les oient e de gre,
Quil sunt sulum lur volente.
Li rei, li prince e li curtur,
Cunte, barun e vavasur,
Aiment cuntes, chanceuns e fables
E bon diz qui sunt delitables;
Kar il hostent e gettent penser,
Doil, enui e travail de quer,
E si funt ires ublier,
E del quer hostent le penser.
Kant cil e vus, segnur trestuit,
Amez tel ovre e tel deduit,
Si vus volez entendre a mei,
Jeo vus dirrai, par dreite fei,
Un deduit qui mielz valt asez,
Ke ces altres ke tant amez;
E plus delitable a oir,
Si purrez les almes garir
E les cors garanter de hunte.
Mult deit hum bien oir tel cunte,

MS. ll. 34, curtes; 39 E si; 46, soleient (9 syl.); 49, courtur; 50, cunt; 54, travaile; 58, oure; 60, dreit; 61, milez, valut; 65, garannter; 66 and 67, home.

Hum deit mult mielz a sen entendre,
Ke en folie le tens despendre.
Un dedut par vers vus dirrai,
Ke sunt de sen e si verrai
Kunkes rien ne pout plus veir estre,
Kar bien le virent nos ancestre,
E nus en apres de eir en eir,
Avum bien veu que ceo est veir;
Kar a nos tens est avenu
De ceste oevre meinte vertu.
Ceo que hum veit, ceo deit hum creire.
Kar ceo nest pas sunge ne arveire.
Les vers que vus dirrai, si sunt
Des enfances de Seint Edmunt,
E des miracles altresi;
Unkes hum plus beals nad oï.
Rei, duc, prince e empereür,
Cunte, barun e vavasur,
Deivent bien a ceste oevre entendre,
Kar bon ensample il purrunt prendre.
Reis deit bien oïr de altre rei,
E lensample tenir a sei,
E duc de duc e quens de cunte;
Kant la reison a bien amunte.
Les bones genz deivent amer
De oïr retreire e recunter
Des bones gestes les estoires
E retenir en lur memoires.
Ore oiez, Cristiene gent,
Vus qui en Dieu omnipotent
Avez e fei e esperance,
E de salvaciun fiance,
Li seintime ber dunt jeo cunt,
Li bon duc, li pius Edmunt,
Fu de Sessoine veirement,

ML. ll. 72, nostre, 75, aveneu; 76, verteu; 77, home (bis), crere; 80, enfantes; 81, de; 82, home, ne; 83 emperur; 84, cunt; 87, rei; 91, 93, bons; 94, e lur; 99, Le seintim, 101, Suessoyne.

Ne de reis e de halte gent,
Des anciens Saïsnes fu ne,
Li e tute sa parente.
Princes e reis furent ses ancestre,
E il apres cum il dut estre.
Si fu en Engletere reis
De une partie des Engleis;
Reis e dutre fu de la gent
Del païs devers oriënt.
Kar Engletere en icel temps,
Fu departie en treis sens,
E treis princes les segnuries
Aveient de ces treis parties,
Kar un rei aveit en chescune.
Seint Edmund esteit rei del une,
De cele part u lalbe crieve,
E u lesteile jurnal lieve,
E u le soleil lieve en est,
Les peisanz le claiment Est.
Ore purreit acun doter,
E de ceste oevre demander:
Pur quei treis reis out en païs,
En cel tens ensemble estaïs,
E Seint Edmund fut un des treis;
Jeo le vus dirrai sempres maneis.
Kar ainz aveit sanz mesprisun
Engletere Bretaigne a nun,
De Brut qui sa gent i mena,
E qui la tere poplia
Pus la tindrent, de rei en rei,
En bien, en pes e en requei,
Dekes al tens de Vortigerne,
Qui le pais mist devers Galerne.
Pus jesque Uterpendragun,
Tindrent la tere li Bretun.

M. S. ll. 103; ancienes sechnes; 112, departi; 117, parte; 118, iurnal; 119, soleile; 122, oeuvre; 125, de; 128, noun; 135, E pus,

De Uterpendragun jesque Arthur,
La tindrent il bald e seür.
Apres Arthur la tere avint
A Cadawaladre qui la tint.
En son tens vint une murine,
Ke lur surt de une famine,
Ke les seisante parz e mais
De la faim mururent a fais.
Cadawaldre qui reis fu
Fu mult dolent e irascu
De la gent que mururent de faim;
Ki ne aveient ni ble ni pain
Dunt pussent vivre un repast.
Le païs guerpirent tut gast.
[E] pur la mesese quil unt,
En Armoniche tuz sen vunt,
Ke Petite Bretaigne ad nun;
La vait li reis e li Bretun,
Plurant, criant, fesant grant doel,
Morz voleient estre a lur voil.
Suz ciel ne ad mesese endreit sei,
Ke tant grief cum faim en sei.
Meis Alein qui sires esteit
De cel païs, bel les resceit;
Ki les dune assez guarisun
Pain e vin, char a fuisun,
E richement fist sujurner,
Tant cum il i voldrent ester.
Dunc remist Bretaigne la grant
Sanz home e feme e sanz enfant.
Trestut le païs fu gastine,
Fors des oisels e de salvagine.
Kant les poeples ultremarins
Qui a Bretaigne furent enclins

MS. ll. 140 and 145, Radawaladre; 147, morerent, 148, ne (bis); 151, Pur la (7 syl.); 153, petit, ad a noun; 158, greef; 161, doune; 166, home, féme (the line — = double m is probably due to the copyist).

Oïrent la novele dire,
Que les Bretuns unt lur empire
Issi deguerpi e leisse,
Mult en furent joius e le.
Tost unt apreste lur navies,
De vitaile e de ble garnies,
Cels de Sessoine e les Engleis,
E de Gutlande les Gutteis.
Lur nefs aprestent e aturnent,
E lur peise ke tant sujurnent.
Vitaile amenent a delivre,
Dunt il purrunt bien set ans vivre,
E riches armes a plente,
E tute manere de ble.
De ces treis teres finement,
I vunt mult de la Viste gent;
Li pruz, li joefne bacheler,
Pur los e pur pris conquester.
Attendu unt e demure
Tanque Dieus lur tramist oure.
Kant il virent le vent estable,
E que loure fu covenable,
E que de errer apreste sunt
En mer se mettent, si sen vunt.
Tant se penerent de sigler,
Quil sentre ateinstrent en la mer
E kant il pres aprochiez erent
Les uns des altres se doterent,
Kar nule de ces treis navies
Ki en [la] mer sunt departies,
Ne saveit daltre, ceo est la veire,
Que en Bretaigne tenisent eire.
Il sentre demanderent quil sunt,
Dunt il vienent e u il vunt?
Tant unt enquis, tant demande,

MS. ll. 171, oyerent; 174, ioyuse e lee; 177, Suessune; 179, neefes; 180, suiournent; 181, i amenent (9 syl.); 197, aproiciez; 200 en mer (7 syl.); 203 senter.

Quil sentredient verite:
Ke en Bretaine vunt pur conquere,
Hors de lur païs e de lur tere.
Tant unt parle les chevetaines
Des treis genz e des treis compaines,
Ke trestuz ensemble se alient,
E compainie entrels se afient,
E quil ensemble se tendrunt,
E james ne sentrefalderunt.
Tant unt sigle, tant unt curu,
Quil sunt en Bretaigne venu.
Dreit vers la marine del North,
Siglent, vagent e prenent port.
Le païs trovent delitable
E la tere bien gainable.
Il trovent les granz gaineries,
Bois e forest e praeries,
Pescheries bones e fines,
E sur la mer bones salines.
Un meis il unt ja demure,
Tant quel pais sunt acerte;
Dunc funt les granz fosses lever;
Pur els garir e rescetter,
Levent bresteches od kernels,
Ke cuntrevalent bons chastels;
De hericeuns e de paliz
Les ceinent; si funt riuleiz
Del quer des cheines forz e halz,
Ki ne criement sieges ni asalz.
Bon chastel i funt e bon burg,
Kum claime encore Escardeburg.
Pus ne se sunt pas alongni,
Kar de ble furent bien garni;
Les teres laborent e erent,
E richement les cultiverent;
Kar mult par furent a cel jur

MS. ll. 210, De; 211, ki; 222, Boise; 223, bons; 224, bons; 233, burge; 236, escardeburge; 241, iour.

Cele gent bon gaäignur.
Tant unt en tere travaile,
E labore e gaäigne,
Quil aveient en tens grant plentez
E del un e de tuz [les] blez.
En Armoniche est tost veneue
La novele, e tost espandeue.
Kant les Bretuns loirent dire,
Grant doel en aveient e grant ire,
Si tost cum poent, ariere vindrent,
En Bretaigne quil primes tindrent
Od tant de gent cum il aveient,
E cum il areimer purreient,
Il se aprochent vers cele gent,
Si les mandent mult cointement,
E lur messages les tramettent,
Ke de lur tere se demettent,
Ke est lur dreit e lur heritage;
Algent deluc, si frunt que sage;
E sil ne volent pur amur
Tost issir hors de lur honur,
Par force les ferunt aler;
Si serra pis le demurer.
Kant les foreins de ultre mer,
Oïrent les messagers parler.
E il escultent e entendent,
Kil la tere les defendent,
Il remandent hardiement
E as Bretuns e a lur gent
Ke tost sen algent del pais.
U si ceo nun, si serra pis.
Le demurer, as branz dascer
Lur covendra a desrainer.
As branz de ascer e od la lance
Desrainerunt la demurance.

MS. ll. 242, gaygnour; 244, gayne (7 syl.); 246, tuz blez (7 syl.); 249, loyerent; 261, amour 262, honour; 266, oyerent; 272, noun; 276, desrynerunt.

Il sunt del desrainer tut prest,
Ke ceo est lur tere e lur conquest;
Kar kant il en la tere entrerent
Home ne feme ni troverent,
Ki de rien lur contredist,
Ne ki a reisun les mist.
Kar en la tere dunc vivant,
Ne out home, feme ni enfant.
Les Bretuns i sunt pus entrez,
Folement i sunt arivez.
Ceo les mandent bien li forein;
La bataile averunt els demain.
Kant les foreins unt respundeu,
E les Bretuns unt entendeu,
Ke [cil] la bataile requerent,
Sachez que mult sen esmaierent;
Kar les foreins sunt bien armez
E plus gent unt quil nunt de asez.
En cuntre un de els, il en unt katre.
Nest pas ouwel (1) icel cumbatre.
Nepurkant les Bretuns (2)
Sesbaldirent cume baruns.
Lendemain funt lur chivalers
Armer e munter lur destriers,
Od tant de gent cum il orent
E cum il aramir porent.
Od les foreins dunc se asemblerent,
E meint rude colp [i] donerent.
E les foreins ensement
Se cumbatirent fierement;
Od branz, od haches, od espiez,
Colpent testes e poines e piez,
Gettent lur grandes pieres rundes

MS. ll. 277, desreyner; 280 and 284, home, fēme (For double m in these words here and elsewhere, cf. note on line 165); 291, ke la (7 syl.); 298, cum; 302, poerent; 304, coupe — donerent; 307, espeies; 309, roundes, grant.

Note (1) ouwel < aequalis. (2): Six syllabled line.

Od lur eslinges, od lur fundes
Od les haches les vunt requere,
Ke tuz les fendent desken tere.
Lancent gavelocs empennez,
Dunt il unt mil embouclíez,
Ke tut trespercent al primer vol.
Halberc ne valt foile de chol.
Kant les Bretuns ne pourent mes
Des foreins sustenir le fes,
En cumbatant tienent lur veie
Issi que nul ne se desreie;
Avant enveient la rascaile,
E les bestes od lur vitaile;
Dreit en Gales, les chies enclins,
Tienent e veies e chemins,
Que Vortigerne ot poplie,
Kant de Bretaine fu chacie
Par Horse e Henge e lur gent;
Que Vortigerne, veirement,
Out ainz atraïz el pais,
Cume soldeers de grant pris.
Tenu les out, e nuts e jurs,
Feit lur out bien, e granz honurs,
E richement les soldeia,
Reale solde les dona.
E cil guarderent le pais
Bien de utlages e de enemis.
Pus feseient mult grant treisun
Horse e Henge e lur compainun.
Le rei mandent a Ambresbire
E les plus halz de sun empire;
E il i vindrent veirement
Sanz arme cum a parlement.
Meis Horse e Henge e lur mesnee,
Pur la tere quil unt coveitee,

MS. ll. 315, tresperce; 316 valt un foile (9 syl.); 317, purrent; 331, nutes, iours; 332, grant; honours; 334' E reale (9 syl.); 338, sun companiun; 343, mesne; 344, coveite.

Vortigerne unt iluc pris,
E les altres unt tuz occis
Des knivez que unt en musceuns,
Que riches cuntes, que baruns,
Katre cent e ceisante e plus,
Fors sul li rei, ne eschapa nuls.
Vortigerne qui sen embla
E dreit en Guales senala,
Si i hanta, il e sa gent,
Ke a li vindrent coiement.
Pur seürte de cele gent
E quil sunt de lur parent,
I vunt ceste gent descumfite.
Li reis ki el pais abite
Bel e haltement les resceut,
Cume parenz resceivre dut.
La sunt li Bretun areste,
E li forein sunt returne,
De la victoire balz e lez
E quil unt les Bretuns chaciez.
Issi perdirent li Bretun
Bretaine e Bretaine sun nun,
E pur ceo heient les Galeis
Par mortel guere les Engleis.
E les foreins ultremarins
Ki sages esteient de grant fins,
Vers la marine repairerent,
U la menue gent leisserent,
Cume de femes e denfanz,
E de anceles e de serjanz.
E si refirent mult que sages:
Pur ceo quil sunt de treis languages,
Il eslistrent entrels treis reis,
De chescun languages des treis,
Ke nuls de altre dire poüst,

MS. ll. 347, musceouns, 349, ceisant; 350, soul; 357 Il unt, descumfit; 358, abit; 361, les bretuns; 362, Les foreins; 366, noun; 376, laguages.

Ke greindre segnurie oüst.
E apres ceo lur loz loterent
E la tere en treis departerent:
A cels de Angle chaï le su;
Liez en furent, e bel lur fu,
Sicume la mer lenvirune
De Tamise dekes Hamtune.
De cels de Angle sanz mesprisun
Resceust Engletere sun nun.
Le pais del North altresi
A cels de Guthlande chai;
Descoce dekes al Humbre,
Grant erent, ne sai le numbre.
A un fier barun de Alemaine,
Ki ert venu od la compaine,
Otrierent entrels Lindeseie
Pur sa ruiste chevalereie.
Linde apellerent le barun;
De li prist Lindeseie sun nun.
A cels de Sessoine ensement
Chaï le païs del orient,
Sicume la mer le devise,
De Wytheme dekes Tamise,
Riche pais e gaainable,
E bon e dulz e delitable;
Mult par i feit bon habiter.
Al un coste i fiert la mer,
Del altre part est li mareis;
Asez i a del peissun freis.
Devant est de granz fosses ceint,
Ke del une ewe al altre ateint.
Est Angle apelent le pais
La gent ke i sunt estais
Ki sunt asasez de tuz biens,

MS. ll. 380, eust; 381, lotirent; 382, departirent; 385, Sicum; 388, noun; 392; mumbre; 393, almayne (7 syl.); 398, noun; 399, suesoine; 401, sicum; 403, gaynable (7 syl.); 404, douce; 405, feirt; 407, parte; 408, pessun; 410, euwe.

Tut sunt manant, ne lur falt riens.
Le pais est de treis contrees
Establies de bien e sazees:
Northfolk, Suthfolc, Estsex unt nun;
De tuz biens i ad grant fuisun.
Les Saisnes furent balz e lez
Kar mult furent bien herbergiez.
Bien garderent cel est pais,
Apres long tens, e anz e dis;
E pus tramistrent sanz essoine
Lur messages deske a Sessoine,
Pur lur freres, pur lur cosins
Pur lur amis, pur lur veisins;
Kant il vindrent, bien venuz.
Sunt el pais e bien receuz;
Si poeplierent la cuntree,
U gastee fu e desertee.
En richesce e joie e en pes
Vesquirent, e lur eirs apres.
Un rei aveient, ceo fu le veir,
Prodome mult de grant saveir:
Offe out nun, si fu apelle,
Bon chivaler, sage e sene.
E Cristiente mult ama.
E Seinte eglise enhalcea.
Cil fu de Est Angle rei secund,
Devant le rei Seint Edmund.
Li reis Offe fu mult marriz
De ceo quil ne out file ne fiz,
A qui il puse deviser
La regiun a son finer.
Plusurs penses out en curage;
A la parfin pensa que sage,
Ke a Jerusalem irra
E Jesu Crist depriera

MS. ll. 417, noun; 419, suesunes, leez; 428, en; 430, gaste; 432, vesquierent; 435, noun, 441, Le rey; 442, filee; 444, le regum; 445, avait (9 syl.); 446, al parfin (7 syl.).

Ke Jesu Crist li doint tel eir
Ki digne seit del regne aveir.
Si purposa a la parfin,
Ke par Sessoine ert sun chemin,
Par sun Cusin qui reis esteit,
E qui Sessoine mainteneit.
Il fet tost son eire aprester,
Kar il ne volt plus sujurner
Primerement ad pris cunge
A seinte eglise e al clerge,
Pus pris cunge a ses princers,
As baruns e as chivalers;
E son regne les comanda
E mult dulcement les pria.
Quil tenisent dreite justise,
E enhalceasent seinte eglise.
Dunc se met en mer, si senturne;
Dekes Sessoine ne sujurne.
Li reis qui son cosin esteit
Bel e haltement le receit;
Mult se pena de li joir
E richement le fist servir
Des brauns e des veneisuns,
E des cignes e des pouns,
De vessele de or e de argent,
Vin de Claree e de piment.
Servir le feit de vint dancels,
Des plus nobles e des plus bels
E qui mielz sunt enparente,
E des plus halz de sun regne.
Son fiz demeine fist le reis
Le rei Offe servir a deis.
Edmund nomerent le meschin;
Mult par esteit beals, de grant fin;
Suz ciel ni ad home vivant,

MS. ll. 456, voult, suiourner; 458, clergie; 460, a chivalers; 462, milt; 463, dreit; 465, se; 466, sujourne; 472, cyngnes; 473, vessel; 474, De vyn; 479, demene; 481, E Edmund (9 syl.); 483, nad (7 syl.).

Ki unke veist plus bel enfant.
E od les bealtes quil aveit
Sur tute rien curteis esteit
E plein de grant ensegnement;
Suz ciel ni ad afaitement
Dunt il ne fut endoctrine.
De tute gent esteit ame
E si out une rien en sei:
Dieu e Cristiente e fei
Ama sur tutes altres riens.
Tant out en li bunte e biens
Ke fort me serreit le retreire.
Tant fut, estre ceo, de boneire,
Quil ama tute bone gent
E tute gent li ensement.
Li enfant mult se penout,
Sa cure il mist de tant quil pout
De servir le rei pelerin;
Mult le servit bel le meschin.
Li reis Offe mult aime e prise
Edmund lenfant e son servise;
Ses paroles e son semblant
E sa bealte qui tant ert grant;
Sovent recorde en sa purpense,
Si se mervaile de son sens,
E ke enfant de si tendre age
Est si pruz, si coint [e] si sage
E ke servir vit le le dancel
Tant asenement e bel.
Mult recorda ses fez, ses diz,
Si desira quil fust son fiz.
Kant li reis Offe out sujurne,
En Sessoine a sa volente,
Son eire volt tenir avant,
Ke mult esteit e long e grant.

MS. ll. 484, veit; 486; tut; 488, nad; 490, genz; 494, bounte, 498, ensemenent; 501, sevir, pelryn (7 syl.); 503, rei; 506, baealte (a marked for cancellation); 510, cointe si; 515, suiourne, le rei.

Cunge ad demande al rei,
E as baruns quil out od sei.
E cels deprient Dieu le grant
Pitusement [e] en plurant
Que Dampnedieus par son pleisir
Li doint salve veie tenir
E salf venir e salf aler,
E en son pais returner
Li enfant Edmund tendrement
Plure pur Offe son parent.
Li reis Offe qui sen veit
Pitie en ad e grant doel feit,
E li reis Offe a sei le apele,
De ses mains terst sa face bele,
Si li dist: "Bel fiz Edmund,
Dieus bone cresance vus doind!"
Devant els trestuz lenbrascea
E sovente fez le beisa.
De son dei treist un anel de or;
La piere valust grant tresor.
Il tendi avant cel anel,
Si lad done al damisel.
E dist: "Beal fiz, cest dun tenez;
Pur la meie amur le gardez;
Cest dun vus dune en remembrance.
Entre nus deus seit conuisance
De parente, de cusinage,
E que nus sumes de un liniage,
E ke vuz remembrez de mei.
Par cest anel de nostre dei,
Graces e grant merci vus rend,
De Dampnedieu omnipotent,
Del bel servise e del bel het,
E del honur que me avez fet.
Jeo vus estui mult greniur dun

MS. ll. 520, barunes; 522, Pitousement en (7 syl.); 524, doyne; 525, saf; 526, retourner; 529, rei; 534, cre$^{s}_{a}$nce; 535, lembra$^{s}_{c}$ea; 536, Sovent (7 syl.). 541 doun; 542, moy; 543, doygne; 551, service,

En curage e entencium.
Si ariere pus repairer,
Durrai vus paternel louwer,
Si nostre seint pere Jesu
Ad mon repairer purveü.
Kant li enfant le anel receust
Mult li mercie cum il dust.
Son pere charnel qui ceo vit,
En brancha sei e si sen rit;
Par geu li dust [e] en gabant:
"Ai! ore Edmund bien est atant!
Pur pere me avez deguerpi
E le rei Offe avez choisi.
Il vus gard des ore en avant,
Cume pere deit fere enfant;
E vus le servez, matin e seir,
Cume pere a vostre poeir.
Ne ai soin de mirer pur le mien
Altri enfant, ceo sachez bien."
Offe le rei mult se delite
De la parole quil ad dite.
Lenfant [si] tost [il] apellast
A sei, sil prist e enbrasceast;
Si [ad] treit hors de sa almonere
Un anel de or od une piere
Ke mult ert riche, de grant fin.
A Edmund le mustra, son cosin.
Le anel li ad Offe mustre
Quil resceust kant fu curune
Del evesque quil benesqui,
E de son ceptre le seisi.
"Edmund, fiz," fist il, "esgardez
Cest anel e bien le avisez,
E le semblant e la feiture,
Cum il est fet e en quele mesure,

MS. ll. 554, doun; 555, puse; 559, lenfant; 563, dist en (7 syl.); 565, piere; 566, chosi; 568 and 570 cum; 571, son; 575, Lenfant tost apellast (6 syl.); 577, Si treit; 582, Kant il fu (9 syl.).

Ke bien conustre le puissez
E ke vus bien le conoissez.
Kar si jeo mester de vus ai
Ces enseignes vus trametterai,
Ke facez mon comandement,
Si ne vus retreiez nient.
Tut le feites, de chief en chief,
Kanque vus manderai par brief.
Le anel gardez par dreite fei,
Si vus ja vivez plus de mei.
Beals fiz chers, des ore en avant,
Vus amerei cum mon enfant
E durrei vostre gareison
Si pus aver possessiun.
Li enfant mult le mercie.
Li reis Offe od sa cumpanie
Fist trusser ses sumers aneire,
Cunge ad pris, si tint son eire.
Li reis de Sessoine le conveie
Dedenz Sessoine bien grant veie.
A Dampnedieu lad comande
Si sen est atant returne
Offe li reis, il e sa gent,
Of mult noble aparailement,
Od bele gent, od grant aver,
Ere el chemin, matin e seir.
Tant se pena li bers derrer,
Ke par [la] tere, ke par [la] mer,
Ke en Jerusalem est venuz,
Tut sein, [tut] halegre [e] tut druz;
Kil unkes home ne perdi
Ne cumpainun, la Dieu merci.
Offe od granz afflicciuns.
Fist almoines e ureisuns,
Cume pelerin fin e pius.

MS. ll. 597, dreit (7 syl.); 602, puse; 604, rei; 607, rei; 614, E ere e chemin e matin e seir; 615, ber; 616, Ke par tere, ke par mer; 618, tut sein halegre tut druz (7 syl.); 622, urisuns; 623, cum.

As eglises e as seinz lius,
U Jesus Crist fu morz e vifs,
E al sepulcre u il fu mis;
Son offerende fit riche e real
E al temple e al hospital,
A chapeles e a musters
U besoin esteit e mestiers;
A pelerins, a besoinus,
Ki de aver erent suffreitus,
Fist li reis Offe tant doner,
Ken lur païs pourent realer.
Kant li reis out par tut oure
E en tuz les bons lius este,
Ne voleit plus tenir sujur;
Vers son païs prist le retur.
Il erra tant par ses jurnez,
Ke par chemins ke par estrez,
Ke al braz Seint Jorge vint tut dreit,
Kar par la son chemin esteit.
Iluc li prist maladie si grant,
Si angususe e si pesant
Kil ne puet [en] avant errer;
Iluc li estuet sujurner.
Veirs est kum dit en lescripture:
"Sage est ki en Dieu mette sa cure,
Ki en son quer ad conferme,
Fei, esperance e charite."
Par tut puet aler asez seur,
Sil murt, si murge a bon eur;
Kar en lome nest pas sa veie,
Ainz est en Dieu qui le conveie.
Hum suelt dire e sovent avient:
"Tel vait hors qui ne pas revient."

MS. ll. 625, mort; 629, chapels; 630, bosoyne, 631, boseynuses; 632, suffreituses; 633, rei; 634, porent; 637 suiour; 638, retour; 639, iournez; 641, brace; 643, (9 syl.); 645, Kil ne put avant errer (7 syl.); 646, suiourner; 651, put; 655, Home soleit, avent (10 syl.); 656, Til, revent.

Si fu de cest rei pelerin,
Ki Dampnedieu prist en chemin
De Jerusalem, u Jesus Crist
Ala, marcha e nus conquist.
Dieus vit que cesti fu fet
De trestuz ses pechez net,
E aveit ces treis [riens] en sei:
Charite, esperance e fei.
Pur ceo le vult Dieus a sei prendre
E en sa glorie sein le rendre:
Li reis Offe fu malades fort,
Nul ne le puet garir de la mort,
Fors Dieus quad tuz a governer.
Li reis fist ses privez mander,
E il i vindrent errantment,
Pur lur segnur triste e dolent.
"Segnurs," fist il, "mes chers amis,
Le mal est fort dunt jeo languis.
Ne vei altre rien fors la mort,
Envers ki ne est nul resort.
Mult me avez lealment servi,
E bien e bel entresque ci;
E uncore ai mester mult grant
Ke vus me reservez avant,
E vos feies me afeiez
Ke mon comandement ferez.
Veez vus, segnurs, cest anel,
Ke jeo mustrai al damisel,
A Edmund, le fiz mon cosin,
Kant ceo endreit pris le chemin
Par Sessoine, u jeo sujurnai;
U cest anel a li mustrai?
De cest brief le ferez present,
E de cest anel ensement;
Dites li, ke saluz li mand,

MS. ll. 663, treis — en (7 syl.); 666; seinement; 667, rei; 668, put; 671, errantement (9 syl.); 675, morte; 676, kei, resorte; 687, suiournay; 688, li; 689, breif, freez.

E par cest anel li comand,
Trestut mon regne a governer,
En Estangle, ultre la mer,
Quil seit [e] sire e prince e rei
E quil prie pur lalme de mei.
Segnurs sovent avez veü,
Si en estes aparceü
Kant en un realme ad segnur
Ki par justise e par amur
La gent governe sagement,
Kil ne se blesme de neient;
Si en cel point murt e dechiet,
Ne quidez vus qual poeple griet?"
"Si est il," feit li reis, "de mei
Ki jesque ci ai este rei
De Est Angle, ore ne pus avant.
Bel les ai gardes cea en ariere,
E bien en dreiture pleniere,
Ke unkes par ma coveitise,
Ni par sufreite de justise
Ne perdi nuls rien de son dreit.
Dampnedieus mercie en seit!
Meis ore avera grant mestier
De sage rei e bon justiser,
Ki pais e justise maintienge,
E en amur le poeple tienge.
Jeo ne sai nul plus acceptable,
Ni al poeple plus covenable,
Kant jeo muir e trei a me fin,
Ke Edmund le fiz mon cusin.
Beals est de cors, dulz en saveir,
Pruz e forz e de grant poer;
E de real liniage est nez.
Par Sessoine vus en irrez,

MS. ll. 695, Quil seit sire; (7 syl.); 700, justice; 707, puse; 713, nul; 714, Dampnedieu; 715, avereit; 717, maintinge; 718, amur, teing; 720, ne (7 syl.); 721, murge; 723, Beal, douce; 724, fort; 725, reale.

Sanz feintise, tut [a] estrus;
Le amenez en Estangle od vus
E ceo me afierez vus ore bien
Que vus, pur aver ne pur rien,
Ne serrez en liu ne en estal,
U ja li mien ceptre real
Seit otrie, u seit done,
Si la nun u lai comande."
Li reis prist de els le serement
E les chargea parfundement;
A Dieu apres les comanda,
E sa benesciun les dona.
Kant li reis aveit feit sa devise,
E des prelats de seinte eglise,
Aveit resceu confessiun,
E de tuz ses pechez pardun,
Unk pus a els ne parla mot;
Li reis sa buche e ses oilz clot.
Entre lur mains iluc fini,
E lalme del cors dunc parti.
Unkes enemis nout pussance,
Kar il murust en tele creance,
Quil out ces treis choses en sei:
Charite, esperance e fei.
De Jesus Crist traist a fin
Rei enoint e umble pelrin
Angels de ciel, qui prez i erent,
En parais lalme porterent.
Cesti Offe dunt jeo vus di,
[E] ki si seintement fini
E de sa vie traist a fin,
En leire Dieu e en le chemin,
Ne fu pas Offe, lenemis,
Li reis, li tirant des marchis,
Ki Seint Ayelbrict, le barun,

MS. ll. 727; tut estrus; 731, lui; 734, noun; 735, le rei; 739, le rey; 740, prelates; 743, unkes (9 syl.); 744, rey, bouche; 756, Ki si (7 syl.); 757, al fin; 760, le rei.

Traï, cum encriesme felun,
E en son prisun fist gisir.
E meinte peine fist sufrir,
E cruelement son cors pena,
E a la parfin decola.
Un altre Offe uncore i aveit,
De Sessoine qui reis esteit.
Les Sessoineis orientals
Governa cume bons vassals;
Cil fu produm e justisers,
E sage reis e dreiturels.
Si ama Dieu e verite,
E maintint la Cristiente.
Kil ama Dieu bien i parut;
Devant ceo quil morut,
Par la grace Seint Espirit,
Sicum Dieus rova en lescrit,
Deguerpi cil feme e enfanz,
Fiz e filles, petiz e granz,
E son païs e son regne,
E ses homes e son barne,
Si prist le screp e le burdun,
Trestut a pe, cume poün,
En pelerinage sen veit,
Vers [le] seint Pere, a Rome dreit,
A lapostoile Costentin.
De li se fist li pelerin
Tundre e feire moine profes;
Si servit Dieu tuz jurs apres,
E en labit longment vesqui,
E en labit sa vie fini.
Lalme de li, ceo dit lestorie,
Resceüt Dieus en sa glorie.
De cil Offe dunt jeo di ci,
Ne de cil qui Seint Ayelbrict traï,

MS. ll. 764, meyte; 768, rei; 770, cum bon (7 syl.); 771, prodome; 774, meinteint; 784, cum; 785, pelrinage (7 syl.); 786, vers seint; 789, moigne.

Ne fu pas Offe, li palmiers,
Li saint hum e li dreiturers
Ki del sepulcre repairant,
Resceut maladie si grant
Quil morust en cele manere
Cum jeo vus ai dit cea en arere.
Cil fut un des reis sen eghan (1)
Ki dedenz ceissant e un an,
Regnerent devant Seint Edmund,
Le derein dels e le secund
De Seint Edmund, le bon barun,
Fu cesti Offe sanz mesprisun,
Qui al braz Seint Jorge fu mort,
Dunt grant damage fu e fort;
De ki mort sa gent funt tel doel,
Morz voldreient estre a lur voel.
Mult demenerent grant dolur
Les genz Offe pur lur segnur.
Li seneschal, li buteilier,
Li chamberleng, li dispenser,
Usser [e] cou, e li serjant,
Pover e riche, petit e grant
Plurent, crient e tel doel funt,
Il nad si dur home en cest mund
Qui veïst lur contenement,
Ke nust tendrur e marrement
Kant unt lur grant doel demene,
E lur segnur unt entere,
Vers lur pais la veie tienent,
E par mi Sessione sen vienent.
Al rei de Sessoine vienent dreit,
Qui cosin lur segnur esteit,
Si li cunterent la dolur,

MS. ll. 798, home; 803, de; 812, volient; 817, Usser cou (7 syl.); 820, dure.

Note (1). *sine ingenio*: cf. Paul Meyer in Glossarial note of Arnold's edition, Memorials St. Edmund's Abbey, Vol. II, p. 398. Neither word occurs again in this form in our text.

E la perde de lur segnur.
Kant il [l] oï mult li desplout;
Unkes mes si grant doel ne out.
Li reis en une chambre entra,
E son cosin mult regreta.
Plure, waiment e tel doel fet,
Ke nel poeit nuls mettre en het.
En la chambre treis jurs estut,
Quil unkes ne mangea ne but,
Ne ne fina de doluser
Ni ne volt a home parler.
Kant Edmund oï la novele,
Del rei Offe, ne li fu bele;
Einz fist li enfant doel si grant,
Unkes ne veïstes enfant
Qui greindre doel ni marrement
Oust pur cosin ne pur parent.
Li Seneschal Offe le rei,
Ki les genz Offe mene o sei,
A la chambre le rei senturne,
Pur son segnur e triste e murne.
Deus compainuns od sei mene,
De sa compainie demeine,
Des plus halz e des plus vailanz,
Des plus sages, des mielz sachanz.
A la chambre le rei entrerent,
E dulcement le conforterent.
"Sire," funt il, "lessez ester;
Lessez de vostre doluser
Kar bien savez que tuz murrum,
E eschapper [nuls] ne purrum,
Ja par plur ne doluserie,
Ne recovera mort la vie.
Meis tant i puet hum gaäigner:

MS. ll. 831, oi; 833, rei; 836, nul; 840, ne voult; 843, lenfant (7 syl.); 853, de plus (bis) haulz; 854, de mielz; 857, Sir; 860, eschaper ne purrum (7 syl.); 861, Ja par plure ne par doluserie (10 syl.); 863, put home gaynier.

Les oilz e le cors enpirer.
Kant nul ne puet el conquester,
Bien devez laisser le plurer,
E recoverer vostre comfort,
E feire bien pur lalme al mort
(Nus avum en a conseilier)
Que doluser e waimenter."
"Reis, nus sumes, tut a estrus,
Pur grant chose venuz a vus;
Kar Reis Offe, tant cum il jut
En maladie dunt apres murut,
Kant il senti quil dut murir,
Tuz nus fist devant sei venir,
E si nus fist sur seinz jurer,
E nos feies nus fist afier,
Que nus tuz, estruseement,
Ferum [tut] son comandement.
Pus, nus comencea a retreire
De vostre lin, de vostre eire;
Kant il out longement retraiz
Vos bons overs e vos [bien] feiz,
Si parla de Edmund, vostre fiz,
Cum il est beals e escheviz,
Sages e pruz, dulz e membrez,
Curteis, enseignez e senez.
Pus hosta le anel de son dei,
Quil receust kant il fut fet rei,
Le anel qua vostre fiz mustra,
Kant de cest pais sen ala
Vers Jerusalem u nus fumes,
E u la grant perde resceumes,
De li que si avum perdu,
Li rei Offe, qui produm fu.
Il nus comanda finement
Que nus par icel serement,

MS. ll. 873, rei, iut; 879, estrusement; 880 Ferum — son (7 syl.); 883, longment; 884, vos feiz (7 syl.); 887, sage (7 syl.), dulce; 888, ensegnez; 889, and 890, bracketed in MS; 896, prodome.

Kil devant li nus fist jurer,
A mielz quil soüst deviser,
Sur les relikes vertuuses,
Seintes, riches e pretiuses,
A mielz quil nus soust escharir
E la parole mielz furnir,
Ke par cest anel que tenum,
E que nus ici vus musterum,
Seisisum Edmund, vostre fiz,
Del realme e des apentiz
De Estangle, e de tut le païs,
Cum il mielz lout quant il fu vifs.
Son ceptre e sa corune de or,
Sa veissele e tut son tresor,
Nus ad Reis Offe comande,
Que a vostre fiz seit tut livere.
Uncore i ad en le serement,
E es fiances ensement,
Que ne poeum pas sujurner
Ni en cest pais demurer
For sulement une quinzaine;
E dedenz cel terme demeine,
Devum vostre fiz mettre en mer,
E en Estangle od nus mener,
Si vent nostre eire ne deslaie
De tant nus porta il manaie."
Li reis responst: "Seneschal, mestre,
Ceo ke vus dites ne puet estre,
Kar nel otreiereie mie,
De Edmund, mon fiz la departie;
Pur tut laveir, ceo est la sume,
Kest de Sessoine deske a Rome,
Ne otreiereie le sevrer,
Ni, si feiterement, mener
Si loinz de mei mon fiz Edmund.

MS. ll. 900, sout; 912, treisor; 916, E en fiances; 917, suiourner; 919, soulement; 922, amener; 926, put; 931 otrieray; 933, mey.

Nel fereie pur tut le mund."
Mult fu produm li seneschals,
Sages e queint e bons vassals.
"Rei," fet il, "ne te pas merveile,
Meis prenez vus altre conseile,
Si vus devez le retenir,
Kil ne deive of nus venir.
Par egard de Cristiënte
Si hum la garde en lealte,
Bien il deit venir, sire rei,
E vus sai bien dire purquei:
Pur salver nostre serement,
E nos fiances ensement,
Ke meïmes pur li en gage.
Grant doel sereit, e grant damage,
Ke tanz e de tele parente,
Cum nus sumes, fusum dampne
Pur le venir e pur le aler,
Dun enfant jesques ultre mer;
E revenist quant il voldreit,
Ja nul hum nel cuntre estereit
Quil ne poüst [en] revenir
Kant il voldra, a son pleisir.
Li reis est en plusurs purpens,
Si se purpense en plusurs sens,
Si les dit estruseement,
Ke lenfant ne amenerunt nient.
E nepurkant a la parfin,
De la chambre ist, le chief enclin.
En la sale vient errantment,
Si se est asis entre sa gent;
Ses ercevesques ad mandez,
Ses evesques e ses abbez,
Cuntes, baruns e ses princiers,

MS. ll. 934, ferei, mound; 935, produme, seneschal; 936, Sage queint e bon vassal; 937-8, mervaile, consaile; 941, agarde; 942, home; 943, Sir; 950, susum; 952, iesque; 954, home; 955, pust; 963, erraument.

E vavasurs e chivaliers,
[E] cunseil les ad demande,
De ceo que Offe li aveit mande;
La parole les ad mustree,
De chief en chief cum est alee:
Ke li reis Offe, son cosin,
Kant il murust e traist a fin,
Par ses consiliers plus privez,
Ki mielz furent de li amez,
Lad de son fiz Edmund requis,
Kil seit rei en son païs,
En Estangle u il maneit,
E dunt il sire e rei esteit,
"E li reis Offe a li dune
Son ceptre de or e sa curune,
Sa vessele dargent e de or,
E son aveir e son tresor;
E si ad mis tute sa gent
Par fiance e par serement,
Quil of els le amenerunt
En Est Angle, e rei le ferunt;
Uncore i ad es covenances,
El serement e es fiances,
Kil ne poent, pur nule peine,
Ci sujurner ke une quinzaine,
Ni sanz mon fiz [la mer] passer,
Ne ultre cel terme ci ester.
Ceste aventure me ad mandee
Offe par sa gent plus privee,
Par ses lettres e par son brief,
Ke lire ai fet de chief en chief,
E par ensegnes del anel,
Kil mustra al enfant bel,
Kant [li reis] de li sen ala,
De cest pais u sujurna

MS. ll. 968, vavasours; 969, Cunseile; 974, treit al fin; 981, rei, doune; 990, E serement e en fiances; 992, suiourner, un; 993, fiz passer (6 syl.); 995, mande; 1001, Kant de li; (6 syl.); 1002, suiourna.

Ore mestuet vif conseil aver,
De mon fiz fere remaneir,
E de ces messagers salver
Des fiances e del vuer.
Segnurs, Pur Dieu, or enpensez,
Ki les hunurs de mei tenez,
De ceste chose traire a chief,
Me donez vif conseil e bref."
Des ordenez tut li plus sage,
Li plus senez de greniur age;
Ki plus ourent oï e veu,
Unt al rei dit e respondu:
"Sire reis, a nus entendez!
Ke vif conseil nus demandez,
Kant sur nus est le conseil mis,
Nus vus dirrum [tut] nostre avis;
Offert vus ad mult grant amur,
Offe li reis, e grant honur,
Kant Edmund vostre fiz fet heir
De son realme e son aveir,
Dunt sires fu quant il fu vifs,
E en cest secle poestifs.
Le realme haltement dune
A vostre fiz e labandune,
Par ses conseiliers plus privez,
Ki plus erent de li amez
E ki plus sunt poestis
En le realme e en le pais,
E ki tut unt la segnurie,
E les fermetez en bailie;
[E] grant lealte les fist feire
Kant par ci feseient lur repaire.
Fei, lealte e grant amur
Unt [il] porte vers lur segnur.

MS. ll. 1003, conseile; 1006, vouer; 1012, greinur; 1013, out; 1014, dist; 1015, Sir; 1018, dirrum—nostre avis (7 syl.); 1021, heire; 1023, sire; 1025, doune; 1026, abandoune; 1033, Grant lealte le (7 syl.); 1036, Unt porte vers, etc., (7 syl.).

Fetes, reis, ceo que vus dirrum;
Ja ne vus forconseilerum:
Treis bones nefs comandez quere,
Les plus riches de vostre tere,
Si fetes [i] mettre sanz faile,
Asez guarison e vitaile,
E mult seient bien ustilez,
E richement aparailez;
Si mettez i pur les nefs duire,
E bien e salvament conduire,
Mariners bons e queints e sages
Ke tuz conusent les rivages,
E de la mer seient apris
Deske en Est Angle le pais;
Si les donez mult largement,
Riches dras e or e argent;
Si fetes liverer as vassals
Beles armes e bons chevals
E vostre fiz les comandez,
E lur seremenz en pernez,
Ke lealment li servirunt,
E salvament le garderunt,
En bois, en plains, e enz e hors,
Cume meïmes vostre cors;
E vint chivalers eslisez
Des meliurs e des plus prisez
De la mesnie Offe le rei
Ki pur ton fiz vienent a tei.
Kant ces vint averez esliz,
Si les comandez vostre fiz,
Liverez les lune nef des treis,
Es altres deus seit lur herneis;
Si sen algent bald e seur,
Dreit en Est Angle abeneur.
Si seit vostre fiz rei de la,

MS. ll. 1039, niefs; 1041, fetes-mettre (7 syl.); 1045, mettez pur, niefs (7 syl.); 1047, bons queintes; 1060, Cum memes (6 syl.); 1062, presez; 1067, nief de ; 1068, En autres deus seient.

E vus rei e sire de cea.
Vos regnes aiez en comune;
Mielz valent deus realmes que une.
Son pere estes, il vostre fiz;
Ne poez estre departiz.
Nuls ne vus puet fere luinteins,
Kant tant estes parenz procheins
Mal ait son cors de tut endreit,
Ki le partir de vus voldreit!
Cil est departi, a tut dis,
Ki pere e mere e ses amiz
Deguerpist, e sa veie tient,
E james apres [ne] revient
Si nest il mie, rei, de vus;
Assez estes procheins andeus;
Kar kant vus le voldrez veeir,
E son contenement saveir,
Ne vus estuet fors passer mer
E a leisir of li parler;
E kant vus voldrez revenir,
Revenez a vostre pleisir;
E vostre fiz tut ensement,
Vus puet venir veeir sovent,
Sanz grant travail e sanz ahan,
Une fez u deus en le an.
Issi salverez ceste gent
Des fiances, del serement,
Kil feseient a vostre cosin.
Rei, nus sumes a vus enclin,
Si sumes tuz vostre feeil;
Ki desdira icest conseil
Ne aime pas vus ne vostre fiz."
Tuz se greent, granz e petiz,
E dient tuz: "Bien est a feire:
Ne se deit pas li reis retreire."
Li reis dit que ceo nert ja;

MS. ll. 1077, Nul ne vus put; 1084, E iames apres revient; 1089, tut; 1107, Le rei.

Ja de li ne departira,
Son fiz Edmund, ni tant ni kant,
Kil plus aime ke rien vivant.
Tant cum li clerc e li lettre
Li plus sage, li ordene,
Li riche cunte e li barun,
Sunt en cele grant contenciun,
Este vus en la sale atant
Une dame pruz e vailant!
Romaine fu, de Rome nee,
Seinte dame, sage e senee;
Vedve ert, enpres son segnur,
Si fu donee al creatur.
Dieus laveit de bien replenie,
Ke meinte bone prophetie
Diseit la dame, qui pus furent
Trovez veires, cum estre durent.
La dame ert mult aqueinte al rei,
E a la gent que aveit of sei,
En la cite de Rome enceis;
Kar alez i esteit li reis;
Enceis que Edmund fu engendrez,
Son fiz, i fu li reis alez,
En oreisuns hors de sa tere
Seint Pere de Rome requere.
Kar custume esteit a cel jur,
Ke rei, e duc e emperur,
Se soleient mettre el veiage
De Seint Pere en pelerinage.
Ne teneient plait de riche home
Ki neüst este a Rome.
La bone dame dunt parlum,
E dunt nus parlance feisum,
Aveit a Rome mult servi
Le rei, e sa gent altresi,

MS. ll.; 1126, E al gent (7 syl.); 1129, engendre; 1130, le rei ale 1134, emperour; 1135, en le (9 syl.); 1136, pelrinage (7 syl.); 1137, tienent.

E enveie meint bel present,
E feit meint [grant] honur sovent,
E sovent od le rei parlout.
Tant cum li reis i sujurnout.
Li reis aveit la dame chere,
E mult lama de grant manere,
Pur son sen e pur son saveir,
E pur ceo quele diseit si veir
De ceo que li reis demandeit;
Sovent esprovee laveit.
Pur le conseil que entrels teneient
E la privete quil aveient,
En erent esbai plusurs
E diseient que ceo ert amurs.
Mes ceo desdiseit lur curage,
Ke la dame ert de grant age.
Al departir que li reis dut
E quil vers son pais sesmut
De Rome, u out fet son veiage,
Pur Dieu [servir] en pelrinage,
Si vint la dame al desevrer,
Al departir, of le rei parler.
Cume la dame entrer deveit
En la chambre u li reis esteit,
Avis li fut que une flambe grant,
Cume ceo fut de feu ardant
Sen issit hors del piz al rei,
Ki tele clarte gettout de sei,
Cume ceo fut rais de soleil,
Kant matin surt en Est vermeil;
Avis li fut quel rais sestendi,
Ke hors del piz le rei issi,
Parmi les nues tut defrunt
Jesqual soverein ciel amunt.

MS. ll. 1144, feite meint honur; 1146, reis suiournout (7 syl.); 1147, le rei; 1152, esprove; 1154 priveete (9 syl.); 1162, Pur dieu—en (6 syl.); 1164, A departir; 1165, cum; 1166, le rei; 1168, cum; 1170 tel clarete; 1171, cum; reis, soleile; 1172, vermeile.

De cel rai, katre rais isseient,
Ki en quatre parz se estendeient:
Li un amunt vers orient,
E li altre vers occident,
E li tierz devers medi,
Li quart devers north se estendi.
Li reis les vist, si se esbaï,
E la dame tut altresi.
Nest merveile si se esbaïrent,
Kant icele merveile virent.
Meis la dame fu queinte e sage;
Si fist semblant en son curage,
Si cum ele ne le vit mie.
Kant la clarte fu esvanie,
Li reis od la dame parla,
Conge ad pris, si senala.
Pur ceste aventure demeine,
Vint la bone dame Romaine,
Al rei de Sessoine, en Sessoine,
Ki entendeit a la besoine,
(U sa cure ert forte e greindre)
De Edmund son fiz feire remeindre.
Kant la dame fu descendue,
E en la curt al rei veneue,
En la presence le rei sest mise,
E tut dreit devant li assise,
Issi ke unkes ne le salua,
Ni de rien ne lareisna,
Ni bel semblant na li feseit,
Cum a Rome fere soleit.
Li reis la garde, e la conut,
Si se merveile cum il dut,
Purquei la dame i fu venue
E ke ceo deit que ele nel salue,

MS. ll. 1178 (7 syl.); 1179, Le un; 1180, le autre; 1181, le tierce; 1182, Le quart; 1183, Le rey; 1185, esbaierent; 1186, icel; 1189, nel; 1196, bosoyne; 1197, Ou sa cure enfortir e greindre; 1200, curte; 1203, la salua; 1204, la reisna; 1205, ne; 1207, la agarde.

E pur quei e ke ceo deveit,
Ke si murne chere feseit
Li reis leve, si lapella,
Mult la cheri e honura.
Si lad de iuste li asise,
E mult dulcement lad requise
Kele li die maintenant,
Pur quei feseit murne semblant,
E de li se trea ariere.
"Sachez," fet il, "ma dame chere,
Ke jeo nai [nul] si cher aveir,
Si vus le voldriez aveir,
Ke na vus seit abandone
Trestut a vostre volente."
"Reis," fet ele, "ceo sai jeo bien;
Meis de tut ceo ni ad rien.
Jeo ne vinc pas en ceste tere,
Pur tresor ne pur aveir quere.
Assez en ai, la Dieu merci!
Meis, reis, jeo su venue ci,
Numeement pur vus veeir,
E de vostre ovre alques saveir;
Kar altre chose, sire rei,
Quidai en vus ke jeo ne vei
E vus sai bien dire coment:
A Rome fustes veirement,
En oresuns pur Dieu servir,
E vos pechiez espeneïr.
Jeo parlai a vus mult sovent
E [vus] conseilai bonement,
De Dieu amer, de Dieu servir,
E sur tute rien obeir.
Kant aler vus endeverez,
Enceis que vus en alisez,
I vinc jeo, reis, a vostre aler,

MS. ll. 1213, Le rey, le apella; 1216, doucement;' 1221, nay — si cher (7 syl.); 1227, vinch; 1230, rey; 1231, Numement, veir (6 syl.); 1233, sir; 1240, E — conseilai (7 syl.); 1242, tut; 1245, vinch.

Priveement a vus parler.
Si cume jeo en la chambre entrai,
Me fut avis que vei un rai
De grant clarte, cler e vermeil,
Cume ceo fu rai de soleil,
Hors de vostre piz, reis, salir,
Amunt al ciel par grant haïr.
De cel rai quatre rais eissirent,
Ki en quatre parz sespandirent
A merveile men esbaï,
Kant jeo cele merveile vi;
E vus, Sire reis de Sessoine,
En ustes pur mei vergoine;
Meis jeo ne fis unke semblant,
Ke jeo le vis [ne] tant ne kant,
Mult le ai cele, reis, longement,
Kar jeo quidoue veirement,
E si laveie espermente,
Ke Dieus qui est vereie clarte,
Vereie lumere, verei soleil,
Par sa grace e par son conseil,
Vus muntast en mult grant haltesce,
En grant pussance e en richesce,
E ke Dieus vus donast tel heir,
Ki par son sen e son saveir,
Muntast en si grant poeste,
Ke [en] tut le mund en fut parle;
E ki Cristiënte amast,
E maintenist e enhalceast,
U ke Dieus vus donast le dun
De aler en estrange regiun,
Dunt vostre honur fut mielz acruz,
E vostre nun fust plus cremuz.

MS. ll. 1246, privement (7 syl.); 1248, que jeo vei (9 syl.); 1249, vermeile; 1250, cum, rey de soleile; 1251, saliir; 1257, rei; 1258, verguyne; 1259, ni; 1260, vis tant; 1261, rey longment (7 syl.); 1263, la veie espermentee; 1264, verei; 1265, verei, solaile; 1266, consaile; 1272, Ke tut, mound; 1275 doun; 1276, regioun; 1277, Dount; 1278, noun.

Le miracle ke nus veïmes,
Reis, kant a Rome departimes,
Si est [de] mult grant signifiance,
De haltesce e de grant pussance,
U de glorie celestiëne,
U de grant honur teriëne
Ke devereit avenir pur veir.
U a vus, reis, u a vostre heir;
Vus ne savez [ceo] ke ceo iert.
Meis ore vei bien [e] apert
Ke vus estes vers Dieu enfrez,
E de mult grant chose forfez,
Kil si vus ad cuilli en he,
Kant vus ad si del tut oste
Del riche tresor e del dun
De ceste grant demustreisun."
Li reis a la Romaine entent,
E suspire parfundement;
Devant tute sa gent gehi.
Laventure e la descoveri;
Cume la dame laveit dite,
Tut isi lout li reis escrite;
A un evesque baila lescrit,
E cil de chief en chief le lit;
En ordre dist cum veu aveit
La dame ke venue esteit.
Un evesque pruz e sene,
Sage clerc e bien lettre,
Dit, oyanz clers e oyanz lais:
"Sire reis," fet il, "icest rais"
Ke issit hors de vostre piz,
Ceo est vereiement vostre fiz,
Edmund, qui reis ert del regne,
Ke reis Offe li ad done.
A li sera Estangle enclin,

MS. ll. 1281, est—mult (7 syl.); 1287, savez—que (7 syl.); 1288, bien i pert (7 syl.); 1299, Cum, dit (7 syl.); 1300, escrit; 1308, Sir; 1310, vereyment (7 syl.); 1311, regnee; 1312, donee.

E kant il trerra a sa fin,
La companie Seint Michel
Porterunt salme en [le] ciel,
Od grant lumere od grant clarte,
Devant Dieu en sa majeste.
E les rais ke de li surderent
E par la tere se estenderent,
Ceo ert la bone renomee,
Ke de li ert par tut cuntee.
Reis ne le devez pas cuntredire;
Kant Dieus, li treseintime sire,
Si aperte signifiance
Vus mustra, devant la nessance
De vostre fiz ke avez tant cher,
Mult le devez bien otrier
Kil alge en Estangle, el pais,
Si [en] seit reis e poestis.
Li reis forment sescrie en plurs,
Si les ad dit: "Beals chers segnurs,
Kant Dieu le volt, feire lestuet;
Kar altrement estre ne puet.
Li reis comanda les nefs quere,
Les meliurs de tute sa tere;
Si fist [i] mettre a grant fusun,
Vitaile e asez guarisun,
E vin de clare e piment,
E vessele de or e de argent.
Si i fist mettre marinals,
Mult forz e pruz e bons vassals,
Queinz dewe e [si] sages en mer,
E ki bien sevent nefs guier.
E pus eslust vint chivalers
Li reis, de cels quil out plus chers,
E vint chivalers ensement

MS. ll. 1316, en ciel (7 syl.); 1319, surderunt (9 syl.); 1320, se estenderunt (9 syl.); 1322, cunte; 1323, Rey; 1324, treiseintim, 1330, Si seit (7 syl.); 1331, sescrient (9 syl.); 1335, nefes; 1337, Si fist mettre (7 syl.); 1342, fortes; 1343, Queintes, e sages 7 (syl.); 1344, nefes.

De la mesnee e de la gent
Offe le rei, ki les tramist,
E ki les seremenz en prist,
Tant cum il furent, ceo mest avis,
Karante chivalers de pris.
Li reis les dona bels conreis,
Armes, destrers e palefreiz,
E or e argent a plente,
E son fiz les ad comande,
E la plus bele nef des treis;
En deus fit mettre lur herneis.
Kant il derrer sunt apreste
Hors del haven se sunt bute.
Li reis ne fine de plurer,
Kant il les vit en mer entrer.
A Dieu les comand, si les lest,
E en plurant ariere vest.
Kant les treis nefs sunt hors de port,
Lur batel devers le bort
Treistrent en la nef maintenant
Li marinal e li servant.
La nef fu forte e [si] mult bele,
Bien fete, seure e novele,
U Seint Edmund esteit, li ber,
Ki unke mes ne fu en mer.
Li servant e li mariner
En vunt lur cordes adrescier.
Chescun mariner del esneke
Forment le sigle desharneske, (1)
Lur hobens estreignent vers destre,
Hors lancent [lur] lof (2) vers senestre,
La veile treient jesqua la hune,

MS. ll. 1350, Ke; 1352, Karant: 1357, nief; de treis; 1363, comande; 1365, neifes; 1369, e mult bele (7 syl.); 1376, deshaneke; 1377, estreinent; 1378, lancent—lof (7 syl.); 1379, iesqual (7 syl.).

Note (1), line 1376, *desharneske* from *dis* and *harneschier* = to arm, to equip, referring both to soldiers and to ships (Cf. Godefroy). Here the meaning seems to be: to unroll, to unfurl.

Note (2), line 1378, lof = lower part of the sail (Cf. Godefroy).

E al vent la firent comune.
La boeline halent al vent,
Ki lore recoilt e supprent.
Kant la nef aveient aprestee,
A Dampnedieu lunt comandee.
Pus atturnerent el batel
Li chamberleng al damisel
Un riche lit, de noble atur,
U il alient lur segnur.
Les chivalers, ki en la nef sunt,
Ki gardent lur segnur Edmund
En le batel sunt entre of li;
Si parolent pur lennui.
As esches geuwent e as tables,
Dient respiz e cuntent fables.
Meis ki kentende al enveiser,
Li ber entent a son salter,
Ke en Sessoine aveit comence,
Dunt apris aveit la meite.
Le jur siglent a grant dedut,
Si feseient tute la nut,
Lez la costee de Sessoine,
Ke la nef gueres ne sesbaine.
Jesqual demain al einz jurnee,
Ke lalbe del jur fu escrevee,
Suple vent unt, mer pleine e bele,
La nef ne crole ne chancele.
As marinals en peise fort
Kil nunt vent ki plus tost les port.
Le secund jur unt tant sigle,
E la nut a ciel estele,
Kal tierz jur unt Frise veue,
De loinz, cum ceo fut une nue.
Jesqual quart jur, dun vent de bise

MS. ll. 1381, Le boelin; 1383, nief, apreste; 1384, comande; 1387, atour; 1388, segnour; 1393, eschesse geuwent e a tables; 1399, iour; 1402, nief, guaires; 1401-2, *Sessoine* rhymes with *esbaine!* 1406, La nief; 1410, la nute, cel; 1412, neue.

Siglent la costere de Frise,
Tant quil acosteient Houtlande,
Une contree large e grande.
Le quart jur, de Houtlande veient
Les granz faleises ki blancheient.
Le sisme jur une contree
Acostent, qui est large e lee;
Selande la apelent, la gent;
Al honur de Flandres apent.
Dunc lur surt un vent devers tere,
Si les feseit damage e guere,
Kar tant furent loinz en la mer,
Kil ne pourent a port aler.
La mesnie en est malbailie,
Kar dulce ewe lur ert failie
Mult en sufrirent grant hachie
Les esquiers e la mesnie
Des deus nefs ke vindrent deriere,
Ki ensewirent le premiere.
Li enfant oï la novele,
Edmund, sachez ne li fu bele.
Sur ses piez en estant sest mis,
Vers orient turna son vis.
Dieu reclama devotement,
Kil aït pitie de sa gent.
A genuilluns sest acute,
E Dampnedieu ad reclame,
Kil tele ore lur tramette,
Ki a salve porte les mette.
Oiz la primere vertu,
Ke Dampnedieu fit pur son dru,
Seint Edmund, sicum il oura,
E de fin quer Dieu reclama!
Il ne aveit mie par oure,
Kil nunt vent a [lur] volente.

MS. ll. 1415, acostent (7 syl.); 1417, veienent; 1420, acostient; 1426, porent; 1427, mesnee; 1430, mesnee; 1431, niefes; 1433, Lenfant (7 syl.); 1435, peiz; 1437, devoutement; 1441, tel (7 syl.); 1448, a volente (7 syl.).

Un vent surst devers [le] midi,
Bien aspre, ki les acuilli,
Ki en la veile e en lur tref
Fiert, si enpeint avant la nef.
Les mariners en sunt mult lie;
Lur lof unt enz mult tost lancie,
E [tost] alaschent lur boelins
E estreiment lur holgurdins.
Aspre est le vent, li sigle legier,
Unc ne les covint harnesker;
Bon vent aveient e bien portant;
Tut le jur siglent a talant,
E tute la nut a serin;
Desque il ajurna lendemain,
Se tindrent a la halte mer.
Le soleil lieve, e halt e cler,
Bels est li jurs, le tens seriz,
Le vent de Su lur est failliz,
Kil ne pourent aler avant,
Ainz vunt en halte mer wacrant.
E kant vint entre tierce e prime,
Ke le soleil abate la rime,
Dunc lur surst devers orient,
Une dulce ore, un suple vent,
U il se sunt longes tenu,
Tant quil unt choisi e veü,
E virent clerement lensegne
Des granz faleises, devers Lyn
Cele part siglent a espleit,
Tant cum la nef aler poeit;
Tant unt sigle, tant unt vage
Ke a la tere sunt aprochie.

MS. ll. 1449, devers miedi (7 syl.); 1452, en peint — nief; 1455, E alaschent (7 syl.); 1457, sigleigier (reading unintelligible); 1458, haneker; 1460, iour; 1461, nute; 1462, aiourna; 1465, le iour; 1467, porent; 1468, halt; 1469, tirce; 1472, un (7 syl.); 1475, la sen (reading unintelligible; correct as above, or for *sen*, read *sein, seing;* (cf. Godefroy); 1476 len; 1477, parte; 1478, nief.

Pus ont hors lance lur batel,
A tere mistrent le dancel,
Edmund, lur naturel segnur,
Par la grace del creatur.
Ke Dieu claime en la prophetie,
Sicum nus mustre la clergie:
"Oisel volant del oriënt,
E de luin home, a son talant."
Les nefs tutes treis arivees
Sunt, [e] a la tere enancrees,
A mesmes dune petite terele,
A merveile aäte e bele,
Ki a cel temps esteit clamee,
E ki uncore est apellee:
Maidenesboure en engleis,
Chambre as puceles en franceis.
E la vile de li ad nun,
En engleis, Hunestanestun,
E en franceis est apelee,
La vile de piere melee:
Quant Seint Edmund fu venuz
A tere, e hors la nef eissuz,
En une planesce acceptable,
E bele e verte e delitable,
De lez la mer, en oreisuns
Chaï li ber a genulliuns,
E pria Dieu pitusement,
Pur le pais e pur la gent.
La mustra Dieus quil aveit chere,
E sa oreisun a sa priere;
Kar la vertu de sa oreisun
Mustre le pais envirun,
Ka Hunestanestun apent.
Ceo sevent bien tute la gent,

MS. ll. 1489, nefes; 1490, Sunt a la (7 syl.); 1491, terel; 1492, bel; 1493, cele, clame; 1494, apelle; 1496, E chambre as pucels (9 syl.); 1497, noun; 1498, hunstanestun; 1502, del nief; 1505, le; 1506, chcy; 1507, preia; 1509, dieu; 1513, hunstanestun (7 syl.); 1514, seivent, tut.

Ke la tere est plus gaäinable,
E de tuz biens plus fusunable
En Est, e gette meldres blez,
Ke nule altre tere de lez.
Kant Seint Edmund out oure,
E Dampnedieu out reclame,
Ses homes li amenent devant
Un palefrei suef amblant.
Sicum li ber munter deveit,
Vers occident [re]garde e veit,
Veit hors de la tere saillir
Dulces funteines par aïr,
Od dulz curs, od clere gravele
Nul ne puet choisir la plus bele.
Cuntrecurent vers la mer,
Semblant funt de li welcomer.
Del liu dunt les russels sunt surs,
Jesquen la salse, funt lur curs
E isenelement se destendent,
Od duz murmure en mer descendent.
Mult par sunt bones les funteines;
Pur beivre nad suz ciel si seines,
E meint hum jesqua [i]cest jur
En garist de meint [grant] dolur;
De meinte grant enfermete,
En unt plusurs eü sante.
E kant li ber fu curune,
E il fu fet rei del regne,
Le liu out chier, si lama tant
Kil [i] fist feire maintenant
Une sale riche e reale,
Grant e noble e emperiale,
E une mult riche chapele,

MS. ll. 1515, gaynable; 1518, leez. 1522, sueif; 1524, garde; 1525, E veit (9 syl.); 1527, dulces; 1528, poeit; 1534, murmuire; 1537, home; iesqua cest iour; 1538, meint dolur (7 syl.); 1539, meint (7 syl.); 1540, en sante; 1542, reys; 1544, Kil fist (7 syl.); 1545, real; 1546, emperial.

Halte e avenante e bele,
U li seint reis soleit aourer
Kant il soleit [i] sujurner.
E pus apres quant il reis fu,
E le realme aveit resceu,
Le liu ama, si out mult cher,
Sovent i soleit repairer,
Mult i soleit venir sovent
E sujurner priveement.
Les baruns ki od lenfant esteient,
E ki en lur garde [l] aveient,
Le amenerent tut sagement,
Sanz noise e sanz seü de gent,
A une cite noble e grant
Ke en cel tens ert riche e vailant
E de mult noble renomee:
Atleburg esteit apelee
La cite; Atle lapela—
Atle li reis ki la funda.
Uncore i ad vile champestre;
A cels de Mortimer suelt estre.
En cele cite mist enfin
Edmund tut un an enterin;
E son salter il paraprist
Par la grace de Jesu Crist,
Ken Sessoine aveit comence
Dunt aprïs aveit la meite,
E altre sen aprist apres,
Dunt sage fu a tut dis mes.
Ceo le fist Dieus par sa puissance,
E par sa dulce purveance.
E kant le regne out en sa main,
Al governer fu plus certain.
Ceo est grant sen e courteisie,
Kant prince e reis entent clergie;
Al regne governer li valt,

MS. ll. 1550, soleit suiourner (7 syl.); 1551, rey; 1558, aveient; 1568, soleit (9 syl.); 1569, miest. 1574, apris.

Kar quant le sen des altres falt,
Par la clergie quest ajuwe,
[Si] ad tost sen e reisun suwe.
Kant les altres ni veient gute,
La clergie le sen i bute.
Edmund, cume jeo ai desus dit,
Sujurne en Atleburg la cit;
Pur ceo le feseient sujurner
En Atleburg, e demurer,
Cels qui el pais mene lourent:
Kar il soucherent bien e sourent,
Ke li barun plus poestis.
E li plus riche del païs,
Kant il de la mort Offe oireient,
Pur le realme mesuvereient;
Si feseient tut li barun
E furent en grant contenciun.
Chescun dels voleit endreit sei
De la tere estre sire e rei
Lestreif dura un an enter,
Pur poi ne surst grant encumbrier
Kar les teres ultre marines
Ka cel païs erent veisines,
Ke hum claime collaterals,
Les promistrent gueres e mals:
Kil les vendreient assaillir
Sil ne volsissent obeir
A els, e rendre les treü.
Kant la tere e le pais feu
Si longement sanz chief segnur,
Le poeple en est en grant errur,
En grant crieme e en grant turment,
E dutent que foreine gent
Vienge sur els, si les asaile,
Si envers els pernent bataile,

MS. ll. 1585, aguwe; 1586, Ad tost (7 syl.); 1590, cizt; 1593, en; 1593-4, lorent: sorent; 1597, morte; 1607, home; 1613, longment (7 syl.); 1615, crieme en (7 syl.); 1616, doutent; 1617, viengent.

Sanz chevetaine e sanz segnur,
Ki les maintienge en estur;
Kant il nunt ki les maintienge,
Si crement ke les mesavienge.
Cunseil unt demande e quis
De tuz les sages del pais.
A Castre funt lur asemblee
Ke dunc ert de grant renomee
Tuz les plus sages del regne,
E li evesque e li abe,
Li sage cunte e li barun
Furent a cele elecciun.
Entrels cunseil unt demande,
De ki rei ferunt del regne.
Li seneschal lieve en estant,
Ki mult sages ert e valiant,
Ki a la mort fu Offe le rei,
E ki Edmund mena od sei
"Segnurs," fet il, "ore escutez,
Ke mestier de cunseil avez,
A rei eslire e [a] segnur,
Ki le païs guart a honur,
E al poeple seit acceptable,
E sage duitre e covenable.
Acheisun ni reisun ne vei,
Ke meis puissez estre sanz rei;
E kant rei vus estuet aver,
Errer vus estuet par saver,
De tel eslire, de tel choisir,
Ke en pes vus puise maintenir,
E dreit e justise garder
E la tere en pes governer.
Mult vus fu li reis Offe amis,
E vus ama tant cum fu vifs,

MS. ll. 1619, cheveteyn; 1620, 1621, maintinge; 1625, asemble; 1627, regnee; 1636, a mene (9 syl.); 1638, conseil en (9 syl.); 1639, e segnour (7 syl.); 1640, honur; 1648, Ki (9 syl.); 1649, Justice; 1653, e bon (9 syl.).

Sage rei fu, bon justiser,
E seintment murust ultre mer.
Jeo fu of li quant il murust;
Mult me peisa ke morir dust;
Devant ceo ke la mort li prist,
Par fei e par serment me mist,
E mei e tute sa altre gent
Mist par fei e par serement,
Ke quant nus en returnerum,
Par Sessoine nus realisum,
U li reis e nus sujurnames
Kant a Jerusalem alames
Od le rei, son cosin germein,
Qui tute Sessoine ad suz sa main,
E ke nus menisum defrunt
Le fiz le rei, lenfant Edmund,
Quen Estangle en feisum rei.
Ceo nus fist il plever par fei.
Offe seisi le damisel
En cest realme, par son anel,
Dunt il fu fet rei e sacre,
Kant il fu primes corune.
E nus, segnurs, par la venimes;
Tant parlames, e tant feïsmes,
Ke kant nus de iluc en alames,
En ceste tere lenfant menames.
[E] purquei le vus celerum?
A grant peine conquis le avum.
Kant li reis Offe ad le regne
A Edmund son cosin devise,
Par nus qui la fei enplevimes.
E le serement en feïsmes—
Ki dirra le dreit e le veir?—
Bien il deit estre e rei e heir;
E pur ceo e pur altre rien,

MS. ll. 1657, morte; 1658, serement; 1661, nus returnerum (7 syl.); 1674, primier; 1677, iluc alames (7 syl.); 1679, Purquei (7 syl.); 1681, le rei; regnee; 1683, le fiz; 1684, fesimes.

Dunt jeo vus musterai tres bien,
Le devez choisir e eslire,
Kil seit de vus e rei e sire.
Edmund est mult de halt parage,
E ne est de real liniage,
E la bealte de li est si grant,
Ke en mund ni ad si bel enfant.
E od la grant bealte de li,
Unkes puis ke jeo ne fui,
Ne vi plus sage creature,
De sen, de reisun, de mesure,
Ni qui plus tost seüst juger
Une reisun, ne desreisnier.
Segnurs, mult est lenfant Edmund
De acu sen e de parfunt,
E kant il est cosin le rei
Offe, ki si nus mist par fei,
Kil seit reis de cest païs,
Jeo vus dis bien le mien avis:
Qui ceste chose volt desdire,
Quil ne seit e rei e sire
De cest pais, de cest regne?
Segnurs, sachez en verite,
Ke nus enfin destrut serrum
E le realme perderum,
Kar si son pere en Sessoine,
Ki rei est, oit la grant vergoine
Que vus lavez si refuse,
Bien le di, par ma lealte,
Of mult grant gent sur nus vendra,
E la tere e nus destruera."
Kant il aveit dit e parle
E [si] tut son avis mustre,
Levesque de Norwiz parla,
E tut le poeple lescuta:
"Segnurs," fet il, "ore escutez;

MS. ll. 1691, mlt, 1694, nad (7 syl.); 1701, mlt; 1702, acue; 1709, regnee; 1720, E tut (7 syl.).

Si jeo di bien, sil graäntez.
Mult ad oure li Seneschal
Cume sage home e cum leal,
Cume prudome, cum sene,
Quant nus a le dreit heir mene,
De ceste, nostre regiun,
Dunt estes en contenciun.
Ni entent ni sai plus dreit heir,
Qui mielz deive le regne aveir,
Ke Edmund lenfant, que cist message
Unt amene pur le heritage;
Fiz de rei est, de halte gent,
Cosin Offe e prochein parent
Le rei, qui devant quil fini,
De cest realme le seisi.
Par son anel que a li tramist,
Dunt estes en contenciun.
E od tut ceo, mist ceste gent,
E par fei e par serement,
Ki en cest pais le amenerent,
E qui le message aporterent.
Mult les devum saver bon gre,
Quant vus unt le dreit heir mene.
Jeo vus lo que tuz i alez,
E mult tost a rei le levez."
Tuz se greent, grant e petit,
Mult par ad levesque bien dit.
Dunc se levent tute la gent,
Riche, povre, comunalment,
A une voix, e a un cri,
En un voler sunt [tuz] parmi,
En une mesme volente,
Cume Dieu les out espire.
A Atleburg en vunt, tut dreit,
U li enfant Edmund esteit;

MS. ll. 1724, grantez (7 syl.); 1726-7, cum; 1728, Quant a nus (9 syl.); 1730, Dunt vus estes (9 syl.); 1731, ne—ne sey (7 syl.); 1735, halt (7 syl.); 1753, voyce; 1754, sunt parmi (7 syl.); 1756, cum; 1758, lenfant (7 syl).

Si lunt a Bures, la cite,
Mult honurablement mene.
Iluc le feseient coruner,
E haltement a rei sacrer,
Del evesque, qui Hubert out nun,
Qui par mult grant devociun
Fist le servise e la feste,
Mult haltement, ceo dist la geste.
Bures esteit [une] cite,
En icel tens de antiquite,
De grant honur, de grant noblesce,
E tute de mult grant haltesce;
Kar la soleit hum coruner
Les reis, e enoindre e sacrer,
Qui de Estangle furent eslit.
Tele dignete aveit la cit
De Bures, que encore est assise
Mult bien, e de mult bele guise,
Desur une ewe redde e pure,
Que la gent apelent le Sture;
Marche est e devise certeine,
Entre Estsex e Suthfolc demeine.
Ceste grant chose fu parfeite,
E parfurnie e a chief treite,
Dunt jeo vus ai ici cunte,
Le jur de la nativite.
Del rei des reis, qui tutes choses
Ad en sa poeste encloses
Qui les regiuns done e tolt,
E les despent la u il volt.
Kant Edmund li [tres] seint ber.
Dunt avant vus volum mustrer,
Fu feit cheveteyne e segnur,
E rei [fu] de cel grant honur,
Sapience li fu veisine,

MS. ll. 1763, noun; 1767, esteit dunc cite (7 syl.); 1768, cel (7 syl.); 1772, reis enoyndre (7 syl.); 1773, destangle; 1777, euwe; 1789, li seint ber (6 syl.); 1791, feite cheveteyn; 1792, E rei de (7 syl.).

Ke lenseigne, aprent e doctrine,
E plus e plus i met le sens
En son quer, e en son purpens,
Cum en Dieu se deit contenir,
E coment la gent maintenir,
E cume grant chose ad conquise
E cume grant feisance emprise
E cume grant fes ad sur sei,
Cil qui de tere est prince e rei.
De tut ceo purvit la reisun,
La mesure e la mesprisiun,
Par le conseil de la mestresce,
Sapience, qui est furmeresce
De tutes les choses del mund,
Ke feites e crees [i] sunt;
Omnicreatice la claiment
Tuz cels qui mesure e dreit aiment.
Li ber, Seint Edmund, sa doctrine
[Re] treit bien, e sa discipline;
Sa simplesce ert tant enterine
Dulce, amiable e columbine,
E sa fierte si atempree,
E de tut si a mesuree;
Columb sanz fel vers ses amis
Esteit; e vers ses enemiz
Eveziez plus que [nuls] draguns
Esteit, [e] plus fiers que leuns,
E contre pensez de purpens;
E quanquil diseit esteit sens.
Tant par ert e ferme e estable
En mesure, que unkes diable
Par engin ne [le] purreit feire
De dreit [ni] de reisun retreire;
Ni malengin par coveitise,

MS. ll. 1799, 1800 and 1801, cum; 1808, creez sount (7 syl.); 1812 Ke treit bien; 1815, A sa; 1818-20, . . . vers ses enemys; Eveziez plus que draguns, Esteit plus fiers que nuls leouns; 1825, ne purreit (7 syl.); 1826, De dreit, de reisun (7 syl.).

Quil se retreisist de justise
Nel purreit unc par nul arveire,
Par duns ni promesses deceivre;
E la chose quil ne saveit,
Entendantement enquereit.
La reale veie si erra,
Quil unkes [de]hors n[en] ala;
Ni trop a destre senhalceant,
Ni trop a senestre apuiant
A vice ne a iniquite
Del humaine fragilite;
Issi par reisun e dreiture,
Lestreite line de mesure
Tint; que ultre ne passa vers destre
Ni hors nala devers senestre;
Qui hors de cele line va,
Reisun, dreit ni mesure na.
As vedves e as orfanins
Fu pere pius e enterins,
Francs e larges as besoinus
As povres e as sufreitus.
Tuz jurs recorde en son corage
Le dit ke jadis dit un sage:
"Establi te unt rei e princier?
Ne te voile trop enhalcier,
Meis tel seies entre ta gent,
Si cum un dels comunalment."
Issi fu Seint Edmund as suens
Francs, deboneire e simple e buens;
E pur ceo quil de cels esteit,
Dunt lapostle nus amenteit:
"Nus sumes a Dieu bon odur,

MS. ll. 1828, treisist (7 syl.); 1829-30, arveire: deceivre. I have not ventured to correct to deceveir; both the metre and the e in arveire seem to forbid. 1832, entendantment (7 syl.); 1833, real, issi; 1834, hors ne ala (6 syl.); 1835, enhalceant (7 syl.); 1837, vices ni (9 syl.); 1841, Tant; 1846, puis; 1847, Franc, bosoynus; 1849, iours; 1851, Establete; 1855, a suens; 1856, Franc, bons.

En tuz lius e bone dulceur,
En cele qui perisent defrunt
E en icels qui salf resunt."
Cum par tut flaire le flairur
De Dieu, e de sa dulce odur;
Ceo est la bone renumee
De vie honeste demustree,
Qui esclercist tuz jurs apres,
En bone fame, loinz e pres.
Si fu de la vie al barun,
Seint Edmund, dunt nus ci parlum.
Ceo dit Seint Augustin le grant:
"Vus qui amastes le bien feisant
Vus vesquistes sanz nul retur,
En Dieu e en sa dulce odur."
E par icele odur demeine,
Remort celi qui trop se peine
De envie aver sur tute rien,
Vers celi qui tuz jurs fet bien.
De tels enviüs, a estrus,
Fu Lothebrok li envius,
Qui mult fu riches de grant fin,
Meis trop esteit felun veisin.
Kar fel esteit vers ses procheins,
E mult cruel vers ses lointeins.
Gopil a tuz vers ses parenz,
E enemi a tutes genz.
Lothebrok sune en engleis,
Ruisel hainus [est] en franceis.
Vereiement hainus esteit
Il, e ceo que de li surdeit
Kar il aveit treis fiz feluns,
E si vus dirrai bien lur nuns:
Ingar aveit a nun lainne,
Hubbe laltre, Bern le puisne.

MS. ll. 1867, esclerzist; 1875, icel; 1878, iours; 1884, lonteins; 1887, soune; 1888, hainus en (7 syl.); 1889, Vereyment (7 syl.); 1893, liainne (9 syl.); 1894, Hulbe (?); baerin.

En un angle mananz esteient
De le Danemarche u maneient.
En mer fu cel liu enangle
Mult bien enclos e bien ferme,
Quil ne doteient nules genz,
Ni les Guteis, [de] lur parenz,
Qui cele gent cum mort haieient,
Kar plusurs mals fet les aveient.
Cil Lothebrok e ses treis fiz
Furent de tute gent haïz
Kar utlages furent en mer;
Unk ne finerent de rober
Tuz jurs vesquirent de rapine;
Tere ne cuntree veisine
Nert pres dels, u il, a larun,
Neusent feit envasiun.
De ceo furent si enrichez,
Amuntez e amanantez,
Quil aveient grant aünee
De gent e mult grant asemblee,
Quil aveient en lur companie
Kant errouent od lur navie;
Destrut en aveient meint païs,
Meint poeple destrut e occis.
Nule contree lez la mer,
Ne se poeit dels ja garder.
Iceles genz, ices tiranz
Furent de curages mult granz;
Armes aveient merveiluses,
Granz a demesure e hiduses,
Od tut ceo chescun sa partie
Out de chescune felunie
Ingar ert si fel e culvert,
E de felunie si ouvert,
Ke nul conustre nel poeit,

MS. ll. 1896, Delee danmarch; 1899, nuls; 1900, Guteis lur parenz (7 syl.); 1906 Unkes; 1907, iours; 1914, asemble; 1920, put (7 syl.); 1921, Icels; 1923. merveilouses; 1924, hidouses.

Si fel, si atilus esteit,
Que a nul home ne deïst
Son corage, ne descoverist.
Hubbe fu sorciers, si sout lestre
De sorcierie, si fu mestre;
Ja ne fust host quil surveïst,
Quil od poi de gent ne venquist,
Bern ert si fel e si engres,
De ire anguisuse si ires,
Lire de li fu si ardant,
Suz ciel ni ad home vivant,
Quil esparniast a nul foer,
Kant lire li [a]munte en quer,
Ke de li feist le nes voler,
U oreile u les oilz crever;
Ja ne li fut si fin parent,
Meis il out od li une gent
Granz e membruz, ki le teneient,
Kant ses hees li surveneient.
Un jur vindrent devant le pere,
Ingar, Hubbe e Bern lur frere,
Li murdrer, li engres larun,
Devant lur pere, le felun;
Se sunt asis en sa presence;
Chescun apres laltre comence
A retreire les larecins
Quil unt fet a lur veisins,
Les murdres e les traïsuns,
Les roberies, les arsuns,
Les destrucciuns deglises,
Les aguaiz e les granz occises,
Dunt il unt destrut e gaste
Meinte tere e meinte contree.
Lur pere les oit e entent

MS. ll. 1933, Hulbe (?), si sout tut le estre (9 syl.); 1936, venqueist; 1937, Berin (9 syl.); 1939, Le ire; 1940, nad (7 syl.). 1942, le ire, li munt (7 syl.); 1950, Hulbe, berin; 1955, larcins (7 syl.); 1957, treisun (7 syl.); 1964, orgulousement.

Parler si orgulusement,
Les denz aguisse e cruist e gruint,
Frunce del neis, frunce del frunt,
Roule des oilz od quer enfle,
Ad si respondu e parle;
Od grant dedegne, si ad dit:
Laniers ceo dit—malveis requist!
"Tut est vent quanque vus parlez;
Nest rien de ceo dunt vus vantez
Kanz pais [e] kantes regiuns,
Kantes cites, kantes mansiuns
Avez conquis e purchaciez,
Dunt de rien seiez enhalciez.
Un juvencel, de Sessoine ne,
Nun Edmund, si est nume,
Fiz del rei qui [ore] est segnur
De Sessoine, e qui tient lonur,
Od poi de gent, en mer entra,
Od sul treis nefs, si ariva
En Estangle dunt ore est sire
E reis, e prince del empire.
Le pais ad, e le regne,
Suz sa main, a sa volente.
Quele aventure e quele conqueste
Feïstes unc semblable a ceste?
Ahi! cume feite engendrure
E cume bone nuriture
Ai fet en vus, e quels enfanz
Ke tant par vus feites puisanz!"
Cil sunt de grant ire embrase,
Pur lur pere qui out si parle,
Pur la vergoine quil unt eü.
De la sale se sunt eisu,

MS. ll. 1966, neis; 1970, Lanier ceo ait malveis requist: MS. reading evidently corrupt, and the reading above, suggested by Arnold, is very doubtful; 1973, Kantes pais, kantes; 1974, cites e kantes (9 syl.); 1978, noun, issi; 1982, soul, niefes; 1985, regnee; 1989, cum feit; 1990, cum.

Trestuz pensis, de ire enragez,
Cument purrunt estre vengez
De Edmund, fiz le rei de Sessoine,
Pur qui aveient hunte e vergoine
De lur pere, qui si les laidi;
Mult en sunt irrie e marri -
Purparlant vunt la traisun,
Cument averunt le barun
E puis si unt tuz lur privez,
E lur pere ensemble ajustez;
Conseil les unt de ceo requis,
E il diseient lur avis.
Tant en parlerent en comun,
Quil en furent trestuz en un,
Ke en Estangle dreit en irunt,
E le pais tut destruirunt,
E occirunt tute la gent,
Riches, poures comunalment,
Vielz [e] joefnes, petiz e granz,
Homes e femes e enfanz,
E le rei Edmund, tut primier,
Voldrunt occire e detrenchier.
Dunc feseient lur host banir,
E genz comencent a venir.
Une gent hiduse e grant,
Quaveient orible semblant.
Les uns unt res les chefs amunt,
Tut fors un tup devant le frunt.
E les acuns unt res les chefs
Trestuz fors un tupet detries.
Mulz i vindrent, par mer, par tere,
Armez e prestz de fere guere.
Par mer vindrent de tutes parz,
E en dromunz e en chalanz,

MS. ll. 1999, Edmund le fiz (9 syl.); 2006, peres; 2008, il les diseient (9 syl.); 2015, vielz ioefnes (7 syl.); 2019, feseient tost (9 syl.); 2022, mult orible (9 syl.); 2028, prestez (9 syl.); 2029, tute.

E en esnekes e en hallos, (1)
En bouces, en barges pertros;
Mil nefs en une compainie,
Mult asemblerent grant navie,
Ke tute fu la mer coverte,
De cele pute gent culverte.
Quant il unt apreste lur eire
En la mer se mettent aneire,
En halte mer sen vunt siglant,
Trestuz emsemble, en un tenant.
Tant unt par cele mer erre,
E tant curu e tant sigle
Par aces e par amuntes,
Unt tant sigle par lur jurnes,
Quil unt Engletere choisie,
Si laprochent od lur navie;
En dreit del païs del North erent,
Tant cururent, quil ariverent
Juste la mer, sur la costere,
Od lur estoire grant e fiere;
Kar nul port receivre ne pout
Lestoire, tantes nefs i out,
Dunt la compainie fu tant grant.
Ceo fu endreit Northumberland,
U cele gent sunt arivee.
Il sespandent par la contree.
Minut ert, les cokes chantanz
Kant cels laruns, cels malfesanz
Se mistrent parfunt en le païs,
Bien uit liwes u neuf u dis.
Ceo fut Ingar qui la avala;
Sur la marine Hubbe leissa.
Damparz trestuz [dunc] se armerent
E lur batailes [si] contrerent,

MS. ll. 2033, niefes; 2035, tut; 2052, niefes; 2053, tan; 2057, mynute; 2060, nef; 2063, Trestuz se (7 syl.); 2064, batailes, contreerent.

Note (1): *hallos*: I have been unable to identify this word. Possibly it is a mutilated form of *chaloupe*.

Quil furent al albe aparant,
Kant le jur vait esclarisant,
Trestuz aprestez de mal fere.
Li enemi, li adversaire.
Dunc se desrengent e dereient,
Ardent e robent tut, e preient.
Es liz occient les dormanz,
E tut destrenchent les veilanz;
Nul ne poet aver garisun,
Ne de sa vie ranciun,
Ke tut ne seit a mort livere,
Kanque ateint unt e encontre.
Cil ki de Ingar poet eschaper
Nad u fuir fors vers la mer;
Al encontrer ne poet guandir
De Hubbe, quil nestuet morir.
Ne aveient garisun ne ados
De mort le poeple quil unt enclos
De lur deus hosts e de lur gent,
Ke occis ne seient a turment.
Quant cele grant preie unt acquise
E fet aveit la grant occise,
Ingar li fel, [li] vezier lere,
Prist conseil a Hubbe son frere,
Kil lerait la li e sa gent,
Si ireit devers oriënt;
La meite del hoste i menereit,
E laltre meite li lerreit.
Kant ceo fut purparle e fet,
En mer se mette, si sen vet.
Od grant estoire, od grant navie,
Od merveiluse compainie,
Se mistrent en la halte mer.
Unc ne finirent de sigler
Tanquil vindrent a un port,

MS. ll. 2068, adversiere; 2070, Ardent robent (7 syl.); 2071, En liz; 2073, poeit; 2075, morte; 2077, poeit; 2078, fuer; 2081, ne; 2082, del morte; 2083, hostes; 2085, prei; 2087, li fel vezier (7 syl.).

Ke la gent claime Orefort,
Ke dunc ert une grant cite,
Anciene, de antiquite.
Devant le port, loinz en la mer,
Leisserent sigles avaler:
De tutes parz ancre se sunt;
Desque la nut attendu unt.
Quant il vienent a la nuitant,
[E] quil virent le flot muntant,
Mult tost se sunt desaäncre,
E enz le port sunt tuz entre,
Tuit alarun, cum gopilz,
Qui par nut cerche les cortilz
Pur les gelins, le [fel] vilain
Dunt volt aver son ventre plain;
E cume lou, fel e maldiz,
Qui entre en la falde as brebiz,
Quant est endormi le pastur;
Si fist Ingar, le traïtur,
Ki en la tere des Estangleis.
Vint cume beste muntaneis,
Kant les genz furent en lur liz,
E les poeples furent endormiz.
En la cite subdeinement
Entra, il e tute sa gent;
Quant veit que les ad si surpris,
Des katre parz unt le feu mis;
Dunc pristrent tut comunalment,
Le aver, les dras, le or e le argent,
La cite mistrent en carbun,
Puis feseient tele occisiun,
De la cheitive gent ke [i] erent
Qui garde dels ne se donerent,
Bouche de home nel poet dire.

MS. ll. 2104, leissierent; 2106, nute; 2107, E quant il veient (9 syl.); 2108, Quil virent (7 syl.); 2111, cum; 2112, nute; 2113, le vilain (7 syl.); 2115, cum; 2117, pastour; 2118, treitour § 2120, cum; muntaneis; 2125, supris; 2131, ki.

La occise e la grant martire
Des cheitives e des cheitis;
Nul ne poet dels esturtre vifs,
Quil en lur glaive [n] encheïsent,
E que orible mort ne suffrisent.
Feseient lur iniquite
E ravirent la chastete
Des espuses e des puceles,
Des vedves e des damiseles;
A grant dolur les demenerent
E huntusement les vergunderent,
E puis apres, a mort les mistrent,
E detrenchierent e occistrent.
Les baruns, veanz lur muliers
Deglagierent les aversiers;
E les muliers tut ensement,
Mistrent a mort e a turment.
Joefnes e vielz, petiz e granz,
E les enfanz, [les] alaitanz,
Destrenchierent e esbuelrent,
Occistrent e a mort getterent.
Kant lur eschet unt iluc feit,
Amunt el païs se sunt treit.
Tut altre tel funt les tiranz
Des gaäinurs, des païsanz
Tuz les [i] unt morts e occis
E lur aver robe e pris,
Fors la cheitive vilanaile,
La povre gent e la rascaile,
Quil dedegnerent a tuer,
E lur branz en els besordier.
A icels parle Ingar e dist:
"Vifs vus ai leisse par despist,

MS. ll. 2137, glaime, encheisent (7 syl.); 2139, E feseient (9 syl.); 2141, de; 2142, de (bis); 2145, 2150, morte; 2152, enfanz alaitanz (7 syl.); 2154, morte; 2156, en le (9 syl.); 2158, gagneurs (7 syl.); 2159, unt mort e occis (7 syl.); 2162, poure (v and u indistinguishable); 2165, cels (7 syl.).

Quen vostre sanc ne voil muiller
Mes beles armes ni soiller.
E si vus volez vie aver,
Si me dites tost le veir,
De Edmunt, le rei de cest païs.
U hante, u est il estaïs?"
Cels aveient pour de morir,
Nel osent celer ne coverir;
Ainz repundent: "A Hailesdun;
Iloc [ore] meint, ceo dit hum."
Ingar li fel, Dieu enemis,
De males arz coint e apris,
Ententivement le quereit;
Kar sovent dire oï aveit.
Ke Edmund, li seint glorius rei,
Out mult bones teches en sei;
Quil ert joefnes, dentur trent anz,
Pruz bacheler, forz e valianz;
En bataile hardi e fiers.
Pur ceo se hasta le aversers,
De tuz occire e [tuz] tuer.
Kanque en la tere poet trover,
Ke li reis sucurs nen oüst,
Dunt il defendre se poüst.
Pur ceo se hasta Inguar sanz fable,
Li fel, li membres al diable,
De tost errer, de tost occire
Quanquil pout trover en lempire;
E bien sout que li reis naveit
Defense u garir se purreit,
En Hailesdun, en cel hamel,
Ke ert loinz de burc e de chastel,
(Le Ham, le bois le ewe de le,
Tut est Hailesdun apelle.)
U li chivaler Crist Jesu,

MS. ll. 2175, respounent; 2176, Iloc meint, home (7 syl.); 2177, le; 2184, fort; 2186, li (9 syl.); 2187, occire e tuer (7 syl.); 2188, poeit; 2192, membre (7 syl); 2199, euwe.

Seint Edmund, a cele ore fu.
Ingar li Achemenien,
Ki unkes ore ne fit bien,
Derrer se haste e se desreie,
A grant espleit [si] tient sa veie,
Tanquil meïsmes venu sunt.
A la vile u ert Seint Edmund.
Dunc ad pris un son chivaler,
Si en ad fet son messagier
"Va tost," fet il, "e tost revien,
Al rei Edmund, si li di bien,
A mei se rende e de mei tienge
Son regne, e mon home devienge;
E si me dune tut son tresor,
Son aver, son argent, son or,
Treü me rende chescun an,
Del regne, quant orra mon ban,
E en mes dieus, u me affi tant
Creie, e les seit obeissant,
Sul issi vers mei se humilie,
Asez tost li lerrai la vie
Si a mei ne se voult obeir,
De dure mort lestuet morir,
E il e trestute sa gent:
Ceo li dites seürement.
Ne aëz ja nule poür;
Nus serrum pres a tun retur.
Li messager si [tost] sen vait,
E dreit a Hailesdun se trait.
A la porte vint, si hucha,
E le porter li demanda:
"Ki es tu? va! que vols? que quiers?"
Cil dit: "Jeo su un messagiers;
Parler voldrai od vostre rei."
Le porter dit: "Attendez mei;

MS. ll. 2202, 2204, ;oure; 2206, espleit-teint (seven syl.); 2207, mesmes; 2211, reveien; 2213, teinge; 2215, doune; 2223, voult; 2224, morte; 2227, nul; 2228, retour; 2229, si sen vait (7 syl.).

Jeo irrai a li, si lenquerei,
Quil voldra, si vus [le] dirrei."
Le porter va al rei nuncier,
"Que a la porte ad un messager,
E si voldreit a vus parler."
Li reis respont: "Leissel entrer."
Li messager est venu avant,
Oiant Seint Edmund maintenant,
E oaint trestute sa gent,
Dist son message hardiement:
"Reis," fet il, "entendez a mei,
E tuz cels altres que ci vei.
Ingar, qui mult feit a duter,
En tut le siecle, en tere en mer,
Ki unkes jur vencu ne fu,
Ne james ne serra vencu,
Ki [si] est nostre lige sire,
Finablement vus mande a dire:
Que vers cest païs ad conquis
Plusurs teres, plusurs païs,
Dunt tuz les poeples sunt enclin
A son comandement enfin.
Ore est en cest regne arive,
Quil [ja] mult par ad desire,
Od grant estoire, od grant navie;
Aver en volt la segnurie.
E en cest pais volt ester
Tut cest iver e sujurner.
Si vus mande ke a li venez,
E tost son home devenez,
E de li tiengez vostre honur,
Cume de vostre chief segnur:
Chescun an treü li rendez,
Tantost cum vus son ban oirez.

MS. ll. 2238, vus dirrei (7 syl.); 2242, lessel; 2248, autre; 2251, iour; 2253, Ki est (7 syl.); 2257, tut le poeple est (7 syl.); 2260, Quil mult (7 syl.); 2264, suiourner; 2267, honour; 2268, cum; segnour.

E si li donez errantment,
Tut vostre aver, or e argent,
E ken sa creance creez,
E Crestiente reneiez.
Feites ceo, ceo vus mande il bien;
E si vus retreiez de rien,
Vus perderez mult tost la vie,
E le regne e la segnurie;
Grant turment vus estuet sufrir
E puis de orible mort morir.
Reis, responez sanz [nul] delai,
A mon segnur le nuncierai."
Quant li seintime reis ceo oï,
De parfunt quoer gemist e fremi,
E suspira od grant dolur,
E od grant ire e od tristur.
E un son evesque apella,
Ki ert son prive, si demanda,
Quel conseil aver en purreit,
E que, sur ceo li respondereit?
E cil li conseila e dist,
E loa bien quil [tut ceo] feist,
Kanque Ingar li aveit mande
Pur aver vie e salvete;
Prendre purreit confessiun,
Quant ale sen fut li felun.
Kant li reis loit si regarda
Vers la tere, un poi sembruncha,
Aval regarda, si se tout.
Quant une piece pense out,
Cuntre munt ad son chief leve;
Oiez quil ad dit e parle:
"Evesque, Dieus, dunt surst tut bien,
Ki justise est de tute rien,

MS. ll. 2271, erraument; 2276, vus vus retreiez (9 syl.); 2280, morte; 2281, sanz delai (7 syl.); 2283, seintim rey; 2284, quor; 2288, privee; 2292, quil-feist (6 syl.); 2297, lout; 2297, agarde a; 2299 esgarda; 2304, justis, tut.

Il seit [ore] temoin de mei,
Ke empereör, prince ne rei,
Ne nul hum que seit ne en mund,
Ne departira mei, Edmund,
Mort ne vif, de la charite.
Jesus Crist quen croiz fu pene,
Ki anel de fei jeo ai receu,
Al funz kant jeo baptise fu,
U deniai e deguerpi
Del tut, Sathanas lenemi,
E ses ovres e ses pompees,
Les males les demesurees."
Dunc dist li seint reis dreiturer,
E si parla al messagier:
"Digne fussez de aver la mort
Des mains des miens, meis jeo record
Ke Jesu nostre salveür,
Pur nus suffrit mort e dolur,
Pur ceo ne te voil adeser,
Ne mes mains en tei maculer.
En le nun Dieu, voil la mort sufrir,
Mielz qua vostre rei obeir.
Va ten mult test e si li di
Ceste response que as ci oï."
A peine aveit ces moz pardiz
Li seintim reis, e parfurniz;
A peine aveit turne son oil,
E li messager passe le soil,
Ai vus! encuntre le fricun
Ingar, li engres felun.
Al messagier dist par desrei:
"Di mei la response le rei."
E cil li dist de mot en mot,

MS. ll. 2305, seit temoyne (7 syl.); 2306, eperur; 2307, home; 2310, croice; 2312, baptice; 2319, morte; 2320, De maynes, recorde; 2322, morte; 2324, me; 2325, noun, voile, morte; 2328, cest respons; 2329, payne; 2331, payne; 2332, out passe (10 syl.); 2336, tost les respons (9 syl.).

Cume li reis respondu out.
E li tiranz, kant le entendi,
Si comanda tost e bani,
Ke tute sa gent sespandisent,
E [tuz] tuassent e ocisent,
E de querre mult les somunt,
Nomeement le rei Edmunt,
Ki dedegne ses leis tenir,
E a ses preceptes obeir.
Cels sespandent amunt, aval,
Qui mult coveiterent le mal.
Kanquil troverent detrenchierent
E occistrent e deglagierent,
En la vile de Hailesdun.
Tut pristrent li colvert larun
Le aver ke en la vile troverent;
Naveit meisun quil ne pelfrirent.
Dunc sunt dreit al paleis veneu
U le ami Dieu, Seint Edmund fu,
Cume le membre Jesu Crist,
Trestut sul en son paleis sist.
Kant choisi lunt, mult tost fu pris;
A tere lunt gette e mis,
E puis apres li unt liez.
Estreitement, e mains e piez
Dunc lunt les feluns treine,
E pardevant Ingar mene,
Li colvert duc, de mal esclate.
Cum Jesu fu devant Pilate,
Sestut devant li, li seint rei,
Arme de creance e de fei,
Ki coveite ensivre la trace
De Jesu Crist, qui par sa grace
Suffrit e mort e passiün
Pur nus e pur nostre ranceun.

MS. ll. 2338, cum; 2339, tirant; 2342, E tuassent, occeissent (7 syl.); 2344, nomement; 2357, cum; 2358, soul; 2364, amene (9 syl.); 2372, raanceun (9 syl.).

Seint Edmund tienent ferme lie
Devant le tirant enrage.
De meinte manere gabe
Lunt, e laidi e buffete.
Puis lunt mene demeintenant
De iloc, les ministres al tirant,
E en menant lunt si batu
Pur poi que [li reis] mort ne fu;
E dunc lunt amene tut dreit,
A un arbre, qui pres esteit.
Apres, le unt, la malveise gent,
Al arbre lie fermement;
E puis forment le turmenterent,
E batirent e flaëlerent,
E de bastuns puinals mult granz
E descurgez e de verganz.
Unkes hum de mere nasquit,
Ki tant mortel dolur suffrit;
Unkes pur ceo vencu ne fu,
Kil napellast le nun Jesu,
Ki pur nus fu mis en la croiz,
Plurant od mult pituse voiz.
Kant les turmenturs ceo veieient,
Ke par tant veindre nel purreient,
Enragez sunt, de ire embrasez
Pur poi quil ne sunt forsenez.
Tuz a un bruit les enemis
Lur saïtes, lur arcs unt pris,
Lur pilez e lur darz aguz,
E lur gavelocs esmoluz,
Un poi se esloignent del seint rei
E dunc traïstrent par grant desrei,
Trestuz al cors del seint martir,
Ensemble, par si grant aïr,
Que les braz li unt estroez,

MS. ll. 2380, que mort (6 syl.); 2381, mene (7 syl.); 2388, descurgiez; 2389, home; 2393, croice; 2394, voice; 2395 , veient (7 syl.); 2399, seites (7 syl.); 2402, gavelokes.

Quises e geambes e costez,
Par mi le dos, par mi lentraile,
E parmi la mestre coraile,
Parmi le chief e la cervele,
Parmi le ventre e la boele;
Lunt trespercie de tutes parz
Saïtes, gavelocs e darz.
Tant trait e tant lancie unt
Al cors del seint martir, Edmund.
Tant i treistrent espessement,
E pilez e darz ensement,
Ke lune plaie en laltre [s]ovre,
Kant la saïte liu recovre,
E tant espes i sunt li dart,
Kant il les traient cele part,
Ke lune escorche laltre el cors,
U de laltre part le boute hors.
Tant i out des darz grant fuisun,
En le cors del seintime barun,
Pel de hericeon resembla,
U tel fuisun despines a.
Il nout ne braz, ne poinz, ne pie,
Que plein ne fut de darz fiche
E de saïtes e de darz
Tant en [i] out de tutes parz
Ke nul ne pout de oil choisir.
La char del seintime martir.
Quant li cruel Ingar veit
Quil ne poeit en nul endreit,
Fere Seint Edmund, le martir,
A ses comandemenz obeir,
Ni obeir a ses comanz,
Dunc comanda li fel tiranz
As turmenturs qui pres [i] erent,

MS. ll. 2414, Seites (7 syl.); 2419, oure (7 syl.); 2421, espesse; 2423, escoche, en cors; 2426, seintim, 2427, hericiun;, 2430, fichee; 2432, en out (7 syl.); 2433, put; 2434. seintim; 2439, Ne; 2441, turmentours qui pres erent (7 syl.).

Ke cruelement le turmenterent,
Ke la teste tost li colpassent.
E ignelement decolassent.
Li decoleür veint avant
Al seint martir, Dieu reclamant,
Jesu Crist od pituse voiz,
Qui pur nus fu mis en la croiz;
Sicum il pout, mult reclama
Jesu Crist e sovent noma,
Tanque le seintime martir
Pout de la lange mot furnir;
Si fu ateint quil ne pout plus;
Li decoleür fist son us.
Le seint martir ad deslie,
E del fut sanglant lad sache.
Enperce fu de tutes parz,
E de saïtes e de darz,
Ken le dur fust enserre esteient,
Al sacher en le fust remaneient;
E parmi le cors se conduistrent,
E les fieres plaies remistrent,
Tant espessement en le cors
Ke point dentre ne piert de hors,
U le point tuchast dun pointel,
Que blesmie ne fust la pel
Del seint martir, del bon barun;
Mult suffrit peine e passiun,
A peine en le cors li bateit
Lalme; tant turmente esteit,
Ka peine pout ester sur piez.
Li decoleür si fu irez,
Si li comanda maintenant,
Ke le chief estendit avant
Que soleit estre corunee,
E de reale curune urnee.

MS. ll. 2443 le 2447, piteuse; voyce; 2448, croyce 2451, seint (6 syl.); 2457, enberse; 2458, seites (7 syl.); 2458, dure; 2469, en cors (7 syl.); 2475, ia soleit (9 syl.); corune; 2476, real, urne.

Li martir Dieu, nostre segnur,
Sestut devant les turmenturs,
Si cum li mutun qui est esliz
De tute la falde de berbiz,
Ke mort e sacrifice atent,
Si fist le seint hum ensement,
Ki volt sa vie teriene
Changier pur la celestiene,
Ententif en Dieu benefice,
Atent de sei le sacrifice,
Repleniz de bone manere,
De la pardurable lumere,
De la quele en ceste bataile,
Volt estre resaziez sanz faile.
Entre les urisuns quil fist
Vers son salveur, Jesu Crist,
Li decoleür ad de sespee
A un cop sa teste copee.
Issi departit de cest mund,
Lalme del seint martir, Edmund;
Issi otrea a suffrir
Dieus [St.] Edmund, son cher martir,
Pur li e son seintime nun,
Martire e mort e passiun.
E de sa vie prist amendes,
En le tens del duzime Kalendes
De Decembre; ceo dit lestoire,
Ke Dieus le resceust en sa gloire
E quil suffrit le sacrifice
De sei, pur Dieu e seinte eglise.
En la fin de sa passiun
Resceust tele expurgaciun,
Ke plus fu purge e pruve,
Que ne [l]est fin or esmere.
Od la victoire que out conquise,

MS. ll. 2478, turmentour; 2494, test; 2498, Dieus Edmund (7 syl.); 2499, seintim noun; 2500, martir, morte; 2501, ¶; 2506, pur (bis) (9 syl.); 2509 pruvee; 2510, ne est (7 syl.).

E od la corune de justise,
Entra en pardurable bien
En seint cene celestiën.
Par cele eissue vereiment
De mort e de cruciement,
Quil [si] out de son cors sufferte,
Par lur mal, nient par sa deserte,
E quil out ensuwi la trace
De Jesu Crist, qui par sa grace,
Suffrit e mort e passiun,
Pur nus e nostre raänceun
Cil pur saner nus en ceste vie
De pechie, de mal, de folie,
A la columpne u fut lie,
Ne pas pur sei son sanc espandie
Meis pur nus il leissa ensegnes
Des bateures e des engreines,
Quil suffrit pur nus salver
E pur nus hors denfer getter;
E cist pur la gloire conquere,
Ke unkes ne falt, suffrit en tere,
Liez al fut sanglant, tele peine,
Pur lamur Jesu Crist demeine.
Cil, Dieus e hum entier en vie,
Pur hoster de nus la felonie,
E la roile de nos pechiez,
De gre suffrit que cloufichiez
Fut, par mi piez e par mi mainz,
De clous de fer, hidus griffains.
Icist pur la veire amiste
De Jesu Crist fu trespercie
De pilez, darz e gavelos
Parmi la meule e [par] les os,
Ke tut son cors, de tutes parz
De pilez, gavelos e darz,

MS. ll. 2517, Quil out, suffert (7 syl.); 2518, desert; 2521, morte, 2523, Cil Dieus (10 sly.); 2532, suffri; 2533, a fu 2535, home; 2537, le roile; 2544, e les os (7 syl.).

Ert si covert que rien ne piert
Del cors, qui dedens enclos ert,
Ke tut decire vereiment
Fut del aspresce e del turment,
E humblement li martir Crist
En la confessiun parmist
E al darein en pacience,
Resceust la capitale sentence:
Quil eüst la teste copee
E bien loinz del cors desevree.
[E] le cors issi destrenchie
E de pilez si herice,
Leisserent iloques sanz fable,
Les feluns ministrals al diable.
Ingar li felun, li tirant,
Le engres larun, le suduiant,
La teste del martir ad portee,
E par malice loinz gettee,
Bien loinz del cors en un buissun,
Celeement tut cum larun,
En un rufflei que espes esteit,
Que nul avenir ne poeit,
En [mi] le bois de Hailesdun,
Kant sen alerent li felun
Od lur grant host, de la contree.
La teste unt pur ceo desevree
Loinz del cors: que ne la trovassent
Cristiens, ni al cors lajustassent
E que en honeste sepulture
Ne meïssent par aventure,
Le chief e le cors ensement,
Del martir Dieu omnipotent.
Un hum de la cristiene lei
Ert eschape del grant desrei

MS. ll. 2555, out; 2556, desevre; 2557, Le cors (7 syl.); 2559, iluc (7 syl.); 2564, malisce si loinz (9 syl.); 2567, espesse; 2569, En le (7 syl.); 2573, nel (7 syl.); 2574, la iustassent; 2579, home, del, lay; 2580, desray.

[E] de la grant occisiun;
En [mi] le bois de Hailesdun
Se esteit pur la poür muscie,
E en un rufflei se ert fichie,
Qui Dieus aveit feit eschaper,
Pur ceste grant chose mustrer.
Par Dieu e par sa purveance
Vist il trestute la feisance,
E bien nota, en son aguait,
Le hidus e le horible feit
Del seint martir, del rei Edmund,
Quanque les feluns feit li unt;
Les granz peines e le turment,
Trestut le vist apertement.
Meis del chief, puis quil le colperent
Ne sout cume loinz le porterent;
Meis tant vist bien, que porte lunt,
Les murdrers ens en le bois parfunt.
E puis apres, quant païs venue
Fu as eglises e rendue
E les Cristiens se leverent
De plusurs lius, u musciez erent,
Grant ire en unt e grant dolur,
De la mort lur tres cher segnur.
Ententivement demande
En unt entre els la verite
Del cors e del chief ensement,
De lur segnur dunt sunt dolent,
Cum il les purrunt assembler;
Kar a grant honur enterer
Le voldreient a lur poeir;
Mult le desirerent a aveir.
Kant alez furent les frarins,
Les feluns murdrers Sarazins,
En lur païs, u il ainz furent,

MS. ll. 2581, De la (7 syl.); 2582, En le (7 syl.); 2596, cum; 2604, morte.

Kant vers Engletere sesmurent,
E les Cristiëns revenuz
Sunt, qui esteient espanduz,
Fuiz e musciez e repost,
Pur Ingar, e [pur] son grant host;
Kant il se sunt aseüre,
Ensemble se sunt asemble,
Pur quere le cors e le chief,
De lur segnur dunt lur est grief.
Il quierent ententivement,
E si troverent errantment
E virent le cors del martir,
Sanz teste a la tere gesir;
En meime le liu lunt trove
U li seint rei fu decole,
U son curs aveit acumpli
E del tut vencu lenemi.
Cels dentur qui fuïz esteient,
E merci Dieu uncore viveient,
De tutes parz i aünerent,
E corurent e asemblerent,
Pur la remembrance e lamur
Del seint rei, de lur segnur.
E pur la pitie des bienfaiz,
E des granz biens quil les out faiz,
Comencerent tuz a plurer,
E mult grant doel a demener;
Kant il nunt le chief trove
Od le cors, mult lur ad peise;
Mult par en sunt triste e dolent.
Meis Dampnedieus omnipotent,
Par sa halte benignite.
Les ad tost en quoers espire,
Quil a celi demandereient,
E mult vivement requereient,
Kel bois fu muscie en laguait.
E vist tute le ovre e le fait.

MS. ll. 2620, e son (7 syl.); 2639, de; 2640 de; 2645, tristes (9 syl.)· 2649, demandeient, 2652, tut.

Demande lunt e si enquis,
E il les dist tut son avis,
De mot en mot trestut les dist
[Tut] ceo quil sout, e ceo quil vist,
E dit bien quil vit saieter
Le seint martir, e puis colper
La teste, e cels qui la colperent
Oveke els el bois la porterent;
Bien vit que els issi departirent,
Meis del chief ne sout quil [puis] firent,
E bien sucha en son curage,
Ke li chief remist el boscage.
La gent al seint quant ceo oïrent,
Par [mi] le bois se departirent,
Od lur maisnie e od lur forz,
Od cors pur quere le chief del cors;
Si aveient entrels purparle,
Ke cil qui eust le chief trove,
Haltement son cor cornereit
E les altres apelereit.
E si soucherent bien pur veir,
Cels qui erent pur le chief cerchir,
Ke li Sarazin sudduiant
Lur fole siwte cultivant,
Envie aveient de nostre lei,
De la creance e de la fei;
Pur ceo aveient le chief desevre,
[E] loinz del cors en le bois porte,
E muscie en alcun rufflei,
En buisun u en genestei,
U reposte la seinte teste
Unt, suz alcune vile bleste,
U gettee pur devorer,

MS. ll. 2656, Ceo quil (7 syl.); seust; 2660, Ovekes (9 syl.); 2662, quil firent (7 syl.); 2665, oyerent; 2666, Par le bois (7 syl.); 2667, maisnee od (7 syl.); 2668, cornes (10 syl.); 2671, corne; 2677, lay; 2678, fay; 2680, Loinz (7 syl.); 2681, acun; rifflei; 2684, Aveient (10 syl.); 2685, gette (7 syl.).

U a farein u a senglier,
Ke Cristiëns ne la trovassent,
Ni al seint cors [ne] lasemblasent,
Ne a ceo feisent enterement
Od grant honur devotement.
Les Cristiëns, la bone gent,
Funt lur primier purposement;
Par la selve vunt maintenant
Amunt, aval, le chief querant,
Del seintime martir Edmund.
Querent aval, querent amunt,
Querent en buisun e en broile.
Desuz branches, e desuz foile,
En espesse e desuz plaissie,
Partut unt quis, partut cerchie;
Tant quen un espes espinei,
Tut enclos dun grant runcerei,
Oïrent une voiz lointeine
Meis nesteit mie halteine.
Oiez miracle e grant vertu!
En le siecle tel oi ne fu:
Le chief, del cors bien loinz sevre,
Getta voiz, si ad parle
Sanz aïe e sanz matere
De veine u de nerf u dartere.
Les quereürs, quant ceo oïrent,
En querant, cele part tendirent,
Pas devant pas, partut querant,
E tut entur, en halt criant:
"U es tun chief, martir, seint rei,
La plus principale part de tei?
U est, u est, martir Edmund?"
La langue el chief dit e respund,
Par treis feiz, "Her, her, her!"
Unc ceo ne fina de crier,

MS. ll. 2688, cors, lasemblasent (7 syl.); 2690, devoutement. 2695, Seintim; 2697, broil; 2698, foil; 2701, Tan; 2702, runcei (7 syl.); 2703, voice, oyerent; 2712, 2716, parte; 2718, respound.

Sulum le language as Engleis;
Ceo est a dire en [language] franceis:
"Ici, ici, ici," ceo dit.
Issi est note e escrit.
Tuz a ceste voiz treiz se sunt
Envirun, puis ke veü lunt.
La langue morte fiert e tuche
As denz desuz, a overte buche,
Es joes de la morte teste,
E le paleis desus sareste.
Unkes miracle plus verais,
Dè cest ne fut, ni ert jamais.
Neïs del asne Balaän
Ke parla en liu de Rechan,
Pur la folie del prophete,
Qui en ceo nesteit pas discrete.
Cest miracle, ceste feisance
Otrea Dieu, en sa puissance,
Qui vit e regne omnipotent,
Tut dis e pardurablement,
A son tres pretiüs ami,
Ki par martire deservi,
E par turment e par [sa] peine,
La dulce gloire sovereine (1) *Miraculum.*
Li formeür de tut le mund.
Le pretiüs martir Edmund,
De un altre miracle embeli;
Fors cel, unc tel ne fu oï.
La gent ki si feitement virent.
La teste parler e oïrent
Aparceürent de lez la teste
Un grant lou, une fiere beste,
Ki out mis amedeus ses powes,
Des deus parz le chief, lez les jowes;
Issi out le chief enbracie,

MS. ll. 2721, la; 2722, en franceis (6 syl.); 2725, voice, 2726, vi; 2728, bouche; 2732, ne ert (7 syl.); 2737, cest; 2738, e sa; 2743, par peine (7 syl.); 2750, oierent; 2752, Une; 2754, De.

Note (1). In red.

Que son groin aveit apuie
Sur le frunt, mais la face aperte
Out, e la buche descoverte,
Dunt la langue uncore moveit,
E "her, her, her," sovent diseit.
Cil lou a la tere se just,
Tut en pes, ke unkes ne se must;
E a tere ses geambes teneit
Le seint chief, dunt gardein esteit,
Si se peina del chief garder,
Ke unkes nel leissa adeser
A beste ni a altre rien.
Mult par le garda li lou bien;
Sa salvagesce vereiment,
Sa rage e son devurement,
Si ublie del tut esteit,
Ke a rien fors al chief ne entendeit.
Cels qui virent esbaï sunt;
Cors et buisines corne unt;
De tutes parz i acururent
Tuz cels qui entre el bois furent.
Cels qui cele merveile virent
De grant maniere se esbaïrent
Kant la gent ert tute asemblee,
E la merveile unt esgardee,
Lespes runcerei deslacierent,
E vers le seint chief se aprochierent.
Tost se leva la beste fiere,
Quant ceo vit, si treist ariere,
E cels od grant devociün,
Od chant e od processiün,
La seinte teste quil troverent,
A son seintime cors porterent,
E li lou en pres els veneit,
Pas devant pas, pres le siweit,

MS. ll. 2756, apoue; 2759, uncor; 2763, chambes; 2767, ne (7 syl.); 2770, devourement; 2771, del tut en tut (10 syl.); 2774, Cornes; 2777, cel; 2778, esbaierent; 2780, le; 2788, seintim.

Triste e dolent mult en sa guise;
Quil unt de li la teste prise,
Dunt il esteit mestre e gardein.
La fiere beste, li farein,
Les siut apres, bon aleüre,
Deske al liu de la sepulture,
Quil unkes home ne tucha
Ni ne laidi [ni] ne blecha.
Meis simplement cum un aigniel,
Les siut apres desqual tumbel.
Quant il out [si] grant piece este,
E en sa guise doluse,
Ariere sen vait maintenant,
Dreit al bois u il fut devant.
Mult se merveilerent la gent
Del lou e del contenement;
Veient que ceo ert la Dieu vertu;
Ke unke mes ne aveient veü
Nul si fier lou en lur vivant,
Si hidus, si fort ne si grant.
La laie gent e la clergie
Qui aveit quis e purchace
Cele tres chere margarite,
Pretiuse, entere e parfite,
Cel tresor [e] cel grant honur,
Le seintim cors del cher segnur;
Par grant entent e grant queintise
E par lasent de seinte eglise,
La seinte teste, a mielz quil sourent,
E al plus bel quil unke pourent
Al seintime cors ajusterent,
E devutement aturnerent;
E la char e la pel dehors
Del col se joinst si ferme al cors

MS. ll. 2798, ne ne laidi ne blecha (7 syl.); 2800, pres; 2801 out grant piece (7 syl.); 2804, fust; 2815, tresor cel (7 syl.); honour; 2816, seint (7 syl.); segnour; 2819, sorent; 2820, porent; 2821, seintim, iusterent; 2822, devoutement; 2824, si oinst.

Cum il fut ainz quant il vif fu;
Ceo fu miracle e grant vertu.
E puis apres lensevelirent,
E sur sa tumbe fere firent
Une loge, une chapelette,
Ne mie grant, meis petitette,
U li seint reis, de Dieu ame,
Just maint an puis entere.
A cele fez ne pourent plus fere,
Pur la poür del aversaire,
Ingar, dunt sunt espoürez,
Qui mult sovent les out laidez.
E puis quant la pes vint en tere,
E aquaise fu la grant guere,
E la tempeste fu remise,
E pes revint a seinte eglise,
E le poeple, qui espandu,
E partut esparpilie fu,
Revindrent a possessiüns,
E as teres e as mansiüns;
E il furent aseüre,
Dunc se sunt entrels purpense
Del corseint del martir Edmund,
Que trop longement sufert lunt
E trop longement lunt leisse
Gisir suz si povre fie
E en si povre meisonette,
Si estreite, si petitette.
Ereer en volent par saveir,
E tut altre conseil aveir.
Li corseint en tel povre hostel,
Seint fu [ja] e espiritel,
Ki de la main Dieu beneit fu,
Out meint an en tere geü,

MS. ll. 2926, mracle; 2830, petitete; 2831, rei; 2833, porent; 2834, aversiere; 2842, esparplie; 2848, logment; 2849, longment, leisie; 2850 and '51, poure; 2852, petitete; 2855, poure; 2856, fu e (7 syl.).

E ki pur lanur Jesus Crist,
En cel liu maint miracle fist,
E mainte vertu mult sovent,
Veant le poeple e la gent;
Cume de avugles alumer,
E de meuz rendre le parler,
E cume les sourz fere oïr,
E devez en lur sens venir,
E des contrez rendre le aler,
E cume langurus saner.
De tutes parz i acururent
Les bones genz qui entur furent,
Mult par i aveit grant repaire,
De grant gent a icele afaire.
La rascaile e la povre gent
Ni vindrent mie soventement,
Meis les plus riches del païs
E qui plus erent poestis,
Cum evesques e cum abez
E cume plusurs ordenez,
Cuntes, baruns e chivalers,
E bacheliers e esquiers,
Citeeins, burgeis e paisanz,
Riches, povers, petiz e granz,
I soleient mult repairer,
E od lur lumere esveiler.
Ses homes qui encore viveient,
E quen lur remembrance aveient
E lamur e la companie
De li, e de sa segnurie,
La dulceür e les granz buntez
Quil out feit [en]vers ses privez,
Mistrent en quoer e en corage,
Que voelent de tel liu salvage

MS. ll. 2863, cum de avougles; 2865, oyer; 2866, vener; 2868, cum; 2870, bone, que entur (7 syl.); 2872, icel a faire; 2873, poure; 2874, sovenerement (10 syl.); 2878, cum; 2884, lumer; 2890, vers (7 syl.); 2891, Les mist en quoer (9 syl.)

Hoster le seint cors lur segnur,
E aliurs mettre, a grant honur.
Tant unt cerchie par le païs,
Tant unt demande e enquis,
Quil unt trove liu acceptable,
E bel e bon e covenable,
En une grant vile reale
Ki riche ert e emperiale,
Bederiches Worthe nomee,
De Bederiz qui lout fundee,
Un riche rei, qui la funda,
E de sun nun, nun li dona;
Bederiches Worthe en engleis,
La curt Bederiz est en franceis.
[Si] est dite e entrepretee,
De Bederiz qui lout fundee.
Quant il unt choisi e eslit
Le seint liu e le seint habit,
U il voleient lur segnur
Herbergier od mult grant honur;
Dunc unt [tant] quis e purchacie,
Quil unt finablement cungie
Des segnurages de cel fiu,
De faire en icel mesme liu,
Bele chapele u bel muster,
U devutement herberger
Pussent lur seintime segnur,
Od grant glorie, od grant honur.
Cels ne voldrent pas demurer,
Ainz funt errantment aturner
Une grant eglise de fust,
U li treseintim martir just.
Mult par la firent bele e grant
E mult bien feite e avenant,
De merveiluse entablement,

MS. ll. 2899, real; 2900, ert emperial (7 syl.); 2904, noun (bis); 2906, curte; 2907, Est dite (7 syl.), 2913, Unt quis (7 syl.); 2914, finement (7 syl.); 2918, devoutement; 2926, Mult bien feit.

E de mult riche entailement.
Mult valt mielz que feire muster
Ki fut de piere e de mortier.
La eglise ert bele a demesure,
E de si tres bele feiture,
Ke unkes hum [jesqu]a cel jur,
Nen aveit veü beleisur.
Mult fu par grant engin overee,
E quant ele fu par aprestee,
Que nule rien ni out a feire,
Dunc se mistrent en lur repaire;
Que par sentier, que par chariere,
A Hailesdun vindrent ariere.
Si unt al poeple recunte,
Coment il unt feit e ovre,
E quil unt leglise aprestee,
Mult bele e grant e longe e lee;
E avenant de mult grant guise,
Unk hum ne vit si bele eglise
De fust, fors sulement iceste.
De herberger est tute preste
Le corseint Edmund le martir.
Ore le funt tost defuir.
Cels unt tost la clergie mande,
E les plus sages del regne,
E quant il tuz asemble sunt,
Le seint cors del martir Edmund,
Funt ignielement defuir.
Puis pristrent le cors del martir.
Od la case u il [dunc] giseit
[E] u il primes mis esteit;
Sur une biere lunt puis mis,
E sagement e bien asis,
Diloc porterent le barun

MS. ll. 2933, home a cel jour (7 syl.); 2934, Ne aveit (7 syl.); 2939, sentiere; 2943, apreste; 2944, long e le (7 syl.); 2946, Unkes home ne veit (9 syl.); 2948, tut (7 syl.); 2950, feites; 2952, regnee; 2957, il giseit (7 syl.); 2958, Ou il (7 syl.).

Od joie e od processiün,
Vers Bedericheſ Worthe dreit,
Errent e vunt a grant espleit
Mult i vint gent e poeple grant;
Clerc e chivaler e paisant
Cuntre le corseint sunt ale,
E la clergie de la cite,
E chivaler, clerc e citein,
De la cite isirent a plein,
Od processiün e od chant,
Mult par en unt cels joie grant,
Quil unt tel tresor conqueste;
Trestuz en unt Dieu mercie.
En la cite entre en sunt,
Od le corseint que mene unt
Dreit al liu que apreste esteit,
U le corseint gisir deveit,
La case u il primes mis fu,
En quele meint an aveit geu,
Desjointe unt e desserree;
Une altre case unt aprestee
De un estrange fust pretiüs,
U li corseint e gloriüs
Voleient mettre cum iert dreit,
E cum Dieus purveü le aveit.
Kant la vieile case unt descloee,
E desjointe e deserree,
Le cors seint unt deseveli;
Kar trover le quident purri,
De ceo que longment geu out
En tere, sicum a Dieu plout.
Quant tant i out este enclos,
Ne quident trover fors les os.
Oiez miracle e grant vertu!
Il unt esgarde e veü,

MS. ll. 2963, baderiches, dreite; 2964, Eirent; 2968, Tute la (10 syl.); 2970, iserent; 2980, giu; 2983-4, pretiuse; gloriuse; 2985, volent (7 syl.); 2987, vielz; 2988, desjoint; 2991-92, ust; plust.

E trovent le corseint si sein,
Sanz plaie, si bel e si plein,
Des granz plaies quil resceust
Que blesceure ni aparust.
Par eles memes sunt sanees
Les granz plaies demesurees;
E la u le chief culpe ert
Cum un filet vermeil apert,
Ke tut entur le col li gist;
Ceste vertu fist Jesu Crist
Pur son dru qui est de li amez,
E puis altres vertuz assez.
Il unt le corseint aturne
Mult richement e aurne,
E hors de la viel case pris,
E en la novele lunt mis
E en le plus bel liu del eglise,
Od halt chant e od grant servise,
Le mistrent mult devutement,
Cum a si grant tresor apent.
E la case de serreüres
Bones e fortes e seüres
Lenserrent, e as clercs livrerent,
A seinte gent qui dignes erent
De garder si riche tresor,
Qui mult valt mielz que argent u or.
Si fu li seint cent ans e dis,
En char e os, cum il fu vifs;
E les gardeins ki le garderent,
Plusurs feiz en lan le visiterent,
E quant il overirent la biere,
Si virent quil out plus vive chiere,
E le vis plus cler e rovent
Ke nul damisel de juvent;
[E] virent que ses cheveuz furent

MS. ll. 2997, troevent; 3003, Culpee; 3004, vermeile i pert; 3006, cest; 3012, chant od (7 syl.); 3015, devoutement; 3017, serrures; 3022, milz; 3030, nule damisele; 3031, Viren (7 syl.).

Creüz, e que ses ongles crurent,
E de ses piez e de ses mains,
Sicum il fu vifs e tut sains.
Entre ces seints gardeins aveit
Une dame, nonain esteit,
Seinte feme, e de grant maniere
Religiuse e almonere,
En jūnes e en oreisuns,
[En] prieres e afflictiuns
Esteit icele e nut e jur,
Entur la fertre al seint segnur;
Ceste dame dunt vus ai dit,
Par la grace Seint Espirit,
En prist mult grant hardiement;
Dieu la fist feire, omnipotent,
Pur sa demustreisun demeine.
La dame se mist en grant peine
De honurer tuz jurs le cors seint,
De li servir pas ne se feint.
Nel teneit a peine ne ahan;
Kar mult sovent feiz en lan
La fertre overi, si li peigna
Les cheveuz, e puis [les] roina;
E ses ungles tut ensement
Reculpa ele mult sovent,
En une chere case mist
Les retailes quele en prist,
Ke desque a cest jur sunt gardeez,
E cum relikes honureez
En leglise de Seint Edmund,
U cherement gardees sunt.
De cest mester tuz jurs servit
La dame tant cume vesquit,
Ke mulz anz vesquit e mulz jurs,

MS. ll. 3034, vif; 3037, seintes; 3040, Prieres (7 syl.); 3041, cele e nute e iour (7 syl.); 3042, le, segnour; 3045, hardement (7 syl); 3047, Par; 3049, iour, 3053, Le fertre; 3054, puis royna (7 syl); 3059, iour; 3062, gardes (7 syl.); 3063, iours; 3064, cum; 3065, multz (bis), vesqui.

Plus que ne funt ore plusurs;
Dunc viveient plus longement
Dasez, que ore ne funt la gent.
Oswen ert la dame nomee,
Seinte dame, sage e membre (1) *miraclm.*
Un evesque, Theodred out nun,
Seint hum, de grand religiun
Evesques ert de la cuntree.
Oiez cum Dieus li ad mustree
Par sa grace la verite,
Cum nus avum desus cunte,
De Seint Edmund, le bon barun,
Ki enter gist sanz coruptiun,
Tut enterins en char, en os.
En sa seintime case enclos,
Od bele chere e od cler vis,
Cum il fu encore tut vifs.
En tele manere le pruva
Li evesques ki Dieu ama,
Cume vus purrez ore oïr:
A la fertre del seint martir
Veneient gent de meinte tere,
Pur Dieu e pur le seint requere,
E reis e cuntes e baruns,
I veneient en oreisuns
[E] offrirent mulz belbelez,
Nusches dor, bos dor e anelez,
Harpuns dor, preciuses pieres,
Besanz e margarites cheres,
Dunt la fertre de Seint Edmund
Est la plus riche de cest mund.
De tutes parz i vindrent gent:
Tel offri or, e tel argent;

MS. ll. 3068, Desez; 3070, membre; 3071, noun; 3072, home; 3073, Evesque (7 syl.); 3081, chiere; 3085, cum; 3086, al fertre (7 syl.); 3087, Venirent, meint (7 syl.); 3091, Offrirent (7 syl.); 3095, le fertre; 3096, le.

Note (1): Underlined word in red.

De plusurs riches regiüns
I vindrent genz en oreisuns.
Mult par lur veneient grant aport
Del Suth, del West, del Est, del Nort.
De tutes parz i vendrent gent,
Riches, povres comunalment,
Ki les aportouent le bien.
Richert le liu, sur tute rien.
Oient laruns, pleins de felonie;
Del riche liu aveient envie.
Feluns erent en tutes guises,
Murdrers e frussiers deglises.
De tutes maneres de mals
Furent mestres icels vassals.
Il aveient entrels machine
E conseile e purpalle,
Ke leglise despecerunt,
E tut le tresor emblerunt,
Quanque enclos ert del cimitire,
Ki rien nen avera adire.
Il se sunt mult tost apreste
E a cele rage aturne.
Une nut que fu mult oscure,
Vindrent il, tut bald-e-seüre,
Quant la gent furent en repos,
Si se mistrent tost en le clos
Del eglise de Seint Edmund.
E puis tost al muster sen vunt
Od lur engeins od lur ustilz,
Dunt il furent duiz e sutilz,
Desquels il unt oes, a parfeire,
Li larecin e le cuntreire.
Kant al muster furent venu,
Si sefforcent par grant vertu,
Trestuz, del eglise enfundrer;
Li un prent seschiele a drescier

MS. ll. 3104, poures; 3105, aportoient; 3112, cels (7 syl.); 3121, nute; 3122, baldesure (7 syl.); 3129, oels; 3130, larcin (7 syl.).

Sus a la parei del muster,
Seürement sanz encumbrer,
Quil se mette par la fenestre
En le muster u voleit estre;
Li altre, od sa lime dure,
Lime del uis la serreüre,
E trenche les clous u se tient;
Li altre od son martel i vient
E se peine de martelier,
Kar le uis [il] volt descloer.
Li altre od besques e picois,
Quil unt afeitiez a lur chois,
Suffoent entur la parei;
Chescun se peine, endreit sei,
De cele ovregne parfurnir,
Kar a chief en quident venir.
Sicum il sunt en lur estal
Partie amunt, partie aval,
Tut a lur mester entendant,
Tel abaisie, tel en estant,
Les lia Dieus e le martir,
Ke nul dels ne se pout partir,
Ne li curbe ne pout drescier,
Ne cil en estant abaisier;
Quil ne se pourent remuer,
Desqual matin, que jur fu cler.
Cele nut just un mariner
Ki sonout les seins en le muster,
Qui tut oit cest batestal
Ke feseient amunt, aval,
Meis pur lamur del seint martir
Le fist Dieus si en pes gesir,
Kil ne poüst del liu lever
Ne mot dire, ne mot soner,

MS. ll. 3135, al parei; 3138, la ou il (9 syl.); 3140, serrure; 3142, Laltre (7 syl.); 3144, le us volt descloer (7 syl.); 3145, picois, 3149, overegne (9 syl.); 3151, curb; 3160, clier; 3164, feseit amunt e aval; 3167 pout (7 syl.).

Desqual demain quil fu cler jur
Ke la gent vindrent dentur,
Qui unt apertement veü
Cel miracle, e cele vertu,
Des laruns qui si sunt lie
En la ovre que aveient comence
Diloc les unt ostez e pris,
En fierges e en prisun mis;
Puis furent par le vengement
Del seint evesque vereiment,
Theodred, mis tuz a la hart,
Ki puis sen repentit trop tart,
Quil les out si a mort juge;
Dolent en fu e corusce,
Kar a grant peche le teneit
Quil issi les juge aveit.
[Kar] si sen fust einz purpense,
Ne les oust pas a mort livere.
Ne pensa pas kant il ceo fist,
Ke Dieus par le prophete dist:
"Del deliverer ja ne cessez,
Cels qui sunt a la mort jugez."
Si les dit del prophete Dieu,
Kum apele Eliseu,
Ke garist e remist a la vie
Les laruncels de Samarie,
E pain e ewe les dona,
E en lur pais enveia,
E defendit le rei e dist
Quil pas a mort ne les meïst.
Pur la quele chose cest produm,
Cist evesque dunt dit avum,
Quant il se fut repurpense,
Mult fu dolent e trespense,
De ceo quil out fet des laruns.

MS. ll. 3169, iour; 3170, dentour; 3171, apertemen; 3172, verteu; 3173, De laruns; 3175, Deloques (9 syl.); 3185, Si sen fust (7 syl.); 3186, morte; 3193, Ki; 3195, euwe; 3198, morte, mist (7 syl.); 3199, prodome.

Mult en fut dolent e enbruns,
E penitence gref en prist,
E merci Dieu, bien la parfist.
Pur ceo se mist en granz dolurs,
Longtens en oreisuns e plurs,
E par mult grant compunctiun,
Pria Dampnedieu de pardun.
Kant parfeite out sa penitence,
Si manda par grant patience,
Par sa eveschie tut envirun
Que tute la gent abandun,
A pain e a ewe jeünasent,
E Dieu nostre segnur priasent
Treis jurs en langes e nu piez,
Ke Dieus li pardoint ses pechiez,
E li otreit, par son pleisir,
Quil puse le cors del martir
Veeir e de [ses] mains manier,
Sil gist, sicum hum dit, entier.
E il si feseient entreset.
Kant aveient la june fet;
A la chase vienent tut dreit,
U li ber Seint Edmund giseit.
Li evesque chiet a genuliuns
Devant la chase en oreisuns;
Kant aveit oure e prie,
A la chase se est aprochie.
La chase prist tost a overir,
E le corseint a descoverir.
Le cors trova e sein e bel,
E si enterine la pel,
E issi clere la faceun,
Frunt e vis e nes e mentun,
E piez e meins, e ventre e dos,

MS. ll. 3207, E pur ceo (9 syl.); dolours; 3208, plours; 3213, eveschie envirun (7 syl.); 3215, e euwe (7 syl.); 3216, E nostre (7 syl.); 3218, pardunt; 3221, de mains (7 syl.); 3222, home; 3229, ore, 3236, Funt, neis.

Od char serree sur les os,
Cum il [ainz] fu, quant il fu vifs,
E en cest siecle poestifs.
E la char trova si entiere
Cum nus avum dit cea en ariere,
Ke unkes blesceure ni parut
Des granz plaies quil ainz resceut,
Li evesque, qui produm fu,
Sicum Dieus laveit purveü,
Le seint cors de ses mains lava,
E le vestit e le aürna
Des dras de seie de ultre mer,
Des plus chiers quil poüst trover.
E puis en une chase chere,
Ki ert de plus riche manere
Que laltre fu, u il ainz just,
Lenseveli, si cum il dust;
Benesquirant Dieu, en loant
Le seintime rei, tut puisant,
Qui en ses seinz est merveilus,
E en ses ovres gloriüs,
E vit e regne, Dieus e sires,
Par tut secles, par tuz empires. Amen.
(1) Translate avum laventure
Solum le livre e lescripture,
De Seint Edmund coment il vint
En Engletere quil puis tint,
Dunt rei fu, tant cum il vesquit;
E del martire quil suffrit.
Translate lai desque a la fin,
E del engleis e del latin,
Que en franceis le poent entendre,
E [tut] li grant, e [tut] li mendre.

MS. ll. 3239, il fu (7 syl.); 3241, chare; 3242, ceanariere; 3245, proz home; 3249, sei; 3250, pout; 3252, Ke (7 syl.); 3255, Benesquierent; 3256, seintim; 3259, rengne; 3266, martir (7 syl.); 3270, E le grant e li mendre (6 syl.).

Note (1) Here begins the second division of the poem, called the "Miracles of Seint Edmund."

Uncore volum avant aler,
E les granz miracles cunter,
Que nostre sire, Jesus Crist,
Pur samur mustra e fist.
Dit en ai [une] grant partie,
En sun martire e en sa vie;
Meis ore vus dirrai la summe.
Nel tient pas a fais, ne a grant summe
Denis Piramus, kil translate;
Nel tient pas a fais ne a baratte.
Li Seint Espirit me doint grace,
Que jeo resnablement la face.
E gre me sache de ma peine;
E Dieus e Seint Edmund demeine,
E del eglise li segnur,
Ki me unt enchargie cest labur!
Del primer tens que Dieus forma
Le mund, e le secle estora,
I out cinq mil anz par dreit numbre
Desqual tenz que Dieus en umbre.
Fu en la virgine Marie,
Pur nus getter de mort a vie;
E de cel tens, sanz mesprisun,
Desqual martire Seint Edmun,
Uit cenz anz e ceisant e dis.
Issi le avum en livre apris,
E lescripture le nus dit,
Ki lestre Seint Edmund descrit.
Li seint florist en ceste vie
Cume larbre que fructefie,
E gette e porte beles flurs,
Dunt ist la tres dulce flairurs.

(1) La date de la passiun Seint Edmund

MS. ll. 3275, ai grant partie (6 syl.); 3277 and 9, sume; 3279, ad translate (10 syl.); 3280, tint; 3281, seit grace; 3282, renablement; 3283, sace; 3292, morte; 3295, seysant; 3297 lescriptur; 3300, cum.

Note (1); Side-note in black-face type is in red

Buche de home ne poet descrire.
Kantes vertuz, Dieu nostre sire,
Pur le seint martir anceis fist
Quil venist la u ore gist.
Meinte clarete i virent tuit,
Kant plus oscure fu la nuit.
La clarte nert pas mainoveree
Dengin de home, ne aürnee;
Ainz ert espirital lumere,
Ke veneit de seinte manere,
Cume granz rais del ciel amunt
De sur la tumbe Seint Edmund.
Ceo en est la signifiance:
Que Jesu par sa grant puissance
Li ad en son regne aleve,
En sa pardurable clarete.
Veirement il avint issi,
Cum escrit est e jeo vus di,
Que apres que Seint Edmund li ber,
Dunt vus me oiez ci cunter,
Suffrit e mort e passiün,
Pur lamur Dieu, e pur sun nun,
Que de Engletere les parties
Teneient plusurs segnuries,
E mulz plusurs reis i aveient
Lur realmes quil [i] teneient,
Plus quil ni out avant ne apres;
Meis Estangle trestut ades
Ert sanz rei, e sanz chief segnur.
Que de tuz les païs de entur
Ni out grant, ne meien, ne mendre,
Qui osast segnurie en prendre
Sur la tere al seintime rei;
Nul nen osa prendre sur sei.
De grant manere le duterent,

MS. ll. 3303, Bouche; 3304, Kant; 3320, jeo le vus (9 syl.); 3323, morte; 3324, noun; 3328, quil teneient (7 syl.); 3333, maien; 3333, seintim; 3337, douterent.

Kar en lur curages noterent,
Que bien deit estre e reis e sire
Del pais u suffrit martire.
Kar mult len aveit deservi
Vers Dampnedieu, e bien meri,
Que nuls reis charnel poeste
Oüst sur li, en son regne. (1) *Miraculum.*
En cel contemple i aveit
Un rei qui mult produm esteit
En Westsex fu son regne,
E si ert Eadred appele.
En son tens Christiente fu
Bien enhalcie e meintenu
Partut Engletere envirun,
Fors sul en la tere al barun,
Seint Edmund; la fu esquaisie,
E de grant manere abaisie
Par Daneis, qui i converserent,
Qui apres Ingar remis erent,
E cele folur quil maintindrent,
Quil pur sen en lur guise tindrent,
Par tut Engletere voleient
Fere errer si il [le] poeient.
Meis Eadred, li reis dreiturers,
Ki mult esteit bons chivalers,
Les abaisa de lur folur
E [si] les fist meint deshonur.
Quant Daneis od lur grant acost,
Sur li veneient od lur ost,
Soventes feiz pur guerreier,
Tuz jurs fu lur li encombrier,
Li reis Eadred pas ne les ama,
Meint en occist e meint tua,

MS. ll. 3343, nul; 3344, regnee; 3347, regnee; 3350, eshalcie; 3356, remis i erent (9 syl.); 3360, si il poeient (7 syl.); 3362, bon; 3364, E les fist (7 syl.); 3367, Sovent, guerreer (7 syl.); 3368, encombreer; 3369, rei.

Note (1) Miraculum underlined in red.

E meint fist en vie escorchier,
E meint ardeir, e meint neier,
E meint fist les membres cuper;
Kar unkes jur ne les pout amer.
Mult par haït lur veisinage;
Unkes ni vindrent sanz damage.
Ceste bataile e cest ahans
Dura entrels entur cinq anz,
Que unkes li felun vassal
Ne pourent tenir nul estal
Cuntre Eadred le rei hardi
Ki sur tute rien les haï,
[E] ki tuz jurs les descomfist,
Kar mult ferement les requist.
Quant les Daneis, serfs al malfe,
Veient e se sunt purpense,
Quil ne pourent plus mal feire
En la tere, ne plus contrere,
En mer entrent od lur navie,
Si vunt siglant vers Normandie;
Cum il ainz pourent, ariverent,
E par mi la tere en passerent
De Normandie tut defrunt.
Tant unt erre que venu sunt
En France, dreit devant Paris.
Si unt entrels lur conseil pris,
Ke la cite par force prendre
Voelent, sil ne se voelent rendre
A els, e feire les homages,
E rendre chescun an chevage.
Meis Charles li Chalf, qui reis fu
De France, est tost contrels venu
Od ses Franceis, e od sa gent,
E les descomfist errantment,
Si les fist fuir e turner

MS. ll. 3372, neer; 3374, iour; 3377, Cest bataile (7 syl.); cist haanz; 3380, porent; 3382, tut; 3383, Ki tuz iours (7 syl.); 3387, porent; 3393, le frunt; 3401, le chalf; 3402, contrels, *r* interlined.

Od hue leve, envers la mer;
Mulz en occistrent en fuant
Li chivaler e li servant;
Mulz en i out nafrez a mort,
Ainz quil revenisent a port,
U il ariverent enceis.
Tant les menerent li Franceis
Que mulz en unt nafrez e pris.
Par force les unt en [lur] nefs mis;
E Charles li Chalf od sa gent
Reveit en France errantement;
E les Daneis mult tost lur nefs
Aprestent, e levent lur trefs,
Cum ainz pourent a rive vindrent,
Unk puis en France ne revindrent,
Les cols de France tant doterent,
Ki fierement les encontrerent.
Li Daneis, li Dieu enemi,
Sen vunt en halte mer fuï;
Encore ne voleient pas cessier
De lur grant rage demener;
Ainz cuillerent errantement
Grant companie e mult grant gent,
Mult greindre quil naveient enceis
Quant les descomfistrent Franceis.
Si alerent de tere en tere,
Ardant, robant, feisant grant guere,
E quanquil surmonter poeient,
De fiere mort morir feseient.
Les feluns Daneis, la gent sote,
Demenerent ceste riote,
Tant que derechief returnerent
Vers Engletere, e ariverent;
Kar il voleient Engletere

MS. ll. ; 3406, vers (7 syl.); 3410, venisent (7 syl.); 3414, en nefes; 3415, le; 3416, errantment (7 syl.); 3417, nefes; 3418, trefes; 3420, Unkes (9 syl.); 3427, errantment (7 syl.); 3434, morte 3437, derichief.

E asailir e [si] conquere
De un rei, Alure aveit nun,
Frere fu Eadred, le barun,
Li rei qui regna devant li;
Prodomes furent ambedui.
Meis ainz quil al rei asemblasent
E quil de rien i aprochasent,
Si enveia la Dieu puisance
Sur els tele ire e tele pesance,
E Seint Edmund, le bon martir,
Ki de rien ne ama lur venir;
(Kar il les mist tost a la mort,
Sanz recoverer e sanz resort).
Pestilences fortes e fieres,
Denfermetez plusurs maneres
Les ferirent si subdainement,
Que lur feit devint a nient.
Quant Alure li reis loï,
Ke si furent aneanti
Par les merites Seint Edmund,
Dunc suspira de quer parfunt,
Si loa Dieu e le martir,
En plorant ne se pout tenir.
Le corseint tant cum il vesqui,
Ama, honura e cheri.
En cel contemple qui dunc fu,
Ne mustra Dieus nule vertu
El liu u li corseint giseit;
E ceo esteit a mult bon dreit,
Kar cels qui i erent conversant,
Ne esteient mie bien creant,
E si Dieus miracles i fist,
Nul ne [les] nota en escrit,
Ne nul [dels le] sen [ne] perneit;

MS. ll. 3440, e conquere (7 syl.); 3441, noun; 3451, morts, 2352, resorte; 3454, de plusurs (9 syl.); 3455, feri; 3457, rei; 3458, aneinte; 3466, dieu; 3472, nul ne nota ne lescrit(7 syl.); 3473, Ne nul ne sen perneit (6 syl.).

Kar lur creance faible esteit.
Meis un apostoile out a Rome,
Martin out a nun, treseint home
Qui une partie ad tramis
De la croiz u Jesu fu mis
En al tere al rei Alure,
Kar oi aveit de sa bunte,
Que bons Cristiens fu li reis,
Sages hum, mult pruz e curteis;
E par le requist Alure
Li out le Pape graänte
A lescole engleise a tut dis,
La franchise dunt fu requis.
Par ces reliques quil tramist
Par la grace de Jesu Crist,
Lapostoile al rei Alure
Enveia la Cristiënte.
Ces reliques sunt bien gardeez
E cherieez e honureez
En Engletere a grant honur,
Cume dreit est jesqua cest jur.
Apres ces fesances, feni
E de cest secle departi
Alure, li reis honurez.
E apres ces jurs corunez
Fu li vielz Edward en le païs,
Si en fu reis poestis,
Meis mult poi de tens il dura,
E apres ses jurs si regna
Rei Athelston, li bon barun,
E puis un rei, Edmund out nun,
E le rei Ealured altresi,
E apres li le rei Edwi,
E puis Edgar, sun frere, apres

MS. ll. 3474, fieble; 3476, out noun (7 syl.); 3481, bons; 3482, sage home; 3483, la requeste; 3484, la pape; grante; 3485, engleche tut dis; 3491, gardez; 3492, cheriez, honurez; 3494, cum, iour; 3497, honure; 3498, iours corune; 3502, iours; 3504, noun.

Regna en le païs tut ades.
Quant cil fini, u tost u tart,
Si regna le seint rei Edward,
E apres ses jurs si regna,
E la regiün governa
Un rei qui ert Aielred clame,
Qui mult ama Cristienete,
E en ses ovres vereiment
Se mustra Dieus omnipotent,
E fist meinte bele vertu
Pur Seint Edmund, son trescher dru,
Que li evesque, e li abe,
Prestre, diacne, clerc, lettre
Mistrent en escrit errantment,
Dunt ore vus dirrai en present
Un bel miracle, une grant vertu
Coment avint e coment fu.
Lestoire dit e pur veir cunte
Quil avint si quun vescunte,
Lefstan out nun, si fu nome,
Vesquens esteit de la cunte
U le cors Seint Edmund giseit.
Meis sur tute rien fel esteit.
Cil ne volt onkes fere honur
A Seint Edmund, le cher segnur;
Meis tut le mal e le contraire
Quil poeit e sout as suens fere.
Meis sa guere sur sei verti,
Kar Seint Edmund bien le rendi
Le mal, la peine, la grant perte,
Quil out de li long tens suferte.
Dieus se coruscea mult forment,
Si en prist de li vengement.
Si avint dunc que cil vesquens
Leva matin, en este tens;

MS. ll. 3511, iours; 3516, Si, dieu; 3523, une bele miracle (11 syl.) 3527, noun; 3528, vecunt, del (7 syl.); 3533, la contraire; 3534, a suens; 3539, Dieu; 3540, de li le (9 syl.).

Ceo fu li primer jur de Mai,
Que del soleil sunt cler li rai.
Quant leve fu e apreste,
Si envait tenir sa cunte,
De suz la vile Seint Edmund,
En une place de lez un munt;
Thinghowe lapelent la gent;
Meint hum i ad este dolent.
La hum soleit les batailes fere;
Meint hum i ad eu contraire.
Ilukes tint il sa cunte,
Si cum il fu acustume,
Pensant e enginnant coment
Il puise enginner povre gent,
E coment il les mette a perte
E en forfez, sanz lur deserte.
Sicum cil entur ceo moele, (1)
Si troveit escrit en son roele
La feme qui ert vers li forfeite,
E si sulum lescrit en fraite.
Cele ert triste, murne e marrie,
De grant manere espourie,
Que li vesquens en son record,
Ne la feïst Juger a mort.
Mult par duta la vie perdre;
Ne saveit aleure u aerdre.
Meis, tries un, tries altre, senvait,
A la fertre Seint Edmund treit.
La quida aver guarisun
De mort e de destrucciun.
Que unke li vesquens nele sout,

MS. ll. 3543, iour; 3544, soleile; 3546, sun conte; 3548, E une; leez; 3550 and 51, home; 3551, soleit or suelt; 3553, sun; 3555, Pensant eginnant (7 syl.); 3557, a pert; 3558, En forfez (7 syl.); desert; 3559, molle; 3562, E solum (7 syl.); 3564, espurie; 3565, Vescunt; 3569, alure; 3570, E al fertre Seint Edmund se treit (9 syl.); 3572, morte; destrucciun; 3573, le vescunt, nel (7 syl.).

Note (1) I find no satisfactory explanation of this word. It appears to be a form of *modulare* > *mouler* (*roele* < *rotulus*).

Ne nul des soens, qui of li out.
La cheitive feme esgariee,
Ke mult par fu espoentee,
Gist devant la chase al martir,
Plurant, e gettant meint suspir.
E pria Dieu devutement,
E le seint martir ensement,
Que sicum il est poestis,
La gard de tuz ses enemiz.
Kant le felun Lefstan le sout,
Ke la feme que en plait mise out,
Sen fu fuie al muster,
Nen out en li que coruscier;
Ses homes mult tost apela,
E irrement [lur] comanda,
Ke le muster mult tost cerchasent,
E la feme tost li menasent.
E ses serjanz tuz errantment,
Vunt fere sun comandement.
Il alerent dreit al muster,
Pur quere la povre mulier.
Quant il vindrent, trovee lunt
Devant la fertre Seint Edmund,
E mult egrement demanderent
A cels qui entur la fertre erent,
La feme qui out este, le jur,
Jugiee devant lur segnur.
Un des plus anciens [lur] respunt,
Que ele ert entur Seint Edmund.
Prestre ert e un diacne od li;
A piez se drescent ambedui,
E respunderent errantment,
Que il noserent [mie pur] nient,

MS. ll. 3574, de soens; 3576, espontee; 3579, devoutement; 3582, garde; 3585, fui (7 syl.); 3588, irrement comanda (7 syl.); 3595, trove (7 syl.); 3596, le fertre; 3598, iour; 3600, jugie, segnour (7 syl.); 3601, de plus anciens respount (7 syl.); 3606, noserent naient (6 syl.).

Home ne feme a els liverer,
Ki ja pur sa vie salver,
Fust venu al seint, a garant;
Nel fereient, ne tant ne quant.
Kant les serjanz ceo oïrent,
Irreement entrels fremirent;
Kar il noserent contredire,
Que comande les out lur sire
Ainz cururent tuz par aïr,
Dreit a la fertre le martir,
U la povre feme giseit,
Ke mult sovent Marie crieit.
Il la pristrent mult cruelement,
E treistrent felonessement
La cheitive povre mulier,
Par poinz, par piez, hors del muster;
Quant les clers e cil qui esteient
Entur le martir ceo veieient,
Ke cil unt fet cele grant rage,
E al martir si funt ultrage,
De luc sen alerent tut dreit,
La u li seint martir giseit;
Lur set psalmes [i] comencerent,
Devutement les verseilerent,
E la letenie ensement,
Od lermes, mult devutement.
Dieu prient, de fin quer entier,
E le bon corseint del muster,
Quil [ore] mustre sa pusance
E del surfeit pregne vengeance.
Dunc avint si quentre cest feit,
Lessa li fel vescuens son pleit
Pur la feme que aver voleit,
E si ala a grant espleit,

MS. Il 3610, freient; 3611, oyerent; 3612, fremierent, irrement (7 syl.); 3615, hair; 3624, Quen entur, veient; 3625, cel; 3629, psalmes comencerent, (7 syl.); 3630 and 32, devoutement; 3635, Quil mustre (6 syl.); 3636, prengne; 3638, vescunt.

E se hasta vers le muster,
U il teneient la mulier,
Qui pur li [i] enveie erent.
Avis li fut que trop demorerent.
Cum il el cimitire entra,
E sicum il [a] mielz erra,
Si sarestut sempres aneire,
A une tumbe de un proveire
Ki, quant fu vif Bonde ert clame;
La sest li vesquens areste,
Quil nalast avant pur nul plait.
Pur le grant pechie quaveit fait.
Dieus le engetta [hors] de sa vie.
Li diable resceust le mal bailie,
Vereiment en sa companie,
Pur son pechie, pur sa folie.
Si cume ses homes ceo virent,
La povre feme deguerpirent;
E corurent tuz ses vaslez
A lur segmur qui fut devez,
Plurant e criant mult forment
Pur lur segnur dunt sunt dolent.
E puis tantost cum il vindrent
A peine e [a] dolur le tindrent.
A cele ore Dieus le puissant
Fist deus miracles mult granz:
Le un ke delivera la mulier
De peril de mort [e] dencombrier;
E laltre fu, ke li vesquens
Fu sudeinement hors de sens,
Par Seint Edmund, le treseint rei,
Qui en desdein out son desrei.
Cil cheitif, cil Dieu enemi

MS. ll. 3643, li enveie (7 syl.); 3645, en cimiter (7 syl.); 3646, il mielz (7 syl.); 3650, vescunt; 3651, Il; 3653, Dieu; le engetta de sa vie (7 syl.); 3654, E li diable resceive le mal baillie (10 syl.); 3657, Sicum (7 syl.); 3659, tres vasez; 3664, A peyne e dolur (7 syl.); 3665, dieu; 3666, mulz; 3668, morte dencumbrier.

De ceste vie departi.
Male fin out e male mort,
Par ses culpes e par son tort,
Sicume lorent li malfe
En ceste vie enfantosme.
Si firent il mult grant vergoine
A son ord cors, a sa charoine,
Que tere nel poeit sufrir.
Ne sepulture retenir.
Meinte feiz de la tere issi,
Puis cum laveit enseveli;
La gent nel pourent endurer
Plus longement; meis aturner
Feseient le quir dun tor grant,
Si feseient mettre maintenant
Cele orde charoine, cel cors,
E puis coustre forment dehors,
E treinerent errantement
Hors de la vile e hors de gent,
En un ord putel que ert parfunz,
Le feseient getter jesqua funz.
Une piere a son col pendu,
Ki a funz lad bien tenu.
Une altre fez, en tens deste, (1) *Miracle.*
Si mustra Dieus sa poeste,
Quil fist de un fort rei felun,
Pur lamur de Seint Edmun;
Pur qui Dieus, nostre salveür,
Fist grant vertu e grant honur.
Cil felun rei si out nun Suain,
De grant felonie esteit plain,
De cest secle mult artilus,
E des ovres Dieu oblius,

MS. ll. 3677, Sicum; 3684, lout (7 syl.); 3685, poerent; 3686, longment; 3687, tor mult grant (9 syl.); 3691, errantment (7 syl.); 3693, E en une orde putel; parfunz (9 syl.); 3694, founz; 3696, Ke a (6 syl.); 3697, Un autre fez; 3703, noun.

Note (1): *Miracle* in red.

En Danemarche ert son regne,
Sa richesce e sa poeste.
Cil reis ses veisins mult haï,
E de tut son poër laidi;
Kanquil pout de mal soleit fere,
Meis puis li turna a contreire.
Cel reis aveit en sa bailie,
De plusurs gent grant companie;
Kar Daneis, Suaneis e Guteis,
E Westwikins e Winedeis, (1)
E mult des genz daltres contrees,
Le siwirent pur lur soldees,
Ke les doneit e permetteit.
A grant merveile gent avent.
Dunc ert al rei Suain bien avis,
Kil poeit [tost] chescun païs,
E chescune tere conquere
Od son grant host e od sa guere.
Dunc fist asembler errantment,
Tut son people e tute sa gent;
Sa tere asist e ordena,
E ses assises i mustra
Sicume firent ses ancestre;
Tant quil vesqui si pout bien estre.
Puis fist sa mesnee aturner,
E od sa gent se mist en mer.
Bon vent ourent a lur talant;
Vers Engletere vunt siglant.
Quant en la tere arive sunt,
Robent aval, robent amunt,
Tant roberent e tant pelfrerent,
En Northfolc u ariverent,

MS. ll. 3707, danmarche (7 syl.); 3709, rey; 3711, les soleit (9 syl.); 3713, celi; 3717, dautre contres; 3718, soldes; 3722, poeit chescun (7 syl.); 3729, Sicum fist son ancestre (6 syl.); 3730, cum il (9 syl.); 3733, ount.

Note (1): " West Vikings and Wends, between whom and the Danes close intercourse existed at this period." Cf. Arnold's Edition, p 241, note.

Quil unt mult grant aver conquis,
Par la tere e par le païs.
Tant se longnerent de lur port,
Quil sunt venu [jesqua] Tiefort.
Meis iluc les covint atendre,
Kar la tere les volt defendre
Un riches hum de cel païs,
Chivalier bon e de grant pris;
Hardi e pruz cume leun,
Ulfektel aveit il a nun.
Il se combati ferement
Od sa mesnee e od sa gent;
E les Daneis, tut altresi,
Qui mult furent pruz e hardi;
Merveilus colps sentre donerent,
Dambes parz kant sasemblerent.
La veissez les granz melees,
Granz colps de haches e despees,
Tanz poinz, tant piez, tanz chiefs voler,
E tantes lances truncuner,
Tanz chivalers escervelez,
E tanz occis e tanz nafrez,
Tanz espandre sanc e cervele,
E si treiner tante boele
Tanz escuz a or estroïr,
Tante blanche broine falsir,
Tantes lances fraindre e crussir,
Tanz homes mors envers gisir,
Tantes saïtes e tanz darz
Treier (1) e lancer dambes parz,
Qui trespercent quir e coraile,
Escu ne halberc ne valt maile,
Ke tut ne trespercent li dart;

MS. ll. 3739, mul a tiefort (7 syl.); 3745, Un riche home; 3747, cum; 3748, noun; 3753, Merveilus coupes; 3755, melleies; 3756, espeies; 3757, Tant; 3758, Tantes (7 syl.); 3764, falser; 3767, Tanz seites.

Note: (1) *Treier* seems to have passed to Conj. I (Cf. contreerent above).

Ni ad oes lanier ne cuart.
Ulfeketel e les soens od sei
Ert en le frunt del primier cunrei,
Que quanquil ateint acravante;
Nul apres son colp ne se vante,
Kil ne puisse, sil volt, bien dire,
Ke ja mester ne avera de mire.
E li reis Suain, del altre part,
Se contient cum urs e leopart,
Ki se cumbate mult ferement;
Kanquil ateint parmi li fent.
La bataile oust bien vencu,
Kant il ad choisi e veü
De treis sei, une companie,
Une mult grant chevalerie,
Ke Ulfeketel i out enveiee,
E ke de guere esteit veziee;
Priveement lad recelee,
Par une sutive valee;
Il furent set cenz chivaliers,
E quatre cenz des archiers,
Ki pres les chivaliers armez
Veneient, le petit pas, serrez.
Si as chivaliers surd destresce,
Quil les seient forteresce.
Kant li reis Suain e son vassal,
Les vit surdre devers le val,
Il ad dit a ses plus privez:
"Enginnez sumes e gabez.
Veez cume grant gent la surt.
Ne quid que nul de nus returt
James al pais dunt eissimes;
Folie fu que cea venimes;
Meis contenum nus sagement,

MS. ll. 3772, ose 3775, ad cravante; 3776, colpe; 3778, m[illegible] (9 syl.); 3779, li rei, parte; 3787, enveie; 3788, vezie; 3789, Privement ad (7 syl.); 3795, surde; 3796, fortresce (7 syl.) 3801, Viez; 3802, quide (9 syl.).

Cume pruz e hardie gent.
Le darein cunrei se cumbate
A cels, si les movent baratte,
E vus cea, a mielz que purrum,
Vers Ulfeketel combaterum."
Ulfeketel ert del altre part;
En sa main destre tint un dart.
Quant il ad choisi sa gent
Del val surdre serreement,
Il e les suens, tuz a un cri,
Unt Suain e les suens esbaï;
E cels del aguet les requierent,
Ki unc de rien ne les requierent.
La veïssez tel crusseïz
De lances e tel chapleïz
De haches, despees, de branz,
Dunt il donent les cops mult granz.
Reis Suain veit quil nad nul ados;
E de tutes parz est enclos
De ses plus mortels enemis.
Mult en est dolent e pensis,
Ni ne veit liu que il se venge,
Ni ne sait quel conseil en prenge.
Kar Ulfeketel e sa gent,
Des soens occient cent e cent;
Lur estre ne valt mes un as,
Kar de cumbatre sunt si las,
Quil ne se poent mes aider.
Il veient bien lur encumbrer,
Quil ne poent aver repos.
A Ulfeketel turnent le dos,
Parmi les cunreis del aguet
Senfuirent tut entreset,
E Ulfeketel e sa mesnee
Les feseient mult grant hachies,

MS. ll. 3806, cum, (7 syl.); 3811, parte; 3813, choise; 3814, serrement; 3819, veisiez, corusseiz; 3823, Le rey (9 syl.); 3824, tutes (s interlined) est ore enclos (9 syl.); 3827, ne; 3828, Ne ne; 3840, feseit (7 syl.).

Ke a dos les vunt enchaceant,
E par centeines occiant.
Tant en occistrent les Engleis,
Des feluns, des engres Daneis,
Buche de home ne numbrast mie,
Tanz perdirent iluc la vie.
Tanz sunt morz e tanz sunt occis,
De set mil ne eschaperent vifs,
Fors sulement cessant e set.
Cels emmene Suain, qui sen vet,
Mats e desumfiz vers la mer.
Sachez, nunt cure de sujurner.
Kant furent a lur nef venuz,
Nerent mie lents ni paresceuz;
En halte mer tost mis se sunt,
E vers lur païs se revunt.
Ringhemere est icil liu dit
U Daneis furent descumfit.
E Ulfeketel pas ne sujurne;
Vers Seint Edmund mult tost se turne.
Dieu mercie, le rei de glorie,
E le seint rei, de sa victorie,
Par qui grace il ad Suain vencu,
E descumfit e confundu.
Pur veir vus di que dunc regna
E tut le pais governa,
Dengletere tut envirun,
Un rei, qui Aieldred out nun;
Cil ne osa unkes manier
Escu ne brand, nespee balier,
Ne altre arme vers son enemi,
Tant out le quer anaienti,
E tant ert coart e chaluz,
Malveis, laners e pourus.
E nepurquant meint contreire

MS. ll. 3845, Bouche; 3849, soulement; 3850, en meine; 3851, mates; 3852, nun; sujourner; 3853, nief; 3854, lentes; 3861, merci (7 syl.); 3868, noun; 3870, espeie; 3875, meinte.

Fist il as soens, e meint desfaire
Fist il, a tort e sanz reisun,
Tant par ert encrisme felun.
Quatre pruz homes en le païs
Vers le North, erent astaïs;
Mult furent cil quatre prodome,
Bons e leals, ceo est la sume.
Meis li reis en he les coilli,
Pur ceo quil erent pruz e hardi.
Les baruns a la mort mettereit
Mult volentiers, sil le poeit.
Cels quatre baruns qui li reis
Haï tant, orent nuns Engleis;
Ne furent pas nomez Richer,
William e Robert ne Gauter.
Meis le un dels out nun Leofwine,
E laltre ert clame Aelfwine;
Le tirz Siverz, le quart Markiers.
Mult par furent bons chivaliers;
E sunt del rei forment haï.
Meis il erent [tuz] bien garni;
Ne les hait pas pur lur folur,
Meis pur pruesce e pur valur,
Dunt duiz sunt li quatre barun.
Pur ceo les hait li reis felun.
Mult erent riches de grant fin,
Cil quatre barun palaïn,
Kar tute la tere esteit lur,
Sicum la mer lenclost entur;
Descoce jesqua Gainesburc,
Nen out cite, chastel ne burc
Dunt il ne furent chief segnur.
Tut le mielz de Engletere ert lur.
Li reis les haï mult forment,

MS. ll. 3876, a soens; 3878, en crisme; 3882, ce est (7 syl.); 3884, qui erent; 3885, morte; 3886, mul, si il (7 syl.); 3890, William, robert (7 syl.); t interlined; 3893, tirce; 3896, erent bien (7 syl.); 3897, hai; 3900, heit; 3905, Gheniesburc; 3906, erite; 3907, fusent.

E il le rei [tut] ensement.
Engin [re]queïsent volentiers,
Qual rei sursissent encumbriers;
E feseient procheinement
Al rei doel e grant marrement.
Il pristrent des lurs quatre sages,
E tramistrent en lur messages;
En Danemarche les tramistrent,
E les comanderent e distrent:
Quil saluasent Suain, le rei
De lur part, chescun endreit sei,
Cume lur tres lige segnur,
De qui tendreient lur honur,
Sil volsist venir en le pais,
Reis en sereit [e] poestis.
De la tere, de la segnorie
Avereit il la greindre partie;
Volentiers le receiverunt,
E tuz homage a li ferunt,
E a li livrerunt del païs
Tut le mielz, sulum lur avis:
Cumberland e Westmeriland,
E trestute Northumberland.
Ne avera chastel, cite ne burc,
Descoce jesqua Gainesburc,
Forest ne chace ne pescherie,
Dunt il navereit la segnurie.
Les messagers se sunt turne,
A Danemarche en sunt ale,
Al rei unt dit tut lur avis,
Purquei il [i] erent tramis.
Quant le rei Suain loit, mult fu le;
Unc tant de rien ne fu haite.

MS. ll. 3910, rei-ensement (7 syl.); 3911, queisent (7 syl.); 3913, feseint (7 syl.); 3915, de lurs (s interlined); 3916, tramisterent (9 syl.); 3917, le; 3921, cum (7 syl.); 3924, sereit poestis (7 syl.); 3926, grendre; 3932, trestut; 3935, Foreste (9 syl.); 3936, nen; 3940, il erent (7 syl.); 3941, lee; 3942, haitee.

Les messagiers bel apela,
E si mult [par] les honura,
E si les fist mult bele chere,
E honura de grant manere,
E fist sujurner noblement,
Tant cume lur vint a talent.
E quant il sen voldrent aler,
Mult riches duns les fist duner,
E puis son conge les dona,
E ces paroles les livera:
"Amis," fet il, "vus en irez,
E vos segnurs me saluerez,
Cume a mes plus tres chers amis,
Qui jeo aime tant cum sei vifs,
E tuz cels del North altresi:
Dites que jeo lur mand defi,
Quen cest an les vendrai veeir,
Si jeo ma sante puis aveir."
Cels revunt en lur tere dreit,
E ceo que Suain dit les aveit,
Noterent les quatre messages
En privete a lur segnurages.
Reis Suain ne sest pas obliez;
Ainz ad tuz ses baruns mandez;
Son conseil lur ad descovert,
E bien les ad dit en apert,
Que tuz se apresteni cum a guere,
Kar aler volt en Engletere;
Puis fet tute sa gent banir;
E gent comencent a venir.
Deus tant de poeple asembla
Quil nout quant il primes ala
En Estangle u se combati
A Ulfeketel qui le venqui.
Li reis Suain bien les soldeia;

MS. ll. 3944, E ausi mult les honura; 3947, E les fist suiourner (9 syl.); 3948, cum; 3950, dones; 3954, salurez (7 syl.); 3955, cum; 3959, veisr (s marked for cancellation) (7 syl.).

Riches soldees les dona,
Ainz quil ne meïssent en mer.
Ne les voleit plus demorer;
Puis fist mettre sa gent banie
En halte mer od lur navie;
Puis se mist li reis en sa nef,
E fist drescier mult tost son tref.
Od sei ne mene, tant ne quant,
Ni parent, ni feme, ni enfant,
Fors sulement son fiz Knut
Amena od sei quant il se mut.
Dunc siglent e vagent tut dreit
Vers Engletere, a grant espleit.
Tant siglerent e tant cururent
Quil virent bien e cunurent
Dest Engletere le graveir,
E les faleises blancheeir.
Dunc apela Suain, le rei,
Son mestre mariner a sei;
"Siglez mei," fet il, "beals amis,
Trestut dreit devers le païs,
U jadiz solei ariver.
La voldrum a nut hosteler."
Li mariner issi le fist,
Cume Suain son segnur [li] dist;
Od lur estoire sunt entre
En Gernemue, e arive.
La novele est tost espandue,
Ke le rei Suain est a Gernemue.
A Ulfeketel vint la novele;
Saver poez, ne li fu bele.
Ulfeketel esteit a cels tens
De deus cuntez lur vesquens.
La gent del pais asembla
Devant li, si les demanda,

MS. ll. 3978, soldes; 3981, gents; 3983, nief; 3984, trief; 3987, soulement; Knout; 3997, me; 4000, nute; 4002, cum; segnour dist (7 syl.); 4002 and 4006, Sueyn.

Quel conseil il en purrunt prendre,
Kar ne se purrunt pas defendre,
Vers Suain qui si sudeinement
Est sur els venu od grant gent,
Ki tuz les volt a mort retreire
E destruire, sil poeit faire,
"Kar tresbien le savez, enfin,
Que Suain est plus fel que mastin;
Ja vers li ne troverum grace,
Quil nus doint un sul jur despace
Quil ne nus face une nuaie
E nus nen avum nul aie;
Ne nul conseil de nostre rei,
Ne nul comfort, ne nul agrei;
Qui nus devereit trestuz aider,
E maintenir e conseilier.
Meis si tant de respit en eusse,
Que jeo gent assembler peüsse,
Ja Suain ne ireit de cest païs
Quil ne fust descomfist e pris."

The MS. breaks off here at the foot of folio 24 b. with the catchwords: "E ses amis li respundi."

MS. ll. 4015, Sueyn; 4016, eus; 4017, E ki (9 syl.); voult; 4022, iour; 4029, usse; 4030, pusse; 4031, Sueyn.

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The Four Daughters of God

A Study of

The Versions of this Allegory

With Special Reference to those in

Latin, French, and English

BY

HOPE TRAVER

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, U. S. A., September, 1907

Bryn Mawr College

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INTRODUCTION.

The allegory of the Four Daughters of God, founded upon Ps. 74: 11, "Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi; Justitia et Pax osculatae sunt," enjoyed extraordinary popularity throughout the Middle Ages. It appears in every language and in many forms of literature, and it even became a favorite device for the illuminations of manuscripts, not merely of those which contained the allegory, but also of others more general in character. So well known, indeed, was this allegory that it became almost a mediæval commonplace, so that a mere allusion to it was sufficient to recall the whole story. In the hymns and homilies such allusions are frequent enough; but these, with one or two exceptions, I have not noticed, since they are too slight to affect the development of the allegory. Their only value for my purpose is to attest the widespread popularity of the story.

The most systematic attempt which has hitherto been made to trace the growth of this allegory appears in an excellent comparative study of a few of the versions by the late Professor Heinzel.[1] This, in a general way, I have used as the basis for my own work. He divides his material into four classes. In the first and third classes is treated the strife of the Four Daughters, arrayed two against two, concerning the redemption of man, a strife which is appeased when the Son of God offers to take man's place and suffer in his stead. In the second class, which he calls the "Processus Belial," is introduced the additional motive of a dispute with the Devil. The fourth class differs from the others in making the Four Daughters engage in controversy over the question of man's creation, not of his redemption.

[1] R. Heinzel: *Vier Geistliche Gedichte* ZfdA., XVII: 43-56 (1874).

K. Raab[2] has also studied the allegory in his article, *Ueber Vier Allegorische Motive,* and Professor Scherer,[3] in continuation of Heinzel's investigation, has traced its origin to the Rabbinical *Midrash.* Many other scholars have made valuable lists. Of these the most helpful have been those in the special studies by Petit de Julleville,[4] Rothschild,[5] Creizenach,[6] Hartmann,[7] Roediger[8] and d'Ancona,[9] and in the more general works of Gröber[10] and Goedeke.[11]

My own study of the allegory does not cover the whole field. In collecting versions I found my material multiplying so enormously that I was forced, most reluctantly, to limit myself for the present, with a few exceptions, to the discussion of the development of the allegory from the Latin into French and English. This was the more possible since the versions in other literatures, although extremely interesting, are for the most part so isolated from those here studied that they have exerted no influence upon them. I hope before long, however, to publish the result of my work upon these other examples. I have tried to make my collection of versions as complete as possible, yet in the case of an allegory which enjoyed such extraordinary popularity, some versions must have been overlooked.[12]

[2]K. Raab: *Ueber Vier Allegorische Motive.* Program zu Leoben, 1885.

[3]W. Scherer: *Die Vier Töchter Gottes,* ZfdA., XXI: 414-416 (1877).

[4]Petit de Julleville: *Les Mystères,* Paris, 1880.

[5]Rothschild: ed. *Le Viel Testament,* 1878.

[6]Creizenach: *Gesch. des neueren Dramas,* Halle, 1893.

[7]Hartmann: *Scheirer Rhythmus von der Erlösung,* ZfdA., XXIII: 173-189.

[8]Roediger: *Contrasti Antichi,* Firenze, 1887.

[9]d'Ancona: *Origini del Teatro Italiano,* Roma, 1891.

[10]Gröber: *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie,* Strassburg, 1902.

[11]Goedeke: *Grundriss zur Gesch. der deutschen Dichtung.* Dresden, 1884-1905.

[12]After the presentation of this dissertation, the following versions were brought to my attention by Professor Brown: Trinity Coll. Camb. MS. 1149, fol. 320, *De Misericordia, Veritate, Justitia et Pace* (13th century, after 1248), and Royal MS. 8 G. vi, part 6, *De concordia*

In its origin the allegory is Jewish rather than Christian, making its first appearance not later than the tenth century in the *Midrash*. In this rabbinical commentary the story is connected with the heavenly council concerning the creation of man. When it was transferred to Christian mythology, the allegory developed along two distinct lines. According to one—Heinzel's fourth class—the theme of the dispute was still the creation of mankind. This form of the story is followed by the German versions described by Heinzel and Scherer. The other branch of the allegory—which spread far more widely,—transferred the occasion of the dispute from the creation to the redemption. This modified form of the story was introduced by Hugo of St. Victor (1097-1141), and shortly after was further elaborated by Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), whose treatment of the allegory furnished the basis for almost all of its subsequent development. In one or two instances, however, later writers have followed, not Bernard, but the earlier work of Hugo. Examples of this reversion are the German *Anegenge*, a poem of the twelfth century, and more striking, the *Merlijn* by Jacob van Maerlant (ca. 1260), which, combining with this allegory another commentary of Hugo's, effected a union of two contests originally separate: that between the Virgin and the Devil, and that between Mercy and Justice. The story, so combined, Heinzel in the article to which I referred, has named the "Processus Belial."

Though Bernard's version was the basis of most of the succeeding work, it was Grosseteste[13] and Bonaventura who, by their redactions, supplied the particular forms followed by the later versions. In the narrative forms of the story the Grosseteste type usually appears, in the dramatic versions

Misericordiae et Veritatis, etc. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see these versions, or to learn more about them, so that I cannot tell whether they would change any of the relationships I have assumed or strengthen them by further illustration.

[13]See notes on Grosseteste, Ch. II, n. 1, and Bonaventura, Ch. III., n. 2.

the Bonaventura type, although this distinction is not always maintained. Moreover, the debate scene in the dramas, with the exception of the Italian mystery play by Belcari (fifteenth century) and the English dramatic versions, utilized other elements besides those furnished by Bonaventura. The principal elements thus added are, first, the devil motive, which is used most fully in *Merlijn* and the German plays, and second, the introduction, as arbitrator of the dispute, of a new figure, Sapience, a character invented by the French poet Deguilleville in his *Pèlerinage de Jesucrist* (1388). Meanwhile, more and more theological argumentation had crept in until in Greban's *Mystère de la Passion* (1450) the action is buried under a load of dialectic. These are the chief additions amid a score of minor variations.

On account of the complexity of influences which affected the development of the allegory, I have found it difficult to adhere strictly to chronology. The arrangement which I have adopted is briefly as follows: After tracing the progress of the allegory from the *Midrash* to Hugo and Bernard, I have considered first those versions which seem to have been written from direct knowledge of Bernard, then those coming through the intermediate channels of Grosseteste and Bonaventura. At that point, it was necessary to break the continuity of the discussion in order to trace the history of the devil motive which played an important rôle in the French and German drama, and to take account of the new elements introduced by Deguilleville.

I then continued the study of the allegory in the French and English mysteries and moralities, showing how in these dramatic versions the influence of Grosseteste and Bonaventura persists. The last chapter describes a number of miscellaneous English versions. I have added also a chart showing the relationship of the versions studied (see frontispiece) and a list of books and articles used in the preparation of this monograph.

It would not be possible for me adequately to express

my gratitude to all those whose assistance and encouragement have made my task a pleasant one. I can only acknowledge my recognition of the constant kindness I have met. I wish especially to thank Professor Schick of Munich, Dr. Carleton F. Brown of Bryn Mawr College, and Mr. G. H. Gerould, formerly of Bryn Mawr College, now of Princeton University, for their never failing interest and suggestion, and the last two for their incalculable help in the criticism and revision of my manuscript. It is to Professor Schick of Munich that I owe the deepest gratitude. Interested by the beginning which I had made in tracing the growth of the allegory, he magnanimously placed at my disposal the material on the subject which he had himself collected after his attention had been directed to it in the course of his study of Lydgate. His extraordinary kindness and whole-hearted interest from that day to this have been my greatest encouragement. I wish also to thank the library authorities in Munich and Paris for their courtesy and help; M. Sepet of the Paris Library and Professor Foulet of Bryn Mawr College for the suggestions they made concerning some of the French versions, and Prof. DeHaan of Bryn Mawr College and Miss Steele-Smith of Newnham College for help in translating the Dutch poems.

Chapter I.

HUGO AND BERNARD.

Section I. Importance of Hugo and Bernard.

The introduction of the allegory of The Four Daughters of God into Christian theology is closely connected with the rise of mysticism. In the first years of the twelfth century, this new influence, with its wealth of symbolism and its beauty of imagery, was profoundly affecting the teachings of the Church. The earliest, as well as the fullest, expression of mysticism is to be found in the writings of two theologians: Hugo of St. Victor (1097-1141) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153). Both of these men, through the austerity and purity of their lives, the depth and keenness of their thought, and their marvellous eloquence, exerted an enormous influence, not only upon their own generation, but throughout the Middle Ages.

In the case of Hugo, this influence is not, perhaps, so apparent. From the middle of the thirteenth century, his reputation, at first unrivalled, was obscured, at least in the great schools like those of Paris, by the greater popularity of Bernard; though in scattered monasteries, and particularly among the Victorines, he continued to hold his place.[1]

Into the general question, whether Hugo is to be regarded as supplying to Bernard the first impulse toward mysticism and the main outlines of the doctrines which he elaborated, it is not necessary for us here to enter.[2]

[1] *Nouvelle Biographie Générale;* Hugo de S. Victor.

[2] Carl Horstmann (*Richard Rolle of Hampole.* London, 1896. I, p. ix) asserts that Hugo was "the real founder of mediæval mysticism, Bernard being dependent upon him for the essential features of his mystic views," but it is perhaps safer with Liebner (*Hugo von St*

Section II. Hugo's Use of the Allegory Prior to that of Bernard.

In the case of the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, at all events, it seems clear that the priority belongs to Hugo rather than to Bernard. Bernard's version, which occurs in his famous sermon on the Annunciation, did not appear until 1140 A. D.,[3] only one year before the death of Hugo. On the other hand, Hugo's version, contained in his Annotations on certain Psalms,[4] must have been in existence almost twenty years earlier, since the allegory, copied word for word as Hugo gives it, is found in a compilation entitled *Deflorationes Patrum Sanctorum*[5] by Wernher von Ellersbach, Abbot of St. Blasien. Wernher introduced the parable in the homily on the text, "Estote misericordes sicut et pater vester misericors est." Inasmuch as Wernher died in 1126, this homily could not have been written much later than 1121. In this way the date of Hugo's version may be fixed years before Bernard's sermon.[6]

Victor und die theologischen Richtungen seiner Zeit, Leipzig, 1832, p. 264) to argue only mutual relations and influence.

[3]See Richard Heinzel: *Vier Geistliche Gedichte, Excurs über den Mythus von den vier Töchtern Gottes,* Zfda., XVII, 43-51, and P. L. Janauschek: *Xenia Bernardina,* Vindobonae, 1891, IV: p. iv.

[4]*Opera Hugonis de S. Victore.* Miscellanea, Lib. II Annotationes in quosdam Psalmos David. Cap. LXIII, in Migne: *Patrologia.* CLXXVII: pp. 621-625.

[5]*Libri Defloratiorum sive excerptionum ex Melliflua diversorum Patrum signanter Augustini, Hieronymi, Ambrosii, Gregorii, Hilarii, Chrysostomi, Maximi, Originis, Remigii, Cassiodori, Bedæ, Alcuini aliorunque doctorum orthodoxorum doctrina. Super evangelia de Tempore per Anni Circulum.. Per reverendum Patrem Dominum Wernerum Abbatem Monasterii S. Blasii Martyris et Pontificis in Nigra Silva,* etc., in Migne: *Patrologia,* CLVII: 1039.

[6]It is but fair to state that Teuber (P. B. Teuber: *Ueber die vom Dichter des Anegenge benützten Quellen.* PBB. XXIV: 249-360 esp. p. 334) believes Wernher was the original author and Hugo the copyist, since the former, he says, always names his sources when borrowing, and mentions none here. But Cruel (see R. Cruel: *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter,* Detmold, 1879, pp. 144-5) gives a number of instances where Wernher appropriated thoughts from Honorius Augustodunensis, Hugo, or others, without acknowledgement

On general grounds there would be nothing impossible, of course, in supposing that both Hugo and Bernard, with the mystic's love of allegory, may have turned for suggestion to the imagery of the Orient and have come upon this parable in the *Midrash* independently.[7] There is one slight circumstance, however, which seems to indicate that Hugo alone drew his allegory directly from the *Midrash.* This is the fact that Hugo uses the twelfth verse as well as the eleventh of the eighty-fourth Psalm and that he introduces the phrase, "Mercy and truth have met together," in connection with their strife, and not at the time of their reconciliation. In both these particulars he agrees with the *Midrash* and differs from Bernard and other writers.

Before proceeding to examine the details of the allegory as it is presented by Hugo and Bernard, it will be well to have before us an outline of the parable in the *Midrash.*[8] From the translation into German made for Professor Scherer, it may be given as follows:

Rabbi Simon said: that when God would create Adam, a number of parties were formed among the angels. Some said "Create him"; others, "Create him not." Therefore we have Psalm 84: 11[9]: "Mercy and truth thrust at one

of his indebtedness. Cruel adds that he rarely quotes his sources, except where it is superfluous.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the prior use of the parable belongs to Hugo rather than Wernher, for the latter does not even claim originality for his work, but calls it a compilation.

On *a priori* grounds, moreover, it is more natural to assume that the simple annotations on a psalm should precede their application in a sermon,—an argument which, were there no dates to decide that matter, would also be of force as proving Hugo's priority to Bernard. In the latter case, the comparative simplicity of his treatment as against Bernard's more developed form, would be another point in his favor.

[7]This is the view of Heinzel (p. 47).

[8]*Midrash Rabba, Genesis, Paracha,* 8, Berlin, 1866. Trans. in ZfdA *XXI,* 414-416. Scherer: *Die Vier Töchter Gottes.* Certain German versions follow the *Midrash* form of the allegory. For a list of these see the articles already referred to by Heinzel (ZfdA. *XVII:* 46-47) and Scherer (ZfdA *XXI:* 414-416).

[9]Professor Barton informs me that in the Aramaic of the Talmud

another. Justice and peace fought together." Mercy said, "Create him; because he will practise mercy." Said Truth, "Create him not; for he will be full of lies." Justice spoke, "Create him; for he will be just." Peace opposed it because he would be contentious. What did God do? He took Truth and threw her to earth, as it says in Daniel 8: 12. But the angels cried, "Lord of the angels, why dost Thou despise Thy first bodyguard? Let Truth rise from the earth." Therefore it says in Ps. 84: 12, "Truth shall spring out of the earth."

To return to Hugo, we find that he, and those who subsequently treat the subject, with the exception of a few German writers, transfer the matter of the pleading between the sisters from the creation of man to his redemption. Hugo's version of the story[10] is, briefly, as follows:

Veritas dwelt in Heaven with God, but Misericordia on earth with man. At the appointed time, God descended with Veritas to judge man; but Misericordia, knowing His plan, determined to present herself first, and beg mercy. Here, Veritas, with obstinate look, interfered. Thus, "Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi." Misericordia argued, that since it is writen, "Universae viae Domini misericordia et veritas sunt," she should precede Veritas in

and Midrash the root which in Hebrew means "to meet" has also the meaning "to fight," and the word which in Hebrew means "kiss" has also in Aramaic the meaning "arm one's self." He says, therefore, that it is clear that this Midrashic story arose after Hebrew had been supplanted by Aramaic, as it is only in the latter tongue that the verbs have this double meaning. The fact that Hugo makes the same application, therein differing from most versions, would seem to imply that he was influenced to interpret the verse in this way by a knowledge of the Midrash parable. This he might have gained through the *Yalqut Schimoni*, which contains almost literally the same story, as Professor Scherer notes. It is uncertain where the *Yalqut* was compiled, but some attribute it to an eleventh century Rabbi Simeon of southern Germany. (See Jewish Encyclopedia, XII, 586.)

[10]Hugo: *Annotationes in quosdam Psalmos David,* Migne, *Patrologia,* CLXXVII: 623-625. In Ps. 84: 11, 12. Hugo and the other early versions naturally quote from the Vulgate, where the numbering differs from that in the English Bible. Ps. 85: 10, 11.

authority, and that, therefore, she was the more grieved at not being called to council. This slight, Veritas justified on the ground that her counsel would have been contrary to what has been ordained, and, therefore, profitless. When Misericordia urged that if all who sinned were condemned, God would be wholly deprived of servants, Veritas replied that this would be better than that He should be served unworthily; and to the further plea of Misericordia that conversion would secure God's abundant grace, she answered only that grace must not subvert justice. God, desiring peace and unable to proceed to His judgment until the controversy should be settled, begged them to put the matter in His arbitration. When they consented, provided that the rights of each were preserved, He sent Veritas to earth and kept Misericordia in Heaven. Veritas, entering the heart of man, found it wholly evil, and cried to Heaven in accusation, but Misericordia at God's side would not desist from her cry for mercy. Meanwhile, Veritas, having stimulated man to repentance, ascended with his confessions, while Justitia was sent to man. Thus accord was made and Justitia, calling for Pax, embraced and kissed her, then rose to Heaven, never to descend till the Lord's coming.

Section III. Bernard.

From this slightly developed version, Bernard took little more than the germ,—the strife between the sisters over man's sin and redemption—and proceeded to work it out in an original manner. Whereas in Hugo peace is made through man's repentance and confession, in Bernard the solution is reached only by the substitution of Christ for the sinner, an application which was probably suggested from the fact that Ps. 84:11, 12, figured in the Christmas liturgy.[11] The story as Bernard told it is far better known.[12]

[11]See M. Sepet: *Les Origines Catholiques du Theâtre Moderne.* Paris, 1901, p. 276.

[12]St. Bernard: (*In Festo Annunciationis Beatae Virginis,* Ps. 84: 10, 11). Migne, *Patrologia,* CLXXXIII; 383-390 esp. 387-390.

Man originally was clothed with the four virtues: Misericordia to guard his steps, Veritas to teach him, Justitia to rule him, and Pax to cherish him; but like the man who fell among thieves on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, he was robbed of his protection, losing Justitia when he listened to the serpent, Misericordia when he burned with desire of the flesh, Veritas when he yielded, and at the same time Pax, since "there is no peace to the wicked." Thereupon a strife arose between the sisters, Veritas and Justitia wishing to afflict man, Misericordia and Pax to spare him. Misericordia and Pax came before God and touched His heart by their distress; but He, wishing to satisfy the other two as well, summoned them to a conference. At the appointed time all appeared, though Justitia and Veritas, obscured by their zeal, could not rise above the clouds. Against Misericordia's plea that the time for mercy had come, Veritas urged God's warning to Adam that he should die if he ate the forbidden fruit. Misericordia moaned that, unless grace were shown, she must die, but Veritas declared that she herself must die if the liar were pardoned. At this juncture an angel suggested that Solomon (here evidently a name for Christ) be sent for. At His coming, the controversy was renewed: Veritas, though admitting the purity of Misericordia's zeal, declared the granting of her request unadvisable, especially in view of the loss of authority which the Judge would suffer through yielding. Pax here intervened, protesting against so disgraceful an altercation between sisters. Then the Judge wrote with His finger in the sand, and Pax, being nearer, read: "Haec dicit: Perii, si Adam non moriatur; et haec dicit; Perii, nisi misericordiam sequatur. Fiat mors bona et habet utraque quod petit."

At these words of wisdom all were amazed, but could not conceive how death, cruel and terrible, could be good. The answer, "Mors peccatorum pessima, sed pretiosa fieri potest mors sanctorum. An non pretiosa fieri si fuerit janua vitae, porta gloriae?" only half satisfied them till God ex-

plained that if one, himself guiltless, should die out of love for man, Death could not hold him, for Love, being stronger than Death, would enter Death's home and bind him, and so free the dead. The saying seemed worthy of acceptation, and Veritas and Misericordia went forth to find such a one. But Veritas in all the earth could find none, even one day old, without sin, and Misericordia could find no angel in Heaven of charity equal to her need. They returned in sorrow from their fruitless search, only to be rebuked by Pax for their lack of understanding, since He alone who gave the counsel could bear the aid. The King, hearing, cried, "Pœnitet me fecisse hominem. Pœna me tenet, mihi incumbit sustinere pœnam, pœnitentiam agere pro homine quem creavi." He then sent Gabriel to the Virgin to make the annunciation, ordered Veritas and Misericordia to go before Christ, told Justitia to prepare His throne, and directed Pax to come with Him. When all was thus planned, amid a chorus of angels "Justitia et Pax osculatæ sunt."[13]

This sermon of Bernard's is of peculiar importance because of its extraordinary influence on mediæval literary history. It became immensely popular, and translations or redactions appeared in every country. Of these, two, by Grosseteste and Bonaventura[14] respectively, deserve special study, since they introduced modifications of Bernard's story which determined the development of the allegory in a large

[13]Since the acceptance of this dissertation, I have come upon another reminiscence of the allegory of the Four Daughters,—(it can hardly be called a version, since there is no controversy here)—which is so curious that it should not be omitted. In the sermon *De Adventu Domini* (*Migne* CXCVIII: 1736-37) by Peter Comestor (†1178) it is said that the four daughters of the King,—Misericordia, Justitia, Veritas, and Pax,—were present at man's creation, again at his fall, and once more at his redemption. These statements Comestor explains at some length and he ends by quoting Psalm 84: 11. Although there is no controversy here, the sermon is of much interest as implying a possible knowledge of both the *Midrash* and Hugo's or Bernard's versions of the allegory by its reference to the creation as well as the redemption of man.

[14]See notes on Grosseteste (Ch. II, n. 1) and Bonaventura (Ch. III, n. 2).

majority of later versions. These modifications are more patent in Grosseteste's version, as he transforms the parable into an allegorical romance. In Bonaventura, though the modifications are no less real, they are not so noticeable, since the greater part of the story is directly transcribed and the whole is attributed to Bernard. The most radical changes are in the introduction and conclusion, which make no pretense of following Bernard. In addition to these marked differences, a close comparison of the two works reveals a large number of minor variations in that part of his work which claims dependence upon Bernard. It is perhaps due to the seeming coincidence of the two works at first sight that Bonaventura's importance in the history of the development of the allegory has been so little recognized; for, as will be seen later, even those who borrow directly from him often cite Bernard as their source.

But before either Grosseteste or Bonaventura wrote the versions which were so greatly to modify the future development of the allegory, three others appeared, in Latin, English, and German, respectively. The latter, *Das Anegenge,* though dependent upon Bernard, is even more indebted to Hugo, but a discussion of this poem lies outside the limits of this monograph.

The English version just mentioned is found in the treatise, *Vices and Virtues,*[15] which its editor, Dr. Holthausen, dates about 1200. The allegory in question, which is imbedded in the chapter "Of Milce," shows indebtedness to Bernard in so far as concerned the general idea of the discussion between the virtues. The writer does not claim originality for his material but speaks of it as "igadered . . . of manizes halizes mannes zeswinkes." Nevertheless, his treatment of our allegory is on the whole original

[15] *Vices and Virtues, being a Soul's Confession of its Sins, with Reason's description of the Virtues; a Middle English Dialogue of about 1200 A. D. from the Stowe Ms. 240 in the British Museum.* Ed. Ferd. Holthausen. E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser LXXXIX, 1888, pp. 112-116.

and unlike any found elsewhere. Because of its accessibility and because it has not apparently influenced later versions, I shall content myself with a brief notice of its contents.

The writer is not very clear in his presentation. He begins by saying "God's Milce and Soð, that is, God, met together," adding "And I shall write as if Milce spoke with Soð." Here God's attributes are represented as speaking for Deity himself. This view further is implied in Soð's statement "I warned him," and is expressly affirmed in the reply of Milce, "Consider that just as thou saidst he should suffer death, so thou saidst also 'Let us make man in our own image' . . . Never let thy likeness perish, but let him come, through thy goodness, to the happiness for which he was created." At this point, however, confusion is introduced by making the Attributes speak as distinct from God. Soð answers, "Let us go before God and his Rihtwisnesse and His Judgment and before all His holy Virtues and complain there." God is appealed to by the Virtues and speaks as a separate person. The confusion is not yet ended; for Soð, who at first is referred to as "she," is later identified with God's Son, offering Himself to release mankind. Finally, to complete the confusion, we read that when this was done, Soð sprang out of the earth.

In the arguments employed there is greater clearness than in the personifications, and they have a fairly consecutive development. The thought most emphasized is that Adam was made in God's likeness and for happiness, and, therefore, should have hope of mercy. Soð at the beginning, and Rihtwisnesse when the Virtues meet before God, insist upon the fact that man's sin was wilful, not necessitated by force on the devil's part. Nor is this denied by Mercy, Rewðe or Sibsumnesse. No justification is attempted. The only plea is for mercy and the release of man from his pain and mourning. This plea Truth upholds, and God confirms it by appointing His Son as a sacrifice for Adam's guilt.

These are the usual theological arguments, and all are

so general as to defy assignment to any particular source. Although, as I have said, the writer was indebted to Bernard for the idea of a discussion between the Virtues concerning man's redemption, it does not follow that he had seen the sermon on the Annunciation. Indeed, I feel sure that he knew it merely by tradition; for the only feature common to the two is the general conception of a dispute begun between Mercy and Truth and carried before God, there to be settled by the Son's offer of Himself as man's redeemer.

The Latin version referred to above is the *Scheirer Rhythmus,*[16] a poem in fifty-eight quatrains, of which only the first twenty deal with our allegory. It has been ascribed to the Bavarian monk Konrad von Scheirern (1226-1259), though Hartmann,[17] judging from the many obvious corruptions in the manuscript, thinks that he was merely the copyist. In this version the number of the contestants is reduced from four to two—Justitia and Clementia, or Pietas,—and the plot of the allegory has almost disappeared. The only points of connection between the *Rhythmus* and sermon of Bernard are the use of Ps. 84: 11, and the application of this passage to the decision of God to redeem man. Indeed, Hartmann thinks it uncertain whether the author of this poem knew Bernard's sermon at all. He adds that the author shows certain creative power, linking to the strife of Justitia and Clementia that of Ratio and Fides without destroying the unity of the poem, since the second conflict in the minds of men serves as a reflection of the first in the thoughts of God.

It is a curious fact that from the time of the appearance of the revisions by Grosseteste and Bonaventura, Bernard seems rarely to have been consulted as immediate source, those who used the allegory later having colored their work according to either Grosseteste's or Bona-

[16]MS. Cod. Schirensis 4 clm. 17404 fol. 302.

[17]A. Hartmann: *Scheirer Rhythmus von der Erlösung,* ZfdA. XXIII: 173-189.

ventura's treatment. The only exceptions to this practice that I have discovered are in Theramo's *Belial,* Mai's *Comedie von der . . . Vereinigung . . . Gerechtigkeit und Barmherzigkeit,* Lydgate's *Life of our Lady,* the *Pomerium Sermonum* of Pelbartus, and a few minor poems to be mentioned at the end of the chapter. The second of these, the play by Mai, being in German, lies outside our present consideration; moreover, it draws only slightly upon its source. Lydgate's *Life of our Lady,*[18] on the other hand, written more than two hundred years after *Vices and Virtues,* is very definitely modelled upon the work of Bernard.

It is introduced by generalizations on the supreme misery of man after the Fall, because of his supreme happiness before.

> "For ioye passid can hertys more constrayne
> Here welthe aforne to by wepe and waile
> Than alle torment that doth hem assaile."

Seeing him thus plunged in misery, Mercy and Pees would have come to his relief, but Trouthe with a stern face "saide flatly that he gete no grace."

> "Then furste of alle cruelly to threte
> Trouthe began al mosste in a rage
> Of cruel ire and of malencolye
> And seide shortly that man for his outrage
> Of verre rigt most nedys dye
> And thus began the contrauersye."

[18]Chapter *XV.* This poem is extant in several MSS. In my description I follow MS. Harl. 629. For the determination of the date of the *Life of our Lady,* see Dr. Schick's edition of Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* (E. E. T. S. Ext. Ser. LX (1891), p. cviii), and for a list of the manuscripts, the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* The poem is to be edited for the E. E. T. S. by Prof. Georg Fiedler. Since the presentation of this dissertation, *Studies in the Life and Writings of John Lydgate, the Monk of Bury,* a dissertation by Henry Noble MacCracken has been presented at Harvard University, Apr., 1907. Dr. MacCracken quotes and discusses Prof. Schick's date for the *Life of our Lady* and concludes: "It is probably safest to date the *Life of our Lady* within the reign of Henry V" (p. 52). In the appendix to the chapter he gives the date 1412-1422.

Trouthe says that at man's creation she had told him the peril of his offence, but he had given her "no manere audience." Then Riȝt tells of her efforts with all diligence to rule man and that he took no heed. "Wherfore of me he gete noon helpe at nede." Man engaged in a quarrel with her, Riȝt adds, when he gave credence to the snake; with Trouthe he quarreled when he put her out of his sight; and with Pees when he put Mercy from him, thus breaking the truce and declaring for war. Therefore, it would be a great wrong to restore him. But Mercy cries, "Nature has reserved to Pees, my sister, and to me ever to have pity on wretchedness. Man offended more by ignorance than of malice." Riȝt remains obdurate. Then Pees speaks, "I think that on the way to Jericho he was despoiled by cruel foes because of lack of help, since he was left alone." This seems to be a thrust at Ri t who had just declared that since man would not obey her, she would not help him at need. Trouthe apparently feels this and seeks to justify Riȝt's and her own desertion of man by saying, "That was because he was reckless, not to go the way I taught him." Mercy, however, continues man's defence in the line suggested by Pees, saying, "The mortal foe of Pees, the old serpent, root of all treason, lay in wait to deceive man, assuring him that if he ate of the forbidden tree, he would become like God, knowing good and evil; and because my sister Trouthe was absent and Riȝt also, man was slyly betrayed. Therefore, I purpose utterly to relieve him if I can or may." "And I," said Pees, "will help faithfully."

With this the two go before the heavenly Consistory and beg a hearing for man. Pees begins, urging that since God has made Mercy sovereign over all His works, He should not disdain their united prayers. She then breaks forth in enthusiastic eulogy of Mercy, hailing her as empress of heaven, as above the seven stars, and quoting from the Scriptures her praises and the promises of mercy. No less

does she exalt her own position as the inseparable companion of God who is the Prince of Peace, and she gives numerous Biblical quotations testifying to her power.

The Judge gives benign audience, but declares that He cannot proceed to give sentence without granting equal hearing to the other two sisters, and He orders them to be summoned. Trouthe is the first to speak. She warns God that unless man die for his iniquity, both she and Riȝt must lose the franchise of their liberty and jurisdiction; for it was God's own word that man must die if he ate the apple. It seems to her that Pees does wrong to defend man in opposition to Riȝt and herself. It should rather be her duty to restrain discord. To Trouthe's words Riȝt adds her assent, saying,

> "Hit must followe thouȝ he were my brother
> That he mote dye by doome of equite.
> Or in his name mote be dede some other."

Mercy combats the sentence of man's death, insisting that the death of a sinner can give no pleasure to God and that guilty blood can be no sacrifice. As to finding "some other" to die in his name, that will be difficult; for he must be "of synne innocent and clene" and such a one would be hard to find throughout the world. None other will suffice, for "foule with filthe may [not] be purified," a fact illustrated in the Jewish ritual, where only a spotless lamb could be offered in sacrifice. She urges that they beg the Father to fashion a way by which she may be helped without displeasing Riȝt and Trouthe.

God is inclined to condescend to her will. He announces that one pure and clean of life will die to pay the ransom of man's guilt, and will do this freely and uncompelled, purely for man's sake. He explains that this must be His own Son who will

"Wrappe himself in the mortal kynde,"

being born of the

"Maide debonaire and mylde, the humble
Douȝtir of Juda and Sion.
And unto her shalle trouthe and mercy goon
By oone accorde sent afor my face
Liche my deuyse to chese me a place
And seie to her in alle manere thinge
Her tabernacle that she make faire
Aȝen the comynge of her myȝty kynge
Which is my sonne and myne owne aire
That in her breste shale have his repaire
Where trouthe and mercy shalle togyther mete
By one assente and her rancour lete.
And ther shal pees kisse riȝtwisnesse
And alle the sustirs accorde in oon place.

* * * * * * * *

And finally mercy shalle purchace
A charter of pardoun liche as this maide clene
And whiche for man be so goode a mene
That he shalle nowe ascape daungerlees
Amid the forest free from every trappe
While the maide that causeth alle this pees
Hathe the unicorne[19] slepyng in her lappe
That thourȝ mekenesse shal his horne so wrappe
Ther it was wonte to slee by violence
Thourȝ dethe it shall aȝen dethe be diffence
Aȝeins venym more holsome than triacle,
Every poyson asofte and asswage
Whan the lyon maketh his habitacle
Wyth in a maide but of tendir age."

[19]This reference to the well known tradition from the *Bestiaries*, where Christ is represented as a unicorn which only Mary could tame, is of peculiar interest because, as far as I know, it is the only instance where it appears in connection with any version of the allegory of the strife between the Four Daughters of God. But the connection had already been established in French and German art. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century a sculpture on the Johannis Kirche, Gmund, shows Mary enthroned with the Child in her lap and near her

In the poem thus outlined, Lydgate's dependence upon Bernard is unmistakable. Especially noteworthy borrowings, because nowhere else adopted, are the statements that man had lost the protection and guidance of each of the four Virtues,[20] and the comparison of his wretched state to that of the traveller toward Jericho. Less striking coincidences are also to be seen; for example, the Father's answer to Mercy and Peace that their sisters must also be summoned to present their wishes before He pronounce judgment, and His direction that Trouthe and Mercy go before Christ and prepare His way.

Besides the general dependence upon Bernard, one observes in Lydgate's poem a number of touches which reveal the influence of later versions of our allegory. The speech of Pees before God's throne suggests Grosseteste in its insistence upon the exalted position and dignity of herself and Mercy, and the consequent necessity of granting their joint request, though in Grosseteste it is only her own position which she rates so highly. Again, in the passage where Riȝt declares that by just doom man must die "thouȝ he were my brother," one is reminded of *Piers Plowman*. But these are minor points; the important source is Bernard.

At the end of the century in which Lydgate wrote, one more example of a version based directly upon Bernard is to be found in the *Pomerium Sermonum,* a Latin mystical

the chase of the unicorn. The unicorn is pursued by a hunter with two dogs; but as yet the dogs are unnamed. In miniatures decorating religious works of the fourteenth century, however, Gabriel or God is represented as a hunter holding four hounds in leash below which are written their names,—Mercy, Truth, Justice and Peace. For instances of this application of the allegory see W. Mannhardt: *"Weihnachtsblüthen in Sitte und Sage,"* Berlin, 1864, p. 161, ff., and F. Piper: *"Der Rathschluss der Menschenwerdung und Erlösung* in Evangelisches Jahrbuch für 1859. Berlin, 1859, pp. 17-42. E. Mâle *(Le Renouvellement de l'Art par les Mystères à la fin du Moyen Age* in Gazette des Beaux Artes, Paris, 1904) adds a full account of the illustrations of the allegory in France.

[20]Grosseteste and others suggest the existence of guardians before man's sin, but do not develop the thought as here.

treatise, by the Hungarian Franciscan, Pelbartus of Temesvar.[21]

The author expressly credits Bernard with the invention of the allegory, and except that he expands freely, he follows Bernard fairly closely. Pelbartus' version of our allegory occurs in that portion of his work dealing with the Annunciation. His plan of treatment is stated as follows in the heading of this division of his treatise:

"Per modum historiae qualiter determinatum est per divinam sapientiam ut homo redimatur. Ubi primo ponitur allegatio misericordie, secundo oppositio justicie, tertio determinatio sapientie." According to the plan here outlined, he divides his material into three chapters, of which the first is wholly original, the second and third dependent upon Bernard for the general framework. These are amplified, however, by the introduction of new arguments, some of which are cited from Anselm.

In the first chapter Misericordia attempts to show why mercy is due to man. She will prove this, she says, in four ways, that is, by divine, canonical, philosophical, and civil law. To establish the first point, she quotes the Scriptures where the eternal mercies of God are asserted. According to canonical law, what has once been pleasing should never become displeasing; therefore, man, created for happiness, should attain this goal. Philosophical law treats of the natural properties of creatures; mercy is a natural property

[21]First printed at Hagenau in 1498 at the request of John Rynman of that city. The full title runs: *Pomerium Sermonum de beata virgine dei genitrice vel Stellarium Corone beate virginis pro singularum festivitatum eiusdem predicationibus coaptatum.* Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire: Supplement: Dictionnaire de Geographie*, p. 599), says that Maittaire cites a book by Pelbartus in 1475, a date which Brunet considers due to a mistaken reading for 1495. The work was often printed by Gran, eight editions appearing between 1498-1500 alone. The edition from which I have worked, belonging to Cornell University, is dated 1511. It ends as follows:

> " . . . impressum ac emendatum impensis circumspecti viri archibibliopole Joannis Rynman de Oringaw in officina industrii Henrici Gran: cuius imperiali oppido Hagenaw: Finit feliciter anno virginei partus millesimoquingentesimo undecimo. In vigilia sanctorum Simonis et Jude apostolorum."

of God, and all noble natures spare even an enemy that is prostrate. Finally, it is a maxim of civil law that one should not derive profit from doing evil. Yet the serpent has enjoyed great gain from his fraud, in the power he has since held over captive man.

The second chapter begins by repeating the arguments which Bernard used in the opening dispute between Misericordia and Veritas, but then adds others in which Misericordia so skilfully makes the distinction between corporal and eternal death, that Veritas is convinced and led to desire the release of man in any way not prejudicial to herself and Justitia. Justitia, alarmed at her sister's yielding, vehemently dissents; even when Misericordia appeals to her regard for her own dignity and happiness, she only half relents but declares that she cannot at all consider the question of man's release until satisfaction be given her unto the last farthing. Otherwise, she herself would perish.

The last chapter follows Bernard with but slight alterations and additions, as, for example, the substitution of Charitas for Pax. In general tone, as well as in specific quotations, the parable is, on the whole, one of the most faithful redactions of the Bernard sermon.

In concluding this list of versions which seems to depend directly upon Bernard, I may mention several French poems which refer to the allegory of the debate. Since they do not show traces of the influence of later redactions of Bernard's work, I group them loosely here.

Earliest in point of time is a French version of the thirteenth century in MS. 24406 fr. (Anc. la Vall. 59) fol. 153, but this is merely the slightest possible summary of the allegory. A corrupt copy of this is found in MS. 389 No. 79 Bern.[22]

Other references to the allegory occur in Huon de

[22]See J. Brakelmann: *Die Altfr. Liederhandschrift* No. 389 der Stadtbibliothek zu Bern in Herrig's Archiv. XLI: 339-376, XLII: 249.

Meri's *Tournoiement de l'Antichrist,*[23] *Les Noels Bourguignons de Bernard de la Monnoye,*[24] *La Passion,*[25] an eighteenth century poem, and *La Naissance de Nostre Seigneur Jesuchrist*[26] (1734).

In these poems the debate between the sisters is merely summarized in the briefest way. That they depended directly upon Bernard one cannot be certain, since their references to the allegory are too slight to be decisive on this point. In any case the matter is not important, as none of these poems added anything to the development of the allegory.

[23]In Coll. des Poetes Champenois anterieurs au *XVI* siècle; Reims, 1851, p. 1-105, esp. p. 58.

[24]Ed. F. Fertiolt, Paris, 1858.

[25]In MS. fr. 19149, Bib. Nat., Paris, fol. 88-146, esp. fol. 92.

[26]In MS. 4542 nouv. acq., Bibl. Nat., Paris, Fol. 48-97, esp. fol. 50-1.

Chapter II.

THE *CHASTEAU D'AMOUR* AND THE GROUP WHICH IT REPRESENTS.

Section I. The *Chasteau d'Amour.*

With the exceptions named in the last chapter, the later development of the allegory of the Four Daughters of God proceeds not in strict accordance with Bernard's sermon, but rather along the lines suggested by his followers. The first of these to introduce important modifications in the form of the allegory was the famous bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste[1] (1175-1253), a man of enormous influence on the intellectual life of his time. In his theological poem, the *Chasteau d'Amour,*[2] the allegory from Bernard's sermon appears in a novel setting; for by shifting the scene from a heavenly to an earthly court, he has transformed it to a feudal romance. The story in this form won immediate popularity, as the numerous manuscripts extant both in French and English translations testify. It also gave rise

[1]Dr. J. Felton (*Robert Grosseteste, Bishop von Lincoln; Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen und Culturgeschichte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts,* Freiburg, 1899, p. 87-8) doubts whether Grosseteste wrote the poem in the form in which it is preserved. He thinks it more probable that he supplied the dogma, and perhaps the framework, and that the scribe added his name either through an error or to add greater lustre to the work.

Dr. Felton's point does not seem to me to be proved. Dr. Francis Stevenson (*Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, A Contribution to the Religious, Political, and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century,* London, 1899, pp. 38, 39), although he takes account of Dr. Felton's doubt, does not hesitate to attribute the *Chasteau d'Amour* to Grosseteste.

[2]For lists of manuscripts, editions, etc., see Hupe: *Robert Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour* in Anglia XIV: 414-455, and Haase: *Die ae. Bearbeitungen von Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour verglichen mit der Quelle* in Anglia XII: 311-374. I have used the version of the poem as printed in Michel's *Libri Psalmorum,* Oxonii, 1860, for the outline here given.

to a number of dependent versions which it is the purpose of this chapter to examine. I will speak first of the *Chasteau* itself, then of the French group most intimately connected with it, and finally of English and other versions more remotely derived.

In the *Chasteau* the story opens with a brief statement of the donnée. A king of great power and knowledge has a son of the same power through whom he achieves whatever he wishes done throughout his realm. He has also four daughters, Misericorde, Verite, Justice, and Peis, to each of whom is given a portion of his substance and without whom he cannot govern his kingdom nor judge his subjects justly. This king has further a servant who, having proved unfaithful, has been delivered to his enemies for torture and imprisonment. Misericorde, seeing the captive in his torment, is so filled with pity that, unable to contain herself, she goes before the King to plead for the servant's release. First reciting her own sweet qualities, she then begs the release of the prisoner since he has suffered so much, and that through the falsity of his enemies. Without mercy she cannot remain the daughter of the King of Mercy, who has placed her above all his works and thus given her the right ceaselessly to cry for grace. Verite is amazed that her sister should try by her sweetness to save the prisoner endlessly condemned by herself. Could Misericorde save all for whom she would cry, the King's authority would suffer. She adds the plea also advanced by Justice, that, as the daughter of the King and of his substance, she ought equally to be heard. Another argument urged by Justice is that the servant, when free, had all the sisters to help him but of his own accord left them, and therefore deserves the death decreed by Verite, whose judgments Justice will not oppose.

Her statement is of interest, as showing probable direct contact with Bernard's sermon, where the parable is introduced by the description of these four virtues as man's guardians before his sin. By way of digression, but again

in accordance with Bernard's treatment, Misericorde laments over the poor wretch, despoiled of all his heritage and given into vile servitude, desperate of remedy. Misericorde is debased and Peis exiled, while all mankind, with the exception of Noah and his family, are doomed to destruction through this

> "très cruel jugement
> E tut est dreit e verité
> Mès sans pez e sans pieté."

Now Peis approaches the throne and shows herself aggrieved, since though she is also the King's daughter, who ought equally to be heard, her sisters have dared to give judgment without herself and Misericorde, forgetful of the fact that their sole activity should be to preserve peace. Her word must be supreme, for the King is Prince of Peace, and peace is the end of all good, without which wisdom and riches avail nothing. Therefore, the judgment made without the assent of all four sisters must be void, and until all be accorded, she must flee. At this, the son appears, rehearses his power through his father's love for him, and declares himself so moved by Misericorde, that he will have pity on the servant, will take his vesture upon himself, sustain his judgment, and end discord. Thereupon, Justice and Peis kiss.

Section II. French Versions Dependent Upon the *Chasteau*.

Grosseteste's poem, as has already been stated, exerted a far-reaching influence upon the later developments of the allegory. The first version to show this influence is that by Guillaume le Clerc,[3] of Normandy, who flourished in the

[3]Ed. Michel: *Libri Psalmorum*, Appendix. Arundel 292.
For an account of the manuscripts and author see: Rob. Reinsch: *La Vie de Tobie de Guillaume, le Clerc de Normandie. Nach der*

first third of the thirteenth century. This is found as a separate poem in some manuscripts, the best known of which in MS. Arundel 292,[4] and it has also been inserted by Guillaume as an episode in his translation of a Latin *Tobias* in place of the first chapter of the Latin version. As the differences between these two forms are unappreciable, I shall speak of them as a single version under the name by which it is best known, the *Vie de Tobie.*

Though Guillaume's account departs from the *Chasteau* in the order of events,—the son is not introduced until he enters to settle the controversy between his sisters,—the narrative as introduced by Guillaume in his *Vie de Tobie*

Pariser und Oxford hss. (Herrig's Archiv: LXII: 375-96). See also: *Histoire Litteraire de la France.* Paris, 1835, XVIII: 830-7.

H. Seeger: *Ueber die Sprache des Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie und Ueber den Verfasser und die Quellen des Tobias.* Diss. Halle, 1881, pp. 25, 26.

A. Dinaux: *Trouvères . . . du Nord de la France et du Midi de la Belgique.* Bruxelles, 1863, IV: 343-69.

A. Schmidt: *Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie insbesonders seine Magdelenen legende,* Rom. Stud. IV: 493-542.

E. Martin: *Le Besant de Dieu von Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie.* Halle, 1869, pp. v and xlii.

de la Rue: *Essais sur les Bardes. . . .* Caen, 1834. II: 270-284, III: 5-11.

Petit de Julleville: *Les Mystères,* Paris, 1880, I: 259.

[4]This manuscript was formerly known as MS. Norfolk 292. M. de la Rue referring to it under this name, outlined the allegory of the four daughters there to be found and attributed it to Stephen Langton. In an earlier chapter, however, he had already described the allegory, but in this case he named no manuscript. Here he said that it was invented by a "Guillaume Herman," whom he treats as a predecessor of Guillaume le Clerc. When, later, Guillaume le Clerc was recognized as the author of the version in MS. Arundel 292, scholars continued to speak of a version in MS. Norfolk 292, perhaps by Langton, as if there were two distinct manuscripts. Reinsch gives a history of the confusion to which this error led, and declares that MS. Norfolk and MS. Arundel are identical. He then proves that the versions in MS. Arundel 292 and the *Vie de Tobie* are practically the same, and, moreover, that both were written by Guillaume le Clerc. Nevertheless, Seeger (op. cit. pp. 25-6) questions Reinsch's statement that these two manuscripts are identical, and Gröber (Grundriss II. 1. 690-1) seems to feel the same doubt. A librarian of the British Museum, however, to whom I wrote on this question, confirms Reinsch's assertion by assuring me that the name of MS. Norfolk was changed when it came into Arundel's possession.

is clearly modelled upon the *Chasteau,* as the many resemblances to Grosseteste's poem show. In the first place, the pleadings of the sisters are similar in both cases, although Guillaume, instead of giving one long speech to each, breaks the dialogue up into a number of shorter, less important speeches; again, in each poem, Peis, having failed to gain her point, leaves the court, and the son comes to make concord by putting on the vesture of the prisoner. Finally the allegory in both the *Vie de Tobie* and the *Chasteau d'Amour* ends with an address to the reader, although these addresses differ somewhat. On the whole, Guillaume[5] has followed Grosseteste fairly closely.

Another poem which bears the impress of the *Chasteau d'Amour,* probably through the medium of the *Vie de Tobie,* is *Les Quatre Sereurs.*[6] From the fact that in one of the manuscripts the author refers to himself under the name of "richars" M. Paulin Paris[7] has suggested that it was written by the well known trouvère, Richard le Fournival[8]

[5]One might ask whether the *Vie de Tobie* did not precede the *Chasteau.* Had Langton (†1228) been the author of this version, as de la Rue and some of the earlier scholars believed, to him rather than to Grosseteste would have to be assigned the priority. In Guillaume's case, on the contrary, so far as dates are concerned, the question of precedence cannot be determined, inasmuch as Guillaume and Grosseteste were contemporaries. Nevertheless, since no arguments have been advanced to prove that he was the first to tell the allegory as a romance, I have preferred to abide by the generally accepted tradition, giving to Grosseteste the credit.

[6]For list of manuscripts see Gröber II, 1. 690. See also: Ferd. Wolff: *Ueber einige altfr. Doctrinen und Allegorien von der Minne nach hss. in der R. R. Hofbibl.* in "Denkschriften der K. Acad. der Wissenschaften," Wien, 1864, XIII: 135-192, esp. 159-160. Fr. Michel: *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique sur les anciens Monuments de l'Histoire et de la Littérature de la France qui se trouvent dans les Bibliothèques de l'Angleterre,* Paris, 1835, pp. 13, 14.

[7]See Paulin Paris: *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi,* Paris, 1840, III: 247-248. Zarifopol (*Kritischer Text der Lieder Richards de Fournival,* Halle, 1904, p. 6) quotes Paris' hypothesis, and strengthens it somewhat by showing that the "contesse de Ponthieu" who is named in MS. fr. 12467 of the *Quatre Sereurs* might have known Richard de Fournival.

[8]This poem suggests a trouvère in the adoption of the word "tençon" throughout, instead of the usual "guerre" or "contec." Another

(1200-1260), a suggestion which appeals to me as reasonable.

The supposition that the *Quatre Sereurs* depends upon the *Vie de Tobie* is strengthened by a comparison of the two poems. Grosseteste, in introducing the four daughters, merely named them without adding anything further than that Misericorde is the oldest. Guillaume adds a word of description as he names each daughter. The author of *Les Quatre Sereurs,* in turn, expands these descriptions somewhat further, especially in the cases of Justice and Pais, who are represented as possessing great administrative and judicial powers. Again in accordance with Guillaume's version, the son is not mentioned until he enters to settle the controversy between his sisters, and emphasis is laid upon the trust and power given to the servant, here made seneschal of all the earth, with the promise of still greater power if he is obedient to the "mult legier comandement."

bit of evidence in favor of Richard de Fournival's authorship is supplied by the mention of "Gautier" in the following lines from MS. fr. 378 of *Quatre Sereurs:*

"Par un sien saintisme poëte,
Le roy David, son sien prophete
Nous manda dieus couviertement
Che c'or veons apiertment
Dont il a un ver on sautier,
A tesmoing de *maistre gautier*
Si nous dist que misericorde
Et verite orent discorde
Lune a lautre et puis sapaisierent
Justice et pais sentrebaisierent

* * * * *

Mais pour le tres gente contesse
Cui *richars* enfist la promesse
Li plot ceste ouvraigne a enprendre
Pour faire li ces vers entendre."

The occurrence of "maistre gautier" in close connection with "richars" becomes significant, it seems to me, if one compares with it a similar coupling of the same names in two "jeus partis" between "Mestre Richart et Mestre Gautier" which Zarifopol prints, since these latter poems in his opinion (op. cit. pp. 8-10) were also written by Richard de Fournival.

From this point the *Quatre Sereurs* becomes less similar to the *Vie de Tobie,* as the following outline will indicate. A felon warrior, envious of the great honor he sees bestowed on the king's servant, sends a messenger who persuades the man to break the command. Then the unhappy wretch, unable to clear himself though ignobly trying to shift the blame, is delivered to four tormentors, whose cruel punishments here enumerated are daily renewed. The ensuing arguments advanced by the sisters are but rudimentary in character; each in turn presents her claim for consideration, declaring she will lose the right to her name and refusing to remain the King's daughter unless her wish be accorded to her. The King is in much trouble of mind because of this "tençon" which he knows not how to decide without wronging someone. But he has a sage and subtle son, who presents himself at court marveling how his father could permit such discord. When the father adjures him to appease the sisters' strife, he commands them to be friends, and, having dispatched a messenger to announce him, descends to the tormentors and finally forces them to accept him as hostage. The allegory thus outlined forms scarcely one-third of the whole poem. It is followed by an exhaustive commentary and explanation of the parable, which closes with the account of Christ's returning to Heaven and restoring the lost sheep to the Shepherd. The controversy as a whole is not so well conducted as in the *Chasteau* or the *Vie de Tobie.*

This seems to have been recognized, for not long after, at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth, appeared a poem, MS. Metz 535,[9] which Gröber[10] calls a reworking of *Quatre Sereurs.* The poet, however, though evidently working from *Quatre Sereurs,* proba-

[9]P. Meyer: *Bulletin de la Société des anciens Textes,* 1885, No. XI: 41 ff.
MS. Metz. 535 No. 30 fol. 141-144.
[10]Gröber II: I: 864.

bly used also the *Chasteau d'Amour*. As in *Quatre Sereurs,* the author begins by asserting the obscurity of his subject, and thus justifying his use of a parable. In a few words he presents the situation, and then before describing the controversy, gives the explanation (of the allegorical characters) which comes only at the end of the story in *Quatre Sereurs*. The arguments advanced by the sisters, superior to those in *Quatre Sereurs,* somewhat approach in interest those in the *Chasteau*. Pais says nothing but, seeing the discord, flees the land. At this point the poet interrupts his narrative to expatiate on the difficulties of the situation, somewhat in the manner of Grosseteste. Then comes Sapience, the son, who announces that he will end the discord, but as in *Quatre Sereurs,* the means he will use is left to the reader's imagination. Finally it is to be noted that at this point the Metz poem, like the *Quatre Sereurs,* abandons the parable without returning to it. The rest of the poem—nearly one-half—is devoted to an account of the sufferings of Christ, concluding with an exhortation to repentance.

In the Arsenal Library, Paris, is a manuscript, No. 3460, of the thirteenth or possibly the early fourteenth century, which expressly calls itself *L'estrif des iiij Vertus . . . selonc St. Bernart,* but which bears slight resemblance to his sermon. It belongs rather to the *Chasteau* group, and is particularly close to the *Quatre Sereurs*. In both, the narrative element is much subordinated to the didactic, but whereas in *Quatre Sereurs* the didactic portion is confined to the direct exposition of the allegory, here it is unrelated. For example, the story of the sisters is prefaced by a long homily on hypocrisy which is totally irrelevant. The power and wisdom of the King and his son are more fully described than in the *Quatre Sereurs,* but less is said of the daughters. On the other hand, the words of the King to his servant are given as in *Quatre Sereurs,* and the disobedient servant is delivered, as there, to the four tormentors. From this point

the writer amplifies. With great relish and detail he lingers upon the descriptions of the several torments which these four inflict upon their victim, interspersing the account with denunciations of Adam for bringing such misery upon his descendants. In this preoccupation he quite forgets his story, or had not the inventive power to complete it; for, having told of various saints and martyrs, who, in spite of torment, were loyal unto death, he abruptly brings his poem to an end with a prayer for mercy:

"Seignor ne maies en despit
Por che se iai de sens petit
Q'ai contee cheste hystoire
Car ie lai trouve en escrit
Sains bernars le raconte et dit
& bien savons q'ele est voire
A moi non; a lui deves croire," etc.

One more version seems to show the direct influence of the *Quatre Sereurs*. This is in a fifteenth century manuscript found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 9588. The author of this manuscript, like the poet of MS. 3460 Arsenal just described, cites Bernard as source. Indeed, he claims that the poem is only twenty years later than Bernard's sermon.

"Le abbes fist ja un sarmon
Bien a XX an a chasteillon
Li sarmons fu simples et dois
Li rois de france iprint lacroys[11]
Que jay translate en rommans
Li abbes en est mi garens."

[11] I have tried in vain to find any explanation of this reference, which seems to imply that Bernard preached this sermon at Châtillon as a part of his campaign to incite the second Crusade. But that was not until 1146 A. D., whereas this sermon was probably written about 1140 A. D. Nor do I find reference to Châtillon in the lists of places where Bernard preached the Crusade. Finally, the character of the sermon itself is not what one would naturally expect on such an occasion.

This testimony is not to be taken seriously, as the poem seems clearly to be a late form of the allegory.[12] In another respect MS. 9588 resembles the Arsenal manuscript, since it does not bring the narrative of the four daughters to its conclusion, although it carries it farther than the point reached in MS. 3460.

A powerful King of France, to whom even the Emperor of Rome paid homage, had a son wise beyond comparison who knew all his father's will. He had also four daughters who knew and guarded his laws. Pais, the oldest, beloved of her father, guarded all the land and his castle from tower to foundation. If an enemy appeared, she seized him and delivered him to Justice, the full justiciar against rich barons, of such authority that to her came suitors from all the neighboring principalities for settlement of their disputes.[13]

When the difficulty had been stated, Justice would retire to decide on the judgment with Verite, who could not be bribed. The King had a servant to whom he gave great terrestrial power, and him he made in his own image and clothed like himself. Only one command he gave him, promising him even greater power if obedient; death, if not. The servant in his folly transgressed the command, then sought to excuse himself by blaming "the woman whom thou gavest me," but in vain. The King delivered him to four servants for torment. When Misericorde perceived that the man had been disinherited and banished from the

[12]The version in this manuscript is probably an unfinished copy of an earlier poem; for not only are the facts in the introduction garbled, (see the preceding note); but there are a number of manifest corruptions in the text as if the story had been copied by a careless scribe. One point which might seem to imply a very early date for the composition of the poem, as claimed in the passage quoted, is the reference to Bernard as "abbes," not "saint." Bernard was not canonized until 1174, thirty-four years after his sermon on the annunciation. It is not safe, however, in view of the other misstatements in that passage, to place any weight upon this.

[13]Into the description of Pais and Justice is woven much material of local interest, which I omit as not pertinent to the allegory.

kingdom, with tears in her eyes and sighs in her heart, she came and fell at her father's feet, pleading for mercy. But Verite threatened the King, declaring that since other kings keep their word, he must keep his. And here, in the middle of a sentence, the manuscript abruptly ends.

From this outline it is clear that MS. 9588 is the fragment of an expanded treatment of *Quatre Sereurs*. It is interesting to note the gradual extension of the descriptions of the daughters of the King in this French group of poems. The analyses given in this chapter show that these expansions have followed the recognized law of development, culminating in the very full account in MS. 9588.

Section III. Versions Other Than French Deriving from the *Chasteau*.

All the poems in the group just described are in French, but the influence of the *Chasteau* was not limited to France, but extended to other countries; English and German versions also show Grosseteste's impress,[14] though they do not usually refer to him as their source. Indeed, the only instance I know in any language where Grosseteste is quoted as authority for this allegory is the Middle English *Cursor Mundi*,[15] written about 1325 by an unknown author. In the

[14]In Germany there appeared in the middle of the thirteenth century a poem, *Sich hub vor Gottes Thron*, which in its opening verses follows this feudal type. See Bartsch, ed. *Die Erlösung* in "Bibl. der gesammten deutschen Nat.-Lit." Leipzig, 1858. XXXVII, p. 9.

[15]The *Cursor Mundi* in four Texts, ed. Dr. R. Morris, 1874-1878. E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. No. LIX, p. 548 *et seq.*

Of the English translations of the *Chasteau*, the *Cursor Mundi* is nearer MS. Ash. 61 and the edition by Weymouth, which, being arranged from three different manuscripts, succeeds in following the French originals quite closely. The agreement of *Cursor Mundi* with the only French manuscript that I have been able to see, MS. fr. 904 (formerly MS. Colb. 7268) is so close as to persuade me that the author worked from a French original.

As to his working from MS. Ash. 61, the English version which it most resembles, I am inclined to think the indebtedness reversed; for no point is in MS. Ash. 61, which is not in Cursor Mundi also, whereas the latter contains many small points of contact with the French version that are lacking in this manuscript.

Cursor Mundi the allegory of the four daughters is introduced at the end of a survey of Old Testament history, obviously as an introduction to the story of the Redemption.

The allegory itself is prefaced by some one hundred and fifty lines recapitulating the account of man's creation and fall. The poet then announces that he will tell a "sample from St. Robert" and proceeds with the story in such close conformity to Grosseteste that it will not be necessary for me to outline the story here.

Grosseteste's version of the allegory also served as the direct source of the similar story in *Gesta Romanorum,*[16] and through the medium of the latter was communicated to the French morality plays. On account of its intimate relation to these plays, however, it seems best to defer consideration of the story in the *Gesta* until we come to speak of them in Chapter *VII.*

In the fifteenth century Grosseteste's influence still continues. It is clearly discernible in the *Court of Sapience* and less obviously in the *Castell of Perseverance.* Possibly it is to be detected also in *Piers Ploweman.* As these poems show a blending of more than one form of the allegory, they must be left for discussion until later chapters.

[16]Ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, pp. 350-4. This connection with Grosseteste is interesting as in accordance with the theory that the *Gesta* had their origin in England, though, to be sure, Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour* was originally written in French and was as well known in France as in England. Gröber, however, thinks the original was in Latin (I, 1, 690).

Chapter III.

THE *MEDITATIONES VITAE CHRISTI* AND ITS INFLUENCE.

Section I. Relation of the *Meditationes* to Bernard.

We now come to consider the fourteenth century version of our allegory in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi,*[1] by Cardinal Bonaventura of Padua, and the influence which it exerted upon the subsequent versions. It is not strange that this treatise, bearing the name Bonaventura, was long ascribed to the more celebrated divine of the same name, the "seraphic doctor," who died in 1274. Nevertheless, authorities now agree in excluding the *Meditationes* from the list of St. Bonaventura's works, and the treatise is generally assigned to the Cardinal of Padua,[2] who was, it is interesting to note, a personal friend of Petrarch.

The allegory of the Four Daughters, in the *Meditationes,* is introduced in the first two chapters, which treat of the necessity for the Redemption, thus forming a preface

[1]*Sancti Bonaventuræ . . . Opera.* London, 1668, VI, 335-336. For lists of editions and translations of the *Meditationes* see Hain, Brunet and the British Museum Catalogue. Since this dissertation was presented I have come upon additional references to French translations cited by E. Roy (*Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIVe au XVIe siècle,* Dijon and Paris, 1903-4, pp. 249-250), who also adds a list of the imitations of the *Meditationes,* usually under the title, *La Passion de Jesus-Crist.*

[2]Molanus, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1618), seems to have been the first to restore the *Meditationes* to Bonaventura of Padua. He is followed by Aubertus Miraeus (*Auctarium de Scriptoribus Eccl.,* No. CDXLII, in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica,* Hamburg, 1718, p 81). Cf. also the *British Museum Catalogue* sub "Bonaventura Baduarius." The editions of St. Bonaventura's works in 1756 (*Opera,* Venetiis, XII, 379) and in 1858 (*Opera,* ed. Peltier, Paris, XII, pp. xli-xlix) deny his authorship of the *Meditationes.* This rejection of his authorship is accepted also by Wechssler (*Die romanischen Marienklagen,* 1893, pp. 26-27) and by Roy (op. cit., p. 92).

to the body of the work. The author expressly acknowledges his dependence upon Bernard,[3] and his treatment of the allegory is on the whole very similar to that in the sermon on the Annunciation. It is, therefore, only by closely comparing the two works and noting variations of detail that one can decide whether later writers are following Bonaventura or are dealing directly with Bernard. It will not be necessary here to give a complete outline of the allegory as it appears in the *Meditationes;* it will suffice merely to note those points in which it varies from Bernard's sermon.

In the first place, an entirely new setting is employed, for Bernard's introduction is discarded, and the action opens with the prayers of the angelic choirs. The arguments which the angels advance are: that man, formed in the likeness of God, was created after the fall of Lucifer and his cohorts to fill the heavenly mansions thus left vacant; that if he, too, be eternally condemned, hell will be filled, not heaven, and that none can then restore the angelic ruin. Why, then, was man born, if only to be delivered to beasts? Their prayers ended, Misericordia appears and with her, Pax on the one hand, and Veritas, with Justitia as aid, on the other.

From this point the story runs essentially as in Bernard, though omitting a large number of minor details and inserting a few new ones. On the whole, therefore, it is more condensed, as Bonaventura led one to expect by his preliminary statements. The only insertion of importance in the *Meditationes* is the explanation why among the persons of the Trinity the Son was preferred by the four Virtues for the office of Redemption. It is said that the Father, being so terrible and powerful, Misericordia and Pax would fear him; and that the other two would suspect the Spirit,

[3]This acknowledgment is found at the beginning of Chapter II: "Et inter eas magna controversia facta est, prout narrat B. Bernardus pulchro et longo stylo. Sed ego succinte, ut potero, referam summam. Frequentes enim ipsius dicta melliflua intenda, adducero sed plerumque cum exceptione, propter prolixitatem vitandum."

as being too gracious; but that in the Son, the Middle Person of the Trinity, an acceptable Mediator was found.

Section II. Translations of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.*

The remarkable popularity of Bonaventura's *Meditationes* is attested by the fact that in both France[4] and England it was soon translated into the vernacular. From the number of manuscript copies of these translations which still survive it is clear that they must have circulated widely.

In England the *Meditationes* was translated in 1410 by Nicholas Love, under the title, *Speculum Vitae Christi: the boke that is clepid the Mirrour of the blissed lyffe of our lorde J'hu cryste.*[5] Of this version I have seen only the extracts which have been printed by Hone.[6] To judge from

[4]Roy (*op. cit.* 249 n. 2) cites a considerable number of manuscripts containing French translations of the *Meditationes.*

[5]*Codices MSS. Coll. Aenei Nasi* No. IX, "Iste liber translatus fuit de Latino in Anglicum per dominum Nicholaum Love, priorem monasterii de Mounte-grace ordinis Cartusiensis." The editor of the catalogue adds: "On the lower margin of the first page of the poem are the initials of the translator in gold letters, so that probably this volume was his own copy. At the end of the table of chapters is a rubricated note, beginning, 'Attende lector hujus libri, prout sequitur in Anglici scripti, quod ubicunque in margine ponitur litera N verba sunt translatoris sive compilatoris.'" In *Cod. MSS. Collegii Wadhamensis,* No. V, is mentioned another manuscript which contains Love's name. A note at the end adds that in 1410 an original copy of the work received the approval of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury. A third copy is in Brasenose College Library MS. IX. In spite of this proof of Love's authorship, a tradition sprang up ascribing the translation of the *Speculum* to John Morton. I have not found a record of any manuscript making this claim, like those just mentioned signed with Love's name. But the editors of the *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts* says in the index that the *Speculum* was "translated, as it is supposed, by John Morton." The same assignment is made in the *Appendix to the Third Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission,* pp. 118 and 224, for two other manuscripts there described. Since the presentation of this dissertation the *Register of Oseney Abbey* (E. E. T. S. orig. ser. CXXXIII, 1907), has appeared, and here, too, the editor attributes this translation to Morton, without citing any authority.

[6]Hone, *Ancient English Mysteries,* London, 1823, pp. 73 ff.

these extracts, it is a literal, though a somewhat condensed translation of the *Meditationes*. Hone was impressed with the similarity between the allegory of the Four Daughters (or, as he terms it, "the Council of the Trinity") in the *Speculum* and the opening scene in the salutation play of the Hegge cycle, and believed that the former supplied the source for this scene. This claim, however, can hardly be allowed when one compares the Salutation with other versions of the allegory, as I shall undertake to do in a later chapter (see Chap. VIII). Nevertheless, this English translation of the *Meditationes* maintained its popularity for at least a century, as is indicated by the fact that it was printed by Caxton, and again by Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson.

Section III. Versions Dependent on the *Meditationes*.

The resemblances between the versions of the allegory in the *Meditationes* and in Bernard's sermon, and the fact, moreover, that Bonaventura acknowledged Bernard as his source, led some later writers to cite the latter as their source even when they were clearly depending upon the *Meditationes*. Nevertheless, the changes in the introduction and conclusion of the allegory in the *Meditationes* are so marked as to certify the indebtedness to that wherever these modifications have been introduced, as, for example, in the French mystères. Indeed, even where these characteristic modifications are omitted, it is often possible to establish the indebtedness on the *Meditationes* through the fact that the condensed treatment of that version is observed.

An interesting instance of the dependence upon the *Meditationes*, even though Bernard is expressly cited, is furnished by an expanded version[7] probably made not long

[7]The *Meditationes* seems to have given rise to a large number of *Vitae Christi*. Roy (op. cit. pp. 250-251) gives a list of those in French, one of which, from his description, seems to contain the allegory given by Bonaventura, *La Vie de nostre benoit sauver ihesucrist*, dated 1380. Another of 1462, *La vie de N. S. J. Christ*, may also contain this allegory.

after the *Meditationes* itself. This is the *Vita Christi*[8] by Ludolphus (or Lupold) de Saxonia, prior of the Carthusian convent at Strassburg and a contemporary of Bonaventura. Although Ludolphus introduces the allegory by a citation of Bernard's sermon,—"prout narrat Bernardus longo sermone de annuntiatione,"—his work clearly follows the *Meditationes*. In the first place, the general remarks on the value of meditating on Christ's life which open the *Vita* are merely a free expansion of similar remarks in the poem of the *Meditationes*. Again, like Bonaventura, Ludolphus differs from Bernard by introducing the allegory itself with a reference to the centuries of suffering between the Fall and the Redemption and to the prayers of the compassionate angels for man's salvation (although he does not give the prayers themselves). Finally, it resembles the *Meditationes* rather than Bernard in its condensed account of the allegory itself. Bonaventura had already abridged Bernard's sermon. Ludolphus now condenses still more by the omission of phrases or whole sentences wherever possible.

The fact that Bonaventura and Ludolphus were contemporaries might suggest the doubt whether Ludolphus's version were not the source rather than the descendant of Bonaventura's, but a comparison of the two will dismiss that possibility. For Ludolphus, it will be seen, in his abridgment of the story, has omitted a number of phrases which are common to Bernard and Bonaventura. To suppose, therefore, that Ludolphus served as the intermediary between these two would leave unexplained the occurrence of these phrases in the text of the *Meditationes*. On the other hand, the fact that the *Vita Christi* does not contain the prayers of the angels for man's restoration and the theological passage explaining the peculiar fitness of the Son for the office of Redemption, which appear for the first time in

[8] *Vita Jesu Christi e IV evangeliis et scriptoribus orthodoxis concinnata. Ed. novissima studio et opera A. C. Bolard, L. M. Rigollot, et J. Carnandet, Parisiis et Romae,* 1865.

Bonaventura's treatise, is not significant, for these details may easily have been cut out by Ludolphus in the course of his condensation of the story.

Ludolphus's *Vita Christi,* in turn, circulated widely in Germany, France, and England, both in the original Latin and in translations. Two French versions of this treatise are preserved in fifteenth century manuscripts.[9] The first of these, by Guillaume le Menand (Bibl. Nat., Paris, MS. fr. 20046) is a close translation of Ludolphus. The other version by an anonymous author (Bibl. Nat., Paris, MS. fr. 181) adheres less faithfully to its original. Indeed, Paulin Paris[10] decided that its author must have been translating some other *Vita Christi.* Nevertheless, after collating it with Ludolphus and also with the *Meditationes,* I am convinced that it is based in the main on Ludolphus, though the author has corrected his translation in some details by referring to the *Meditationes.* This, at least, appears to be true so far as his treatment of our allegory is concerned. The most striking instance of his reference to Bonaventura is the insertion from the latter of the explanation why the Son was best fitted to undertake the work of Redemption. This, it will be remembered, had been omitted by Ludolphus.

Besides these French versions, a paraphrase of Ludolphus's *Vita Christi* in English verse was made by Walter Kennedy (circa 1460-1507) under the title *The Passioun of Christ.*[11] In this poem the strife between the sisters is

[9]In addition to these two versions, E. Roy (op. cit., p. 249, note 3) cites anonymous French translations of Ludolphus in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MSS. fr. 177-9 and 407-8), as well as a translation by Jehan Hubert (*cf. Romania,* 1887, p. 169). He refers also to a paraphrase of Ludolphus's treatise by Jehan Mensel, preserved in Arsenal MS. No. 5205-6. Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 16,609, *The Lyfe of Cryste,* is an English translation of Menand's *Vita Christi.*

[10]P. Paris, *Les MSS. fr. de la Bibl. du Roi,* Paris, 1836-48, II, 82.

[11]*The Poems of Walter Kennedy,* Ed. with intro., various readings and notes by J. Schipper, Denkschriften der K. Akad. der Wissensch. Phil. hist. Klasse, Wien. 1902. Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 1-94. The dependence of Kennedy's *Passioun* on Ludolphus has been worked out in detail by

described in barest outline within the limit of three stanzas (vv. 29-49). Mercy and Piete, contending against Justice and Verite, assert that by their law "man suld be fre fra bane." To this Justice and Verite reply,

> "That be thir law Adam and his ofspring
> Eternalie suld be banist his rigne,
> God infinit because he offend;
> After thair law his pane suld nevir end."

The Father gives command to His Son to restore peace between the sisters. This Christ does.

> "Sayand, 'Ane deid sall make you baith content
> And bring Adam till peace with all his seid
> That we will worship baith in word and deid."

The influence exerted upon the development of the allegory by the *Meditationes* is by no means confined to France and England. It will suffice here to mention two examples from other countries; one the late fourteenth century poem, *Marien Geneat,* by Bruder Hans, the other Feo Belcari's *Le Rappresentazione quando la N. Donna Vergine Maria fu annunziata dall Angelo Gabriello,* the only drama I have found of those borrowed from the *Meditationes* which does not introduce new arguments into the debate between the sisters. Bonaventura's influence will be further recognized when we come to examine the French mystères (see Chapter VI, Section 2) and again in the English dramatic versions of the allegory (see Chapter VIII, Section 1) and in the allegorical poem, the *Court of Sapience* (see Chapter IX, Section 2). In these versions, however, there has been a fusion of influences, the elements borrowed from the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* having been combined with others taken from Grosseteste and, in the case of the

F. Holthausen, *Kennedy-Studien,* Herrig's Archiv., Vols. CX (1903), 359-387, and CXII, 298-316. His comparison of the allegory of the Four Daughters is in CXII, 299-300.

Court of Sapience, with still others from Deguilleville. To undertake the examination of these versions at this point would involve our discussion in difficulties on account of the complexity of influence which they represent. Nevertheless, the full extent of the importance of the *Meditationes* in the development of the allegory cannot be appreciated until these versions also have been examined.

Chapter IV.

THE "PROCESSUS BELIAL."

Section I. Introduction.

The versions of this allegory which appear in the French drama do not seem to depend primarily upon any single source. Although there are instances like *L'Amour Divin* (see Chap. VII), where the feudal setting of the *Chasteau* is preserved, or like the Rouen *Incarnation* (see Chap. VI), which shows verbal borrowing from the *Meditationes*, these dramatic versions in general present a complex combination of different influences.[1] The scene of the action is restored to heaven as in Bonaventura, but the setting is as rich in color, as feudal in tone, as in Grosseteste. Again, the intercession of the angels which especially characterizes Bonaventura's version is here sometimes directly reproduced, sometimes represented in the laments of the fathers in hell.

But most striking is the tendency, foreshadowed in the *Chasteau*, to make more prominent man's position and his guilt. This is the main topic of the controversy. It is a natural consequence of the adoption of the scene by the Passion plays to serve as transition from man's fall to his redemption, but it involves new elements. The new arguments concerning man's guilt are drawn largely from Thomas Aquinas. But they had already been used in works whose influence is otherwise felt on the drama in the introduction of two new elements,—the Devil motive and the intervention of a fifth sister, Sapience. The latter appears

[1] In this chapter I shall be obliged to diverge from my plan of discussing only the French and English descendants of the Latin versions in the body of my dissertation, since the Dutch forms here described seem to me to be necessary as helping to mould the French mystères of the suceeding centuries.

in the *Pèlerinage de Jesucrist,* by Guillaume de Deguilleville; the former is first seen in conjunction with the allegory of the Four Daughters in the *Merlijn* by Jacob van Maerlant. As both these elements were prominent in the drama, it becomes necessary to examine them before taking up the consideration of the drama itself. The Devil motive or "Processus Belial," as the first to appear, demands first treatment.

In intimate connection with the conception of the eternal strife between the justice and mercy of God, which is older than the Christian religion, is that other idea, forming the basis also of all pagan religions, of the struggle between good and evil powers for the possession of man's soul. In the order of events, the natural result of man's putting himself in subjection to the evil power by yielding to sin is that justice should range itself with that power in condemning him. This fusion of the two conceptions is that which we have to study in this chapter on the "Processus Belial," and, in modified degree, in those to follow on the French drama. In the works which are the special subject of this chapter, the evil power is usually very definitely centralized in the devil and his procurator, and the contest is one excited by, and in opposition to, the harrowing of hell. Therefore, this phase of the allegory has been designated by Heinzel[2] the "Processus Belial."

Curiously enough, the versions illustrative of this phase of the allegory seem to derive from Hugo rather than from Bernard. This is certainly true in the case of the *Merlijn,* the first to be examined.

Section II. The *Merlijn.*

This "Processus Belial" as told by Maerlant[3] is as

[2]Heinzel: ZfdA., XVII: 45.

[3]*Jacob van Maerlant's Merlijn.* Steinforter MS. ed. van Vloten, Leiden, 1880. The manuscript here edited was first discovered by Tross, a professor in Hamm, in the library of Prince Bentheim-

follows: The devils, seeing that by the harrowing of hell they have been outwitted and robbed of their prey, call a council and choose Masceroen, "scalek ende zwaer," to go before God as their procurator and there to recover control of mankind. He presents himself before the heavenly throne, stoutly crying, "Lord, where is Justice?" The Lord examines his letter of credential, a masterpiece of Satanic ingenuity, in which mankind, since given over to Satan for torment, is summoned to hear the procurator's demands. He appoints the next day, Good Friday, for the trial. Masceroen demurs against the appointment of a holy day, but is forced to yield. Returning to hell, he tells his companions how miserably he has fared, but Lucifer despite his protestations sends him back early the next day. In the heavenly court he chooses a high place and waits. When at midday no one has appeared against him, he goes before God and demands the judgment by default. To no purpose is this, however, for God silences him by saying the case is set for evening. As evening approaches, Masceroen again becomes impatient, and when even is fully come, cries loudly: "Lord,

Steinfort in 1838. He made known his discovery to the Leyden Society, but then the manuscript mysteriously disappeared and all trace of it was lost until, forty years later, van Vloten found and published it. Van Vloten does not seem to doubt Maerlant's authorship of the poem which from a reference to "Aelbrecht heer van Voorne" he assigns to about 1260, the manuscript itself, however, being dated 1326, as expressly stated in the epilogue. Willems (*Belgisch Museum voor de nederduitsche Taal-en-letterkunde en de Geschiedenes des Vaderlands.* Gent. 1838. II: 438-451), on the other hand, is sceptical of Maerlant's authorship on the ground that Maerlant in his *Spieghel Historiael,* having spoken scornfully of the story concerning Merlin as a "valsche saghem," would not be likely to write it. He does, however, grant that the manuscript is 1326 is a copy, more or less changed in dialect from Flemish to low Dutch, of a poem composed about 1270, as shown by its dedication to Albrecht.

Finally, Jan te Winkel (*Paul's Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie,* II. I., 458 and 465) declares Maerlant to be the author (about 1261) and Lodewijc van Velthem (in 1326) the continuator. The objection to the genuineness of the manuscript, which has been raised on the score that because of its prophecy of Jeanne d'Arc it could not be so early as claimed, is valueless, since this prophecy has been added in a later hand on the back of the first folio which had been left blank.

where is Justice who, men say, harbors in heaven?" But God postpones the trial till the next day and Masceroen again goes to hell in discomfiture and is again forced by Lucifer to return.

Meanwhile the Virgin Mary, feeling a mother's sorrow for mankind, offers herself as advocate, at which there is rejoicing among the angels. The hour comes. God takes His place in the consistory surrounded by countless hosts of angels, patriarchs, and prophets, and when Mary, attended by hosts of angels singing her praises, has entered and seated herself beside her Son, the parliament opens. She asserts her readiness to answer for man and challenges Masceroen to present his claim. He, unable to raise his eyes to the brightness of her glory, turns fretfully to God, saying, "In every case, there must be three: the judge, the complainant, and the defendant. You are the judge, I the complainant, but I see not the guilty one." Mary interposes with a second assertion of her intention to act as man's representative, but Masceroen continues, "It is contrary to all justice new or old, that a woman be advocate. Besides, she is your mother and bound by kinship." Mary indignantly replies: "The villain would falsely threaten to destroy my right. Although I am your mother, I am of mankind and so am summoned. Though I were an unbeliever or accursed, I have indeed a right to plead my own case. It is untrue that I have not an advocate's right; I plead for the suffering, for widows and orphans."

After much opposition, Mary is recognized as advocate. Then follows prolonged argument back and forth, Masceroen seeking to establish his right to man[4] and Mary insisting that it has been lost and is forfeited to Christ. At length she triumphantly asks if he has anything more to say. He replies with a sneer that he has not yet begun, whereupon God insists that he be more polite. Pulling a Bible from his pocket, Masceroen cites Genesis 2: 17, and again the

[4]Cf. Hugo. Comm. on Ps. 15 in Migne CLXXVII: 596-597.

strife grows hot between the two until Masceroen so presses his right that Mary seeks refuge in tears and begs her Son to help her. Moved by her distress, He would dismiss Masceroen, but the latter suggests a compromise. "I will take my speech from the Scriptures, and confirm it by heathen law. When there is a strife between two parties, what does the judge do but make a division? Therefore give to me the evil, to your mother the good. Put mankind in the scale. Her part shall be bitterly small." Christ seems about to yield, but Mary cries that the weighing has already been done through the death of her Son. At this Masceroen shrieks fearfully that the debate has been degraded into a triviality which he can no longer endure, demands advocates, and chooses Justice and Truth. The angels, distressed at the thought of the turn he may thus give to the case, urge Mary to choose like advocates; she decides upon Mercy and Peace. While these are being summoned, a strife ensues between Mary and Masceroen as to who were guiltier, the immaterial angels who fell because of pride, or men of flesh and blood on whom a prohibition had been laid.

At last the four virtues come, and the debate is given over to them. Gerechtecheit and Waerheit would condemn man unsparingly; but Ontfermecheit would have those who repent pardoned. She suggests, when Gerechtecheit continues obdurate, the inconvenience to God if, sparing none, He be left without servants. "Better that, than to countenance evil," is the burden of Gerechtecheit's reply. Ontfermecheit pleads God's grace above justice, and God, seeing that they will not come to agreement, intervenes, declaring His love for both and the possibility that each might be satisfied with partial fulfilment of her desire. He closes by saying that Gerechtecheit will not be satisfied until she has entered the heart of man and troubled him all she can. This Ontfermecheit firmly resists, recalling God's promise of salvation to those who repented and were baptized. Upon God's declaration to abide by this, she continues, turning

now to Gerechtecheit and Waerheit, that it would be unjust to suffer so noble a creation, formed after the likeness of his Maker, to be lost; for to this purpose had he been made, to learn to know and love God and to have free enjoyment of Him.[5] She closes by quoting a number of the prophecies of God's mercy.

Vrede now rises and proves that her sisters have already had their due. Christ, by assuming humanity and dying for man, has satisfied the demand of Gerechtecheit for man's unending punishment. The execution of God's sentence of death upon those who ate the apple, which Waerheit claims, has already been accomplished, since before this sin man was immortal; and to Ontfermecheit God has shown his favor by humbly suffering the disgrace and torture of man. Therefore Vrede, too, now claims her right, namely, that David's prophecy be fulfilled, in that Ontfermecheit and Waerheit meet and Gerechtecheit and she kiss. This is granted, whereupon Masceroen in rage and dismay flees to hell where is vowed endless enmity and activity against Christ.

The body of the *Merlijn* is, of course, merely a translation of the French *Merlin*. But the three chapters (IX, X and XI) which deal with this "Processus Belial" do not occur in the French narrative, but have been inserted by the Dutch translator. In order to show the setting in which they are placed, I quote the titles of these chapters together with those which precede and follow:

"Ch. VIII. Hier begint dat boeck van Merlijne, ende hoe die Duvele benyden, dat God die Helle tebrach, ende syne vrient daerut verlosede. Ch. IX. Hoe die Duvele

[5]Compare, St. Anselm. *Cur Deus Homo.* II. 1 and 4, Migne CLVIII (1853).

II. 1. "Rationalem naturem a Deo factam esse justam ut illo fruendo beata esset, dubitari non debet."

II. 4. "Ex his facile cognoscere quoniam aut hoc de humana natura perficiet Deus quod incœpit, aut in vanum fecit tam sublimem naturam ad tantum bonum."

alle vergaderden, ende koren enen procureere. Ch. X. Hoe Onse Vrouwe wart een vorsprache van alle Kerstenheit tegen den viant. Ch. XI. Hoe Gerechtecheit ende Waerheit degedingeden tegen Ontfermecheit ende Vrede. Ch. XII. Hoe die Duvele visierden, hoe zy enen man mochten maken. Ch. XIII. Hoe Merlijn gewonnen wart, ende daerna hoe hy geboren wart."

Inasmuch as the *Merlijn* is for the most part merely a translation, it is reasonable to presume that in his account of the "Processus Belial" Maerlant was also following an older source, though in this case no such source is known. Further reason for believing that Maerlant's narrative represents a lost version of the allegory will appear, however, on examining the structure of the story in the *Merlijn*.

This story is a combination of three separate elements which are readily distinguishable: (1) a trial scene in which the Virgin and Satan's representative contend for the possession of man, (2) the motive of the scales in which man's good and evil deeds are weighed, (3) the debate between the four sisters—of whom two condemn man, and two plead in his behalf. Each of these three elements is found separately in stories current long before the time of Maerlant.

The representation of a contest between Satan and God, or Christ, for the possession of man, is, of course, of early origin and is one which appears in a variety of forms. In the twelfth century, Hugo of St. Victor in his commentary on the fifteenth Psalm[6] gives an account of a dispute between Christ and Satan which contained certain noteworthy points of similarity to the trial scene in the *Merlijn*. According to

[6]Hugo: Misc. *Annotationes Elucidatoriae in quosdam Psalmos David*. Cap. XII. Migne CLXXVII, p. 596-7. Cf. also the *Altercatio Diaboli contra Christum* in Bodl. MS. 52 (12th cent.), mentioned by Schenkl (Sitzungsberichte Wien. Akad., Vol. CXXIII, Abhandl, V, p. 14); *Altercatio inter deum et diabolum*, Phillips MS. 24377 (12th cent.), Schenkl (Sitz. Wien Akad., Vol. CXXVII, Abhandl, IX, p. 71); *Ritter mit der Cuculla*, Mussafia (Sitz. Wien. Akad., Vol. CXXXIX, Abhandl, VIII, p. 38 ff.); *Ueber die Quellen des Gautier de Coincy*, Mussafia (Denkschrift, Wien. Akad., Vol XLIV, Abhandl, I, p. 20).

Hugo, as in the *Merlijn,* the devil asserts his right to man as having been consigned to him after the Fall, and in both, this claim is refuted on the ground that the devil through his excessive cruelty toward man has forfeited his power over him. Also, in both Hugo and the *Merlijn,* the devil, when his claim is overruled, suggests a compromise, though in Hugo the scheme by which Satan proposes to make the division of souls between himself and Christ differs from that in the *Merlijn.*[7]

It was Christ, according to Hugo, who contended with the devil over man. But according to another form of the story, which also goes back to the twelfth century, it was the Virgin, as in the *Merlijn.* This is found in the legend —one of the many which at that time grew about the cult of the Virgin—of a pilgrim whose soul was seized at his death by the devil, but was afterwards released as the result of a trial held before Mary.[8] Important differences between the legend and the scene in the *Merlijn* are, to be sure, not far to seek. In the legend we have the story of an individual man; in the *Merlijn,* on the other hand, the subject of controversy is the human race. Again, Mary appears in the legend as the judge in the case, not as an advocate contend-

[7]F. Roediger: *Contrasti Antichi.* Intro. Firenze, 1887. Roediger speaks of this dispute in Hugo, as the earliest example of such a strife and perhaps the indirect source, through the similar thirteenth century *Piato del Dio col Nemico,* which he edits, of the later Italian version ascribed to Bartolus. He suggests that this dispute between Christ and Satan was transformed into one between Mary and Satan's representative in order to avoid offence against religious sentiment. But since it is wholly lacking in juristic elements, he doubts whether it can be regarded as the direct source of such versions as the one by Bartolus, even though the arguments employed are sometimes the same.

[8]Gordon Hall Gerould: *The North English Homily Collection: A study of the Manuscript relations and of the Sources of the Tales,* Oxford, 1902, pp. 31-36. The legend here treated was in its earlier forms variously attributed to Hugo of Cluny, Hugo of St. Victor, Anselm of Canterbury, and Lactantius. Cf. also the story by Gautier de Cluny in his *De Miraculis B. V. M.,* cap. 4 (Migne CLXXIII, col. 1384) of the Blessed Virgin delivering the soul of a monk who was being carried to hell by a crowd of demons. There is a trial scene here. This collection is dated 1141.

ing against Satan. Nevertheless, in this legend and in the commentary of Hugo we may recognize in an earlier and less developed form the trial scene which appears fully elaborated in the *Merlijn*.[9]

The notion of a contest between the evil and angelic powers for the possession of man's soul, in which the case is decided by comparison of his good and evil deeds is as old as the time of Bede, and doubtless far older. Bede tells this story of a knight who on dying was confronted by two records: the one a mighty volume containing his sins, the other a tiny book in which were enrolled his few good deeds.[10] Bede's story, however, is remote from the scales motive in the *Merlijn;* in the first place because scales are not employed to weigh the sins against the good deeds; second, because the result is different, since it is the fiends who win victory and bear off the soul.

A closer parallel to the *Merlijn* is found in the legend

[9]Possibly a dramatic treatment of the same theme in the twelfth century is to be inferred from a ceremony which preceded the canonization of Alexander III, in which an "Advocatus Diaboli" figured (cf. Stintzing: *Geschichte der populären Literatur des Kanonischen-römischen Rechts in Deutschland am Ende des XV und Anfang des XVI Jahrh.,* Leipzig, 1867, p. 260), though that ceremony may have been only a pageant or procession without dialogue. Contemporary with Maerlant, there was a dialogue in Italian, *Il Contrasto fra il Diavolo e Maria,* by Fra Bonvesin da Riva (circa 1250-1290?) (cf. d'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano,* Roma., 1891, 1: 522-5), but this was not a trial scene, nor is the subject of the dispute the same as in *Merlijn.*

[10]*Old English version of the Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* Ed. T. Miller; E. E. T. S. XCVI, 1891, pp. 436-442; *Bedae Ecclesiastica Historia,* Ed. Plummer, I, 311-313.

This story by Bede found its way into the "Example" literature. It is repeated, together with a similar tale quoted from Cæsarius, in the fifteenth century collection entitled *Jacob's Well (Jacob's Well—An English Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience.* Edited from the unique MS. about 1440 A. D. in Salisbury Cathedral by Dr. Arthur Brandeis. E. E. T. S. CXV. 1900, 225-226.)

Deguilleville also, in his *Pelèrinage de l'Ame,* later to be discussed (see Chap. V), seems to have made use of Bede's story, for he there combines the motive of the scales with the volumes containing the records of good and evil deeds. Bede was an author widely known on the Continent as well as in England, and Deguilleville may easily have been acquainted with his *Historia Ecclesiastica.*

of *Piers Toller,* which had its origin in the life of the sixth-century John of Alexandria. A pair of scales appear to Piers in a vision. In one scale the fiends heaped up his sins and the angel could find nothing to put in the other side except the little loaf which he had thrown at a beggar.[11]

The debate between the four sisters, of course, is borrowed from the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, with the history of which we are already familiar. As to the form of this debate in the *Merlijn,* it is noteworthy that the arguments there employed by the sisters are unmistakably derived from Hugo's Commentary on Ps. 84: 11 rather than from the sermon of Bernard. Passage after passage in the *Merlijn* has been literally incorporated from Hugo's treatise. In addition to the theological material derived from Hugo, the statement of the purpose of man's creation has been borrowed from Anselm, and the distinction between the sin of man and of Lucifer, from Thomas Aquinas.

Now that we have examined the three elements of the story which are combined in the *Merlijn,* we are again brought to the question: Did Maerlant himself make the combination of these separate elements, or did he find it already made in some version now lost? A very important piece of evidence in settling this point is found in a story related by Cæsarius of Heisterbach about a quarter of a century earlier than the *Merlijn.* The story in outline is as follows:[12]

A man burdened with sins is carried in a vision before the judgment throne of God where the devil demands the

[11]For the sources and earliest forms of this legend see Gerould, *The North English Homily Collection,* Oxford, 1902, pp. 56-7.

[12]*Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Cæsarius von Heisterbach.* Hsg. von Dr. Aloys Meister, Prof. in Münster. (*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte,* 13th Sup. vol., Rome, 1901), Lib. III, No. 77. The story in question has the title: *Exemplum de quodam homine permulta mala opera a diabolo ducto ad iudicium dei, quem sancta Maria, Veritas, et Justitia a diabolo acceperunt.* The book was probably written between 1225 and 1238.

surrender of the poor wretch to him. He bases his demand on three points: that mankind had been given over to him, that as a descendant of Adam this man is under the sentence of death for eating the forbidden fruit, and that whatever good he may have done is over-balanced by his evil deeds. God, not wishing to condemn the man, gives him an opportunity to defend himself; then, when the man remains silent, He postpones the trial for eight days. As the poor fellow goes out in great fear and trembling, he meets a man who inquires the cause of his sadness. Upon hearing his story, the stranger promises to defend him against the first claim of the devil. He gives his name, when interrogated, as Veritas. Later, another stranger calling himself Justitia promises to answer the second claim.[13]

On the eighth day the trial is opened. The devil advances his first claim and Veritas answers that there is a double death; that of the body, and that of the soul. All are condemned to the first but not all to the flames of hell. The devil is somewhat daunted, but presents his second claim, to which Justitia objects that by his cruelty the fiend has forfeited his right to mankind. But to the devil's third claim no one is found to answer. Then God commands scales to be brought that the man's good and evil deeds may be weighed. Thereupon Veritas and Justitia lead their protégé before the Virgin, the mother of Misericordia, who is seated beside her, and implore her aid. The blessed Virgin places her hand on the scale in which the few good,

[13]The devices of a vision, of a trial postponed by the judge that the accused may have time to defend himself, and of his lucky meeting with mysterious strangers who promise their aid at the appointed time are so common in folk-lore that I am tempted to apply in this case the general remark made by the editor of these "exampla," that Cæsarius may have learned many of his stories through oral tradition, and that these would very naturally often be transformed almost beyond recognition before reaching the isolated little cloister of Heisterbach in the lower Rhine district. It is an interesting fact that all the earliest German versions of the allegory come from this region, which is so closely connected with the Netherlands and Northern France that influences from these countries might easily penetrate thither.

deeds lie and, though the devil seeks to drag down the other, causes her scale to outweigh his, thus liberating the poor man. He, waking from his vision, reforms his life so effectually that God crowns him in heaven.

In this story by Cæsarius, it will be noted, all three of the elements distinguishable in the "Processus Belial" are found already combined. There is a trial scene before God's throne in which the devil appears on one side and Mary on the other, the interposition of the Virtues, the device of the weighing, and the final victory of man, besides the devil's appeals to Scripture and the postponement of the trial. Moreover, there is a striking coincidence with the *Merlijn* in the devil's claim that man had been given over to him and its refutal on the ground of cruelty.[14]

It is clear, then, that the elements which are fused in the *Merlijn* were not for the first time combined by Maerlant. But may it not be possible that in this story by Cæsarius we have the source used by Maerlant? Against this supposition is the fact that in a number of points where Maerlant follows the usual type Cæsarius has departed from it. For example, in Maerlant the debate between the four sisters conforms to the usual form of the allegory: two of the sisters oppose man's redemption and two plead for him. In Cæsarius, on the other hand, Pax is omitted altogether, and Veritas and Justitia are changed to the male sex. Moreover, all three are ranged on the side of man. Again, according to Cæsarius, it is God who introduces the scales for weighing man's good and evil deeds. In *Merlijn*, on the contrary, it is the devil who proposes to do this, while Mary refuses to allow it, saying that the weighing was finished at the death of Christ. This, as will appear later, is the usual form of the story.[15] Altogether, then, the

[14]This, it will be remembered, occurred also in Hugo's Commentary on Ps. 15.

[15]In Deguilleville's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* (Cf. Chap. V), on the other hand, the plan of weighing is proposed by St. Benoist, who seems, like God in this story, to wish to help man thereby, and there

version by Cæsarius seems a perverted rather than an original form of the allegory. It can hardly have been itself the source used by the author of the *Merlijn,* but in the very fact that it contains in combination the several elements of the "Processus Belial" it affords evidence of the existence before Maerlant of a version of the allegory similar to that of the *Merlijn.*

Another piece of evidence tending to confirm the existence of such a lost source is the fact that two other versions —the *Questiones ventilate coram domino nostro Jesu Cristo inter Verginam Mariam . . . et dyabolum* by Bartolus[16] and *L'Advocacie de Notre Dame* by Jean de Justice[17] —give a scene which runs practically parallel to Maerlant's poem up to the point where Masceroen asks for advocates. Both these versions, it is true, are half a century later than the *Merlijn,* yet it is difficult to believe that a Netherlandish version was the source of these Italian and French works. Moreover, from the fact that both these end at an early point in the trial and lack the strife between the sisters, the natural inference would be that they were founded upon a version antedating Maerlant's and less developed than his.[18]

it is accepted by the devil, though his hopes are frustrated by Pitie's putting into the scales with man's good deeds a letter of grace obtained from Mary because of Christ's death.

[16]*Incipit tractatus questiones ventilate coram domino nostro Jesu Cristo inter verginam Mariam ex una parte et dyabolum ex altera parte.* This edition was printed in 1473, but gives the date of the original as 1311. (See Roediger, *Contrasti Antichi,* p. 23-5.)

[17]Jean de Justice: *L'Advocacie de Notre Dame,* ed. Alph. Chassant, Paris, 1855.

[18]Stintzing (op. cit. pp. 265-266) mentions a *Processus judicarius . . .* in his possession beg. "Accessit Mascaron ad dei omnipotentis praesenciam et ait," etc., and a *Libellus procuratoris* (see Hain, 2647) beginning in the same way, which he says are more extended than the *Processus* connected with Bartolus' name, since the four virtues are also present. They are also, he believes, earlier, for they refer to the procurator as "Mascaron," later replaced by "Satan," the more usual name. This name implies a Spanish origin for these versions, and I have found references to a Spanish version called *Mascaron,* but have not succeeded in finding any copy of these versions or any information as to their date or character.

The result of this examination of possible sources for the allegory in the *Merlijn* cannot be said to be decisive; nevertheless, when one remembers that Maerlant, for the rest of his poem, was merely a translator, one must doubt whether the credit for inventing the "Processus Belial" belongs to him. I cannot but feel, therefore, that an earlier version of similar character must have existed in either Latin, Spanish, or French, and that from this the allegory in *Merlijn* was derived. Lacking this hypothetical version, however, I must use the *Merlijn* as the basis for comparison in tracing the subsequent history of the "Processus Belial."

Section III. The *Mascheroen*, a Revision of the *Merlijn*.

About one hundred years after Maerlant, another Netherlandish poem appeared which repeats the scene from the *Merlijn* almost exactly. This is the *Mascheroen*,[19] which may possibly have been written by Jan Boendale, a disciple of Maerlant. Only two changes occur. The council of devils with which the scene in *Merlijn* opens is preceded in the *Mascheroen* by another council in which the devils, dismayed that their efforts to tempt Christ were vain, learned through studying the Scriptures that the object of the incarnation is the redemption of man through the death of Christ,

[19]F. A. Snellaert, *Nederlandsche Gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw, van Jan Boendale, Hein van Aken, en Anderen.* Brussels, 1869, pp. lxiii-lxxviii and 493-549. It is found in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Marshall Coll. No. 32, of the late fourteenth century. The first three numbers, *Melibeus, Jans Teesteye* and *Van der Wraken*, are by Jan Boendale, who was a pupil of Maerlant's. That fact may account for the inclusion of the *Mascheroen* in the same manuscript, either as a revision by Boendale or as a free copy by some later scribe. Whether there was an earlier *Mascheroen* to give rise to the "wagon-spel" described in the 1615 prose story, *Marieken van Nymwegen* (see Snellaert's Intro.) or whether that "wagon-spel" was a direct dramatization from *Merlijn*, I cannot say. From that description it would seem to be a less developed form than any extant. In 1475, *Mascheroen* was played in Petegem (Creizenach I: 477). This may be the play referred to in *Marieken van Nymwegen.*

and accordingly planned to prevent His death by sending a vision to Pilate's wife.

The other instance where the two poems materially differ is in the arguments employed by the four virtues. These instead of coming from Hugo, as in *Merlijn,* here seem to be inspired by Anselm. Gherechtiched complains that man has ever been disobedient and unprofitable and that, having lightly broken the command of God, great to eternity, he deserves eternal punishment. No man could atone for Adam; for all are servants to sin. Nay, were even one found sinless, he would still be in endless debt to his Creator, and would therefore have no extra merit by which he could atone for himself or another. Further, even if he could make satisfaction, this would not restore his innocence, so that he could not deserve bliss, and it would be wrong to admit to Paradise one so unclean. Adam wished rather to obey his wife than God. Since he fell from such honor,—the joys he had in Paradise,—to become like a beast, let him now remain in toil and torment. Next, Waerhede makes her usual speech about the penalty for eating the apple, and then the poem proceeds practically as in *Merlijn,* although with a few unimportant expansions. I have noted these slight changes, because, as will later appear, they recur, modified, in Greban, so that it seems likely that Greban worked from the *Mascheroen* rather than the *Merlijn.*

Section IV. Theramo's *Processus Belial.*

The *Processus Belial,* the work which gave the name to those versions which contain the Devil motive, is a fuller development of the *Merlijn* type, written by Jacopo da Theramo.[20] It is also of great importance in mediæval

[20]The full title reads: *Compendium breve Consolatio peccatorum nuncupatum; et apud nonnullos Belial vocitatum ad papam Urbanum sextum conscriptum.* It is found in numberless editions and translations, for which see Stintzing, pp. 271 *et seq.,* and the articles on Theramo in Goedeke's *Grundriss* and the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale.* Theramo wrote it in 1381, in order to show in an amusing style the method of conducting a trial.

literary history through its enormous popularity, and it is important for my purpose because of its direct influence upon certain Provençal plays. This *Processus Belial,* though modelled upon the same plot as *Merlijn,* departs freely from that version, amplifying prodigally.[21]

It begins with a council of demons similar to that in *Merlijn,* except that the part there played by Mascheroen is here given to Belial, and proceeds in like fashion, though much more detailed, up to the point where Belial presents his charges against Jesus. Belial accuses Jesus of robbing Satan of his rightful possession and of acting as an impostor in claiming to be God's Son. On the plea that Jesus had lived under Solomon's jurisdiction when on earth, the Lord sends Belial to present his suit to that king. Thereupon the tedious formalities incident to the conduct of a mediæval trial are repeated with much elaboration. In many points this trial resembles the one in the *Merlijn,* though the advocate here is not Mary, but Moses. Belial, finding the case going against him, obtains a postponement and hastens to hell for council. There he is advised to drop the prosecution of Jesus as a robber and to sue only for the return of the redeemed souls.

In the arguments which follow the renewal of the case on this changed basis, the only one which recalls the *Merlijn* is the decision that Satan, by too despotic use of his power, has lost whatever claim to man he may originally have had. The case is decided against Belial, who rages furiously at his defeat and who the next day after another consultation in hell presents a formal protest against the sentence and a demand for a new trial. This time God sends him before Joseph, the patriarch of Egypt, for a hearing. Here Belial's argument is that man, having eaten the apple, must suffer

[21] In *Deutsche Dichter aus dem XVI Jh.* (Goedeke und Tittmann. Leipzig, 1868, II. I., p. xxxii) it is suggested that Theramo worked from Bartolus. But much in *Merlijn* and the *Processus Belial* is not known to Bartolus. For example, the four sisters do not there appear at all, nor is there any second pleading.

the penalty; God being eternally just, man must eternally die; but Moses replies that God mingles with justice His mercy which is equally eternal. "If mercy and justice are mingled," taunts Belial, "why has mercy been so long silent?" "She has not been silent," Moses answers. "Through all the ages Misericordia and Pax through the prophets have proclaimed the deliverance of man as soon as Justitia and Veritas were satisfied. When the time came, Misericordia went before the throne of the father to plead for man." And Moses relates at length the story of the debate before the throne, and its issue in the Incarnation; but in this account, the author abandons the later tradition to give the pleading as it is in Bernard's sermon on the Annunciation. When Moses has finished, Belial grimly gnaws his lip, stupefied with dismay; and since he can answer nothing, this case, too, is decided against him. Again he goes to hell for advice, and again is forced to continue the struggle.

The third trial is like the second one in *Merlijn* in that the principals do not speak, but choose each two advocates who speak for them. Belial chooses King Octavius and Jeremiah; Moses, Aristotle and Isaiah. In the arguments which follow, the only thing which directly recalls the *Merlijn* is the suggestion of Octavius that a compromise be made and the world be divided between Christ and Satan. The suggestion gives opportunity for a voluminous account of the reign of Antichrist and the last judgment. This account is particularly detailed in its description of the reception to be accorded to the various classes of sinners and their efforts at self-justification.

At the Judgment, Justitia and Misericordia reopen their pleading before God, Justice taking stand first against the Jews for putting Christ to death, Misericordia quoting Christ's dying words of forgiveness. Other arguments advanced are the cruel penance already suffered in purgatory during thousands of years, the deep remorse and peni-

tence of some of the sufferers, the healing that flows from Christ's pierced side, the futility of Christ's death unless those in purgatory be redeemed, the superiority of Misericordia over Justitia, and the fact that the very essence of her nature is to forgive sins. Then Lucifer, who is waiting at one side to carry the condemned down to hell's pit with him, troubled at Misericordia's weighty arguments, goes to Mary and urges her to plead for his forgiveness. To this she sweetly accedes, but in this case her pleading is in vain. God asks her, however, to reconcile Misericordia and Justitia. Having heard both sides of their controversy, she persuades them to accept a compromise: Misericordia to agree to have only those who for a thousand years have expiated their sins, and Justitia to consent to have the rest. God says this may be accepted as the solution of the difficulty, but excepts those who have not repented, no matter how long they have suffered, and those guilty of the seven deadly sins. Misericordia now pleads for babes who have died before baptism, and God summons Life and Death to answer her accusation. With their defense, the account of the Last Judgment ends.

In the story thus sketched, the dependence of *Belial* upon the *Merlijn* is evident, as is also the fact that Theramo has added much that is original. As to its influence, the picture of the Last Judgment here given, with its condemnation of the Jews, may have suggested the debate of the sisters concerning the punishment of the Jews in *Le Vengeance,* a play to be discussed in a later chapter, and the novel treatment which Theramo employed throughout had a direct influence upon a very interesting Provençal cycle now to be described.

This Provençal cycle[22] is of peculiar interest, inasmuch as it is the only example in French dramatic literature of a series of Old and New Testament plays like those of the

[22] *Mystères provençaux du XV siècle.* A. J. Jeanroy, et H. Teulié, Toulouse, 1893. (Ms. Bibl. Nat. 6252 nouv. acq. fr. 15th cent.)

great English cycles. The only two plays of interest in connection with this subject are *Lo Jutgamen de Jhesus de Nazaret* and *Lo Jutgamen General,* or, strictly speaking, only the second, though both, I believe, are clearly inspired by Theramo's *Processus Belial.*[23]

In the first, the number of the virtues is increased. Of the four traditional sisters, only one, Veritat, appears, and she in a rôle opposed to that which she usually plays, since here she pleads for man against Jesus. Instead of the other three appear Ignocensia, Fidelitat, and Humilitat, advocates of Jesus, and Caritat and Necessitat, who with Veritat are the advocates of Humana Natura. The occasion of the pleading is also different from the usual one, being the demand of Humana Natura for the immediate death of Jesus who has been in the world thirty-three years without fulfilling his promise to die for man. This demand is a logical outgrowth of the usual pleadings, which result in the determination of the Son to assume humanity and die. Considering these departures from the traditional form, one can accept this play only as a disfigured version of the allegory.

[23]It is probable that the editors of these plays have not compared them with Theramo's work, since they say in their introduction that although the author seems at times to have followed a model, this cannot be identified, and that we possess no such composition on the last judgment anterior to *Lo Jutgamen General.* The assumption is that the author had read widely in the drama and utilized in his composition a number of diverse sources, most of which are to-day lost.

The only other example of a last judgment known to the editors is the mystery represented at Modane in 1580, *Le Jugement de Dieu* (see Petit de Julleville, II, 460), but there are others, in Germany, also dependent on Theramo. Whether the *Contrast de natura humana am lo demoni infernal loqual contrast fouc determenat per Dieu la Païre* played at Rodez in 1440 could be like either of these plays, I cannot say. (See Petit de Julleville, II: 14-15.) The editors of this Provençal cycle think not.

In Romania XXIII: 527-8, M. Jeanroy expresses his conviction of the debt of this cycle to some lost French play, and says that the *Jutgamen de Jhesus* especially would be unintelligible without such a predecessor.

Since writing this chapter, I have discovered that Roy (*op. cit.* 323 ff. and 411 ff.) has anticipated me in advancing the theory of dependence upon Theramo. Cf. Rom. XXXV: 365-378.

Lo Jutgamen de Jhesus follows the *Belial* in the conduct of the trial,—the appointment of advocates for each side, the summoning of witnesses, and the appeal of the case to three successive tribunals. Here it is Jesus' side which loses the case each time and His mother who with violent lamentations at the cruel sentence of death, carries the case before Ley de Nature, Ley de Escripture, and Ley de Gracia in turn. But although there are important modifications, the groundwork here is the same as in *Processus Belial.*

In the *Jutgamen General* the likeness to the *Belial* is much closer, the Provençal play adding nothing to that account of the Last Judgment. The condemnation in turn of the bad angels, Jews, idolators, unworthy clergy, and lay officers and others, the pleading of Mercy and Justice, Mary's request for Lucifer's forgiveness, and the examination of Life and Death, all depend almost verbally upon the *Belial.*

Section V. Summary.

To sum up the results of this chapter, the Devil motive not improbably had its beginning in a simple debate between the Virgin and Satan's advocate, a conception derived from Hugo's commentary on Ps. 15; but no composition of this type is known to be extant which can be proved to be earlier than Maerlant's *Merlijn.* Nevertheless, it is probable that an earlier source for this scene, more closely resembling it, did exist and that this was also the source for Bartolus, Jean de Justice, and other such versions. The only version which is demonstrably earlier than the *Merlijn* is that of Cæsarius. But this is too slight to have offered more than the barest outline and too widely different in many points to have served as a model for the scene in the *Merlijn.*

A century after the *Merlijn* appeared the *Mascheroen,* but this has no character of its own except in the substitution of different arguments in the debate between the Daugh-

ters of God. Otherwise it is only a revised copy of the *Merlijn*. Finally, the *Processus Belial* and the Provençal plays with their repeated trials and endless refinements of legal chicanery show the third and decadent stage. Having traced the development of the devil motive from a separate contest to its union with the strife between the virtues, it remains to show how in the French mystères the two contests are again separated,[24] and how the debate between the sisters has gained in richness by the absorption of elements suggested in the arguments bandied between Mary and the procurator.

[24]To illustrate from Greban's *Mystère de la Passion,* the devil scenes there have the same plot as the earlier ones in *Mascheroen.* That the rest of the poem,—the contest between Mascheroen and Mary, was known to Greban and purposely rejected by him is implied in the mystère itself. The devils having called a council after the harrowing of hell, Cerberus says:

Cerberus:

"On nous fait tort, on nous fait tort,
et de cestuy desrobement
j'en appelle au grant jugement,
car le faulx Jhesus n'y a droit.

Lucifer:

Ton appel riens ne nous vauldroit:
Jhesus qui la chose a bastie,
si seroit la juge et partie;"

Chapter V.

DEGUILLEVILLE AND HIS INFLUENCE UPON MERCADÉ AND GREBAN.

Guillaume de Deguilleville turned the struggle of good and evil for man's soul into a romance, a form that was doubtless suggested by the *Roman de la Rose.* The conception of such a struggle had been first presented in the *Psychomachie* of Prudentius and developed in such works as the *Voie de Paradis,* but it has nowhere been so fully elaborated as in Deguilleville. In his three poems, *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine, Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame,* and *Le Pèlerinage de Jesucrist,*[1] there appears a three-fold development of his theme; in the first, the struggle for man's soul is represented as a conflict of the Virtues and Vices; in the second, as a trial carried on by the Devil before the Powers of Heaven; in the third, as a controversy between Mercy and Justice. It is true that the sisters appear also in the second poem, and that a hint of the devil conception is recognizable in the last, yet in general, the distinction of theme in the three poems is preserved. The *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine,* the first poem in the trilogy, may be dismissed with a mere mention, as it does not contain any reference to the allegory of the Four Daughters. It is an allegorical account of the journey of man's soul through the life on earth towards the heavenly kingdom. In both the other poems, however, our allegory makes its appear-

[1]All three poems have been edited by J. J. Stürzinger for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1893-7, and are described in outline by Gröber II. I. 749 ff. An English translation of the first poem was made by Lydgate and is edited by Dr. Furnivall in E. E. T. S. Ext. Ser. LXXVII and LXXXII. This society promises also an edition of the *Pilgrimage of the Sowle,* an English translation of Deguilleville's second poem. This second translation has also been ascribed to Lydgate, but wrongly. (See J. Schick: *Lydgate's Temple of Glas,* E. E. T. S. ext. ser. LX, 1891, pp. ci-ciii.

ance, and it is with the discussion of these that we are here concerned.

Section I. The *Pèlerinage de l'Ame.*

The *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* continues the history of the Soul begun in the *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*. The subject in the second poem is the fate of the soul after death, and the contents may be outlined as follows:

The guardian angel attempts to carry the Soul to heaven, there to plead for grace before God's throne, but is stopped by Satan, who seeks to drag it down to his tortures. Thereupon an altercation between the two arises, which they decide to submit for arbitration to St. Michael, to whom until the Last Judgment such decisions belong. He summons to the trial St. Peter, St. Benoist, Reason, Justice and Truth, and some, who like the Soul have made pilgrimages on earth, St. George, St. Nicholas, and many others. Man's good angel opens the pleading by alleging that his charge had been commited to certain guardians on earth from whom Satan has no right to snatch him, but to this Satan replies that some of these guardians would witness against man and in favor of his own claim. The good angel tries to excite the sympathy of the judges, but Satan presents so strong a case against the Soul, telling of its sins after baptism and its repeated lapses from virtue, that an ominous silence succeeds his speech. Perceiving that no one will speak for him, the Soul confesses all his sins, then calls upon Christ and Mary for mercy. He also appeals to the angels and saints present to plead for him.

At this point Justice interferes, saying that she and Verite must bar from this court confession and pleading after death. The Soul replies that Satan should then be equally barred from the court, having once been dismissed from heaven; but Satan, unalarmed, answers by saying: "I need not say anything; for Justice, Verite, Reason and Syn-

daresis all speak for me." This gives Syndaresis, the worm of conscience, his opportunity and, unmoved by the Soul's attempt to silence him, he bitterly rehearses all the evil deeds of the Soul, which Satan eagerly writes down as they are cited. The poor Soul, able to deny nothing in this long accusation, again humbly pleads for mercy, seeking excuse in the fact that he had sinned not through despite of God, but oppressed by the weight of ignorance and of his frail nature. Sin, wrapped in goodly seeming, had deceived him. These excuses Justice rejects as worthless, for Grace Dieu had given the Soul a full letter of instructions and complete armor. Had he chosen to profit by these, he might have escaped. "Yes," Reason adds, "Justice is right in all she says of the helps he might have had against the world, but he left his five posterns, the five wits, open." Verite, too, heaps up the evidence against him by telling how futile and fleeting his penitence has always been. Satan, assured of his case, here demands the surrender to him of the Soul, but Pitie at last steps forward with words of warning against rash condemnations. "I must speak to deserve my name. No pilgrim ever kept to the right road and therefore none could ever be saved but for my Lady and the Sovereign Lord who made the journey on earth. This He did at my prayer and to bring about accord between Justice and me.[2] Since He did this to save man, you who hold His court should follow His will; guard the Soul from hell, not send him thither." Justice objects that Christ did not die to save sinners who would not leave their errors, and so to countenance sin, but only to redeem such as amended their lives while on earth.

Further argument between them follows, which St. Benoist thinks to end by his proposal that the deeds of the Soul be placed in the balance of Justice. All agree, and the friends of the Soul place in the right scale all that they can

[2]This apparent reference to an earlier controversy between the sisters seems to be an acknowledgment of indebtedness to older versions of the allegory for the conception of the strife. Cf. also *Castell of Perseverance*, vv. 3134-52.

allege in his favor; the enemies weight the left with their claims against the Soul until this is much the heavier. Triumphant, Satan calls for the immediate surrender of the Soul to him, but Pitie begs delay until she can go to Mary and Christ. During her absence, St. Benoist adds to the two scales the scripts of man's good and evil deeds, but without altering the balance. Pitie now returns with a letter of grace which at Mary's request Christ had given her. By this letter all who in deep penitence will cleanse themselves in a purgatory which is to be established for them, shall be saved; but no grace shall be shown those who persist in wickedness. The opponents of the Soul complain against Pitie for thus setting aside both their claims and the evidence of the scales, whereupon a long council is held to decide how to end the matter. Finally it is suggested that the letter which Pitie has brought be added to the right side of the scales. This is done and it is seen that the letter outweighs anything else. All yield, the Soul is instructed how to cleanse himself in purgatory in order that Justice may be satisfied, Justice and Pitie meet at last in accord, and Satan descends to hell in a rage crying out that he had found "not reason, but treason."

In looking back over the plot just outlined, one gains few clear indications of the sources used by the author. Deguilleville seems to have known more than one version of the allegory, and to have borrowed from each impartially such points as he chose, transforming them to suit his purpose. Certain points similar to earlier versions, however, suggest indebtedness.

From Bernard or Grosseteste may have come the reference to the guardians granted to man, and from Grosseteste the argument which Justice advances that indiscriminate mercy would lead to the countenancing of sin. In both Cæsarius and the *Merlijn* Satan demands that the Soul be surrendered to him, and in the *Merlijn*, as here, his right to speak in the heavenly court is challenged. As between these

two earlier versions, the fact that Satan's demand is made immediately after man's death and for an individual, rather than for all humanity, though this latter, too, is at times implied in Deguilleville, places this poem somewhat nearer Cæsarius than the *Merlijn*. In agreement with Cæsarius also, we find the acceptance of the proposition to try the balance, the fact that this proposal is apparently made with the view of aiding man, and the alteration of the result of the weighing by an appeal to Mary. The parallel of the two scripts in which were written man's good and evil deeds with the similar books in Bede's story may be fortuitous only; yet Bede was popular on the Continent as well as in England, and there is nothing impossible in supposing that he was known to Deguilleville. Possibly more significant is the fact that in one manuscript of *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame* at a later point of the poem is an insertion of about five hundred lines, which, though expanded, is taken directly from the account of the debate in the *Vie de Tobie*. Many other points in the narrative suggest the *Roman de la Rose*, *Voie de Paradis*, etc., but as they have no connection with my subject, I mention them only to point my assertion that Deguilleville drew from a multitude of sources.

Section II. The *Pèlerinage de Jesucrist*.

The *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* seems not to have influenced succeeding versions of our allegory, probably because this poem presents it in so perverted a form. Deguilleville's third poem, however, *Le Pèlerinage de Jesucrist*, which we come now to consider, has a peculiar interest, on account of its direct and important influence upon the French mystères. Nor was its influence confined to France, for, as we shall see later, it was the source used by the author of the English *Court of Sapience* (see Chap. IX). Its chief importance, however, lies in the effect which it exerted through Mercadé and Greban upon the French dramatic forms of the allegory.

Deguilleville exerted this influence through an important modification which he introduced into the allegory by bringing in the character of Sapience[3] and assigning to her instead of to Christ the rôle of arbitrator between the Four Daughters. As will be seen from the following outline of the version, Sapience plays an important part in the allegory.

In *Le Pèlerinage de Jesucrist,* the allegory is introduced by man's good angel, who tells his companions of the fall of his charge, through the cunning of Orguel, son of Lucifer. They urge him to repeat this before God and with their aid, to plead for Adam. While the angels are singing in nine circles before the Lord, the three dames. Justice, Misericorde and Veritas, enter into discussion. Veritas favors a long punishment as the penalty for man's disobedience; Justice, eternal punishment; and Misericorde hopes for pardon. Having argued for some time in the usual fashion, Veritas suggests that they go for council to Sapience. Justice protests the uselessness of doing so, but is overruled, and they go. Sapience tells them that the only possible escape would be that the King himself become man and pay the debt of sin, but that this is not fitting, for no one is worthy of it.

Hearing this, Misericorde goes to the Holy Spirit and pleads with him, whose advocate she is, to procure Adam's salvation in the way indicated by Sapience, and reminds him that she had been given her name, Misericorde, as a symbol of the rainbow covenant, a "cord of mercy" to men. Turning to Justice, she reproaches her for her rigor, greater than that of God, who repented making man because He foresaw that He must suffer for his sin. Justice protests the reasonableness of her claim and denies that the Father, for whom she is advocate, has made any promise to man, whatever the Spirit may have done. This seems to Misericorde an idle distinction, since the three Persons of the Trinity

[3]MS. Metz 535 (see Chap. II) used the name "Sapience" in speak- of Christ.

cannot be divided. Man's sin, disobedience, must be purged by obedience, which belongs to the Spirit. "No," says Justice, "to the Son, since the Father gave the command." Veritas here speaks again: "Yes, and I am His advocate, but I cannot discuss the matter without commission." She offers, however, to go and present the proposition to Him.

When she returns, she tells how after much piteous debate in the Trinity, He was asked to make the pilgrimage for man, and might not have yielded had not His mother, "Charite," been there, whose love for Misericorde is well known. The Father had shown that no angel,[4] but only a man could atone; the Son, that all men were attainted and helpless to save, through the sin of the first; and the Spirit, that help could come only from one of the Trinity, since they alone were innocent. Thereupon the Father had turned to the Son, as the one best fitted to undertake the office, but He laid no command upon Him, for it was necessary that the act be voluntary.

At this point, a new character is introduced in Charite the mother of Jesus. She besought her Son to please the Father. Of her many arguments, the chief were, that man's sin had been caused by guile and was, therefore, less damnable and that it was unjust that Adam's descendants should be involved in his punishment, while Lucifer had no successor to suffer for his misdeeds. Her words prevailed, and the Son, though expressing grief for the pain he must suffer, and misgiving lest many a man would not appreciate His sacrifice, turned to the Father and asked for instructions how He should enter upon this pilgrimage. Gabriel is sent to make ready a hostelry worthy to receive a King, and the annunciation to Mary follows.

Again, towards the close of the poem, Christ after His resurrection and ascension bids an angel summon the three dames, Justice the doughty, Veritas the well-praised, and Misericorde the sweet. When they are come, the Father

[4] Cf. extract from Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, below, note 12.

asks them if they are satisfied with the payment which His Son, in the habit of a pilgrim, had made for man with the blood of His heart. For reply they cast themselves at His feet, with the assurance that they are more than satisfied. God then bids them kiss in token that their discord is ended and, to cement the peace, ordains that a feast of joy begin. Angels in numberless hosts assemble and chant sweet praises, led by Justice and Misericorde; the first declaring her rigor abated, the second rejoicing that she may now approach nearer the Father and make supplication for all who henceforth shall sin, unless the sin be against her "especial dear Master, the Holy Spirit." To add to the general joy, Jesus brings in John the Baptist and Mary is crowned.

In its general structure the scene in the *Pèlerinage de Jesucrist*, like that in the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, seems to be largely original. Deguilleville must have known several versions of the allegory. The elements taken from them he has fitted together into a mosaic according to his own pattern. Some of these elements, however, can be recognized. An indebtedness to Bonaventura is suggested by the likeness of the opening scenes in each,—the formal pleading of the angels in man's behalf. The sisters' submission of their quarrel to Sapience for a decision, while suggested perhaps by a similar application to Christ in Bonaventura, is nevertheless nearer to Bernard, since in the latter's sermon the Son is spoken of as King Solomon, the type of wisdom. Deguilleville, however, is the first to make Sapience another sister. Reminiscent of the *Mascheroen* is the discussion of the relative sin of Lucifer and man, here touched upon and the appearance of Christ's mother as advocate for man. With these exceptions, Deguilleville's treatment of the allegory is an independent one.

This scene in the *Pèlerinage de Jesucrist* is of special importance, as furnishing the model for the "Proces de Paradis" in the Passion-plays of Mercadé and Greban. Since these are so much alike, it will perhaps be the simplest

course to outline both and then to compare them with Deguilleville and with each other.[5]

Section III. The Allegory in Mercadé's Play.

At the opening of Mercadé's play[6] is given a description of the mise-en-scène. "Let there be the Trinity, that

[5]Before Mercadé, however, before even Deguilleville, the allegory had appeared in the drama, though in the most rudimentary form, namely, in the so-called *Maestricht plays* (ZfdA. II: 302-350), which was probably composed about 1330. At it is in German, I omit discussion of it here, and do this more readily since it does not seem to have influenced Mercadé or Greban. Traces of French influence in this play suggests its derivation from some French mystère not now extant.

[6]*Le Mystere de la Passion. Texte du MS. 697 de la Bibl. d'Arras*, ed. Jules-Marie Richard Arras, 1893. Cf. Petit de Julleville, II: 415-18. For convenience sake I speak of this play as Mercadé's, since it is generally accredited to him by French literary historians; but M. Richard, in editing it, is more cautious, and, though he gives all the arguments in favor of Mercadé's authorship, does not commit himself. Mercadé certainly wrote the *Vengeance de Jesucrist*, as attested not only by his signature in the epilogue to that play, but also by the statement that he did so made by a contemporary, Martin Le Franc, in his *Champion des Dames*. The *Passion* and the *Vengeance* are in the same manuscript, the copyist passing directly from one to the other, without giving, at the end of the first, the usual appeal to the audience for indulgence and to God for mercy, or any list of players. These defects are supplied at the end of the *Vengeance*, so that it seems not improbable that the copyist intentionally omitted them after the first play, in order to bind the two together. Yet the preacher at the end of the first does not announce the second; and the second has some characters not in the first, some allusions to evils in society, also not mentioned in the first, and some affectations of erudition and preciosity. Both, however, have the same Picardesque forms here and there, and they offer no contradictions in their ideas or personages. Common to both are the absence of lyrical passages, the use of prose, rare in the mystères, the abuse of long tirade, and the coldness of action.

Admitting that both were written by the same author, the *Passion* was composed before the *Vengeance*, which seems to belong to the unhappy years of Charles VI, from its references to the lamentable state in France. Since there are no allusions to invasion, but only to intestine anarchy, these would point to the time before Mercadé's going to Corbie, in 1414. The mention "1390 circiter" added to the first leaf of the manuscript, in a sixteenth century hand, while it is erroneous as a date of the copy, might apply as the approximate date of the composition of the earliest play, the *Passion*.

These are the arguments as Richard presents them. He adds that Mercadé had attended the schools of Paris, where he gained the title

is to say, God the Father, in Paradise seated on His throne, and about Him a great multitude of angels and archangels making melody and others on their knees before God, with Misericorde, who holds an olive branch in her hand. At the right is Justice holding a sword, and kneeling with Misericorde are Verite, Sapience and Charite."

Misericorde cries out in longing for the day of comfort for those who for five thousand years have been left to perish. Though desiring to help, she sees no way of escape for them, unless it be through Dame Charite, whose place is nearest God's. To Him she exclaims, "Can it please Thee that all perish? Why dost Thou so multiply the race if all must be left to torment, or why must the last man born on earth partake of the misdeeds of the first?"

Justice, moved to anger, replies: "Sister, say no more of this. There ought to be no memory of man so long as God endures, so great was his sin; for eternal sin, only eternal punishment is just."

Verite does not think it follows that the punishment should be infinite and considers Justice too rigorous. "Not so," rejoins Justice, "Lucifer is under eternal punishment; so should man be, whose sin, like Lucifer's, was in seeking to exalt himself, forgetting the great honor and beautiful place of abode with which he was blessed."

This attitude Misericorde thinks inhuman; for she refuses to consider the sins equal inasmuch as Lucifer sinned of his own accord, man through the conspiracy of the serpent. As to Justice's statement about man's former honor, she asserts that Lucifer's had been greater, a fact clear from his very name, Light-bearer, the fairest of angels. Moreover, man instantly repented of his sin; not so the malicious Lucifer. Therefore, it is right that the devil suffer eternally,

"bachelier en theologie et docteur en decret," which necessitated long years of study, so that he must have been in Paris in the first years of the fifteenth century, when the "Confrères de la Passion" had just obtained royal recognition, and their activity may have stimulated Mercadé to compose his plays.

but man has already been punished severely, when Justice drove him from the garden.

"Truly, my sweet sister, you speak well," says Verite, and she seeks to convince Justice that man has suffered enough, but in vain; for the latter only answers that it is not customary for courts to revoke their sentences. Verite succeeds, however, in obtaining permission to seek a means of breaking man's bonds, if this be not opposed to Justice's rights. The solution she suggests as the only one possible is that the King himself humbly assume humanity and die to redeem the sinner. All the angels could not suffice, since only a man can atone for man's sin. Justice objects that pain cannot touch God, yet to pain man was condemned. She adds her conviction that God would never consent to it. "I do not say that he would," Verite admits. "It does not pertain to me to know His glorious will, but this is the only possible means of escape." At Misericorde's entreaty, Verite goes to Sapience, tells her the position of affairs and persuades her to go before the King and beg Him to grant His aid. This Sapience does, presenting the matter as the plea of the beloved Misericorde, at first not suggesting the means, but only pleading that sorrowing humanity be released from limbo and brought to dwell with God. When God objects that this release can come only from one who is sinless, and that it is hopeless to wait for such an one, she speaks more plainly, showing Verite's plan, and urging her belief that God must have expected to suffer for man, else He had not said, "Me poenitet fecisse hominem." God's only answer is to express His regret that man must remain in his prison.

Then Charite, intervening, kneels and pleads the extenuating circumstances in the case of man's sin. Since he had been created out of dust, he might easily be expected to fall. Lucifer, on the other hand, formed of celestial substance, had sinned in pure malignity. Gabriel adds much the same pleas and reminds God of the mansions which must

be left vacant if man be not restored. Then, when God says the sin was too like Lucifer's for a distinction in justice to be made, Michael and Raphael join their prayers that the deserted palaces be refilled, lest God's work seem imperfect and man's creation superfluous. Still God remains firm. Now Uriel supplicates Him, if He does not wish personally to effect man's redemption, to command one of His creatures to do it, that all may be again perfect as when He said, "Let there be light."

The cherubim, on behalf of all the angels, plead for man in his pitiful plight, beg that Paradise no longer be left desolate, and urge that the discord of heaven be harmonized.

Finally, Charite again entreats, "Only by Thee who created him can man escape. Hear the prayers of all the angelic orders and hierarchies."

God is moved. Turning to Charite He says: "Thy request accords with that of Misericorde, thy daughter. I do not wish to act contrary to your request and the prayers of the blessed angels, and therefore I yield my consent. To bring man from exile, Our Son shall become incarnate in the form of man. A virgin pure and gracious shall lodge Him as behooves the Son of a King. After that, death shall follow. Alas, I owe little love to the apple man bit, for by that deed am I summoned to bear the burden of the redemption of mortal man."

Having described the suffering which Christ must endure, God summons Gabriel and gives him the secret message of annunciation to Mary. Then Sapience, returning to the sisters, tells how, through the entreaties of Charite, the decision to redeem man had been made.

At the end of the play, after His resurrection, Christ ascends to the Father's throne and announces His pilgrimage completed, the voyage fully accomplished. He shows the marks of His cruel pains on earth, tells all that He has done, and orders that the virtues be summoned to answer whether they are fully satisfied. Gabriel is sent for them, and they,

declaring their joy in obedience, present themselves before the Trinity. The Father recalls to them their discord, and their requests through Sapience, and then tells what the Son has suffered for man and ends by asking each if she is now content. Misericorde first, afterwards the other two reply by hymns of praise, and at the Father's command, meet and kiss in token of restored concord. The play ends with Gabriel's command to all the angelic hosts to praise the Trinity in joyous melodies.

Section IV. The Allegory in Greban's Play.

Possibly half a century after Mercadé's came Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*.[1] Greban's treatment of the allegory is the most fully developed of any. His "Proces de Paradis" appears on three separate days, twice at considerable length. These must now be severally examined. The purpose and scope of the *Mystère de la Passion* is indicated in a note prefixed to the MS. of 1473, stating that the play was written at the request of certain notables of Paris, to show the difference between the sin of Lucifer and that of Adam, and why the latter's could be atoned for. In his prologue the author gives a "creation abrègée." After describing the creation of angels and men and their Fall, the long laments of Adam and Eve, and their banishment from Paradise to the exultant joy of the powers in hell who have wrought the second Fall, he proceeds with an account of the resulting sin of Cain, the expedition of Seth to Paradise, the death of Adam and Eve, and the torments prepared for them in hell by Satan.

[1] *Le Mystère de la Passion d'Arnoul Greban*, ed. Gaston Paris et Gaston Raynaud, Paris, 1878.

For lists of manuscripts and editions of the *Passion*, see the introduction in this edition, or Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, Paris, 1880, II: 394-411.

The earliest manuscript is dated 1473, but among the papers of the Benedictine Dom Grenier of Abbeville, is the copy of a receipt for money paid for a representation there in 1452 of Greban's *Passion*, so that the mystère must have been composed earlier than this.

Thus far the prologue carries us. The first day then begins with the laments of Adam and Eve in Hell, the attempts of the prophets to comfort them by their predictions of the coming deliverance when the time shall be fulfilled, and the vehement prayers of all that this day of release come soon.[8] At this point, Misericorde declares that she cannot longer restrain herself from pleading for humanity. It seems most pitiful to her that man, in the pursuit, as he supposed, of greater happiness and power, should have fallen to such a depth of woe and impotence, and that, after being endowed with such high excellence and nobility, he should now be so degraded. Moved by his bitter mourning, she would break his cords of bondage. God signifies His desire to please her, and she continues, confident of being heard, since the Father and she must be one and have a common will. She reminds the Father that He had created the world through gracious desire to share His happiness and good,[9] not from any need, and that this had been planned through two orders of beings, the one of angelic substance, to praise Him in heaven, the other lower, but lords over the earth. Yet both had sinned. The sins being diverse,—one due to pride grasping at power, the other to ignorance striving for knowledge,—the punishments were also diverse; for that of the fallen angel is eternal, but to man is extended the hope of an end to his pain. Therefore she may rightfully plead for man though she will not intercede for the Devil.

Justice now interposes with the demand for a formal hearing, announcing her purpose of mortal war against man's whole lineage, to defeat Misericorde's plea. A sharp dispute ensues, in which charges of undue leniency are made on one side and of cruel rigor on the other. Finally Justice urges that the balance be held between them,

[8]This introduction may have been suggested by the prayers of the angelic orders which open Bonaventura's narrative, or it may be written in obedience to the convention of the procession of the prophets, with which so many of the mystères are introduced.

[9]Cf. note on Anselm in Chap. IV n. 5.

and man be rewarded according to his deserts. God intervenes with the demand that recriminations cease and each present her arguments.

In the formal hearing of their claims thus opened Justice speaks first. She states that Misericorde demands three impossible things in wishing to bring man from hell to repair his fall, and to punish the like sins of Lucifer and man by different penalties. Being challenged by Misericorde to prove the sins alike, she proceeds to sum up the case against man. His sin is especially damnable, considering the nobility with which he was endowed and the affluence of power and bliss granted him in Paradise, where no earthly pleasure was denied him but one small fruit to which, like a gourmand, he at once extended his hand. His was therefore a triple offence: disobedience, gluttony, and pride. The Devil, on the other hand, was guilty of pride alone. Thus man fell from liberty to servitude, from nobility to baseness. That he was tempted is no excuse. Consequently, the sins being equal, the punishments must also be equal, or, if one is to be succored, so must the other. To talk of satisfaction is useless; for when one owes and cannot pay, he must remain as hostage, and to release him through courtesy would be folly.

Verite thinks the arguments of Justice are sound, but that Misericorde may possibly find a way of escape. Resuming her plea, Misericorde urges first the wrong of defeating God's high purpose when he formed man in his own image; next, man's weakness and ignorance among mortal enemies, where he was as a stranger making a pilgrimage through a land he knew not; and further the cruel and long penance he had already suffered.

Justice interrupts with the remark that the plea of man's nobility defeats itself, since the higher and more puissant a man's estate, the heavier should be the punishment of his sin. This Misericorde is willing to grant, but not its application to the present case, because here, she alleges, the sin was caused through the guile of another. When Justice protests

that man had free will, she admits that only in part; for he had been created weak and sensuous under the domination of the flesh, which sways him like the branch which the wind inclines. To accept that as excuse, Justice thinks, would be to admit that he could sin with impunity and always claim forgiveness on the plea of weakness. Misericorde pleads man's true repentance, but she is told that no infinitude of penance could avail. She then asks whether another might not make satisfaction and suggests that man has a puissant helper. She denies again that man and Lucifer sinned alike.

"I'll prove it!" cries Justice. "Both were noble and intelligent, both sinned through perverted free will and pride. If Lucifer had clear vision, no less had man, having received before his transgression a warning from the mouth of God himself."

Misericorde, however, opposes her in six points:[10] first,

[10]Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentum in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi.* Lib. III. Dist. I. Quaest. I. Art II.:

Ad secundum dicendum, quod peccatum hominis fuit remediabile, non autem peccatum Angeli, cujus ratio multipliciter assignatur. Primo ex virtute naturali utriusque; quia quantum ad cognitivam Angelus cognoscit in luce plena per intellectum deiformem, ut possit totum considerare sine inquisitione quod ad electionem alicujus rei pertinet, ut sic per ignorantiam non excusetur, sicut homo qui cognoscit quae agenda sunt deliberando per rationem, quae est quasi quaedam obumbratio intellectus . . . quantum ad affectivam vero, quia voluntas Angeli invertibilis est post electionem cum sit infra voluntatem divinam, quae est invertibilis ante et post, et supra voluntatem humanam, quae est vertibilis ante et post. . . . Secunda ratio assignatur ex natura utriusque: quia Angelorum natura non propagatur ex uno, ex quo vitium contrahat, sicut humana: et ideo nec per unum eam reparari congruit: . . . Tertia ex peccato utriusque: et quantum ad genus peccati; quia homo superbivit ex appetitu scientiae, cujus natura creata capax est; Angelus vero ex appetitu potentiae, quam natura creata non ita perfecte potest recipere sicut scientiam; . . . et etiam quantum ad circumstantiam peccati: quia homo peccans et de venia cogitavit, et in aliquo deceptus est. . . . Quarta ex justitia divina: quia omnes illi ad quos corruptio peccati primi hominis venire debebat, nondum erant in actu, sed in virtute tantum; et ideo non decebat ut priusquam essent, ultimam damnationem reciperent, sicut omnes Angeli actu existentes proprio arbitrio peccaverunt. Quinta ex misericordia divina: quia tota natura humana lapsa erat in uno parente, non autem tota natura angelica; et ideo magis indecens erat ut natura humana tota

the difference in knowledge, for man acted under a misapprehension; Lucifer sinned in full light and in firmness of purpose never to return to God, but man sought to return. Second, there are no generations of angels, but man's descendants partake of his punishment. Third, the difference in the sins themselves; though man disobeyed through vainglory, his aim was knowledge, but Lucifer sinned in pure malice, and later he seduced man. Fourth, the angels were all created, and each who sinned did so of his own incentive; but in the case of Adam, all yet unborn would be condemned by Justice to torment, because of the father's sin. Fifth only those angels who sinned are condemned, the others remain in glory; so it is not just to condemn all men. Sixth, man sinned when just beginning on earth his pilgrimage toward the kingdom of heaven where his course should end, and on this account should be given power through penitence to continue his course; but the angel Lucifer sinned when already in a perfect mansion. Therefore, the sins are unlike and man deserves redemption; the angels eternal condemnation.

These arguments are greeted with hearty approval by all, and the Father turns to the three sisters to ask if they are satisfied. Justice rather sulkily replies that it is useless to say more, since Misericorde has gained the sympathy of her hearers, but still insists that some one must be found to answer for man's offence against her, since he is unable to give satisfaction himself. Verite confesses herself persuaded by Misericorde's arguments to favor man's redemption. Then Pais, glad at the prospect of harmony, adduces two more reasons why man should be pardoned: first, she points out the pity of it if a world should have been created in vain, if the glorious mansions in heaven must remain uninhabited by the men for whom they were destined. Sec-

relinqueretur sub damnatione quam natura angelica, quae non tota corruerat. Sexta vero et praecipua est ex parte status utriusque; quia homo non peccavit in termino viae suae sicut Angelus, cui ad propriam electionem status viae finitus est.

ondly, she reminds God that many men and women of high and noble lives would have to be eternally condemned, if no remedy could be found.

It being granted that man should be saved, provided the rights of all the sisters be preserved, the question of the means arises, and at Misericorde's request Verite lays the matter before the lady Sapience. Sapience declares the problem a difficult one, agreeing with Justice that man is unable to do anything for himself, though he endeavor for a thousand years. She then proceeds at some length to compare man's case to a civil suit and dwells upon the impotence of the prisoner's penitence to change the sentence of the judge. This gives Verite a suggestion, and following out the similitude, she shows that though the sentence could not be remitted, the powerful prince whose servant was condemned might pay the price for him. "Would an angel do?" asks Pais, hopefully. "No," says Justice, and Sapience shows why not, since angels are finite, the sin infinite. Pais then asks whether God could not make a man or angel of such perfection that he could make reparation. "This might be possible to the all-powerful God," Sapience grants, and yet, the one so made would be insufficient, since all his powers would be owing to his creator, none left for another's service, and since the reparation can only be made through a creator, a sovereign power."[11] Hearing this, Pais replies, affirming her certainty that the redemption will be made, and asking Sapience to declare whether it shall come through the Trinity as Unity, or by some member.

The conclusions reached thus far are now summed up

[11]Compare St. Anselm *Cur Deus Homo* 1:5. (Migne *Patrol.* CLVIII, 1853):

"Haec ipsa liberatio si per aliam quam per Dei personam (sive per angelum, sive per hominem) esse facta quolibet modo diceretur, mens humana hoc multo tolerabilius acciperet. Potuit enim Deus hominem aliquem facere sine peccato. . . . An non intelligis quia quaecunque alia persona hominem a morte aeterna redimeret, ejus servus idea homo recte judicaretur? Quod si esset, nullatenus restauratus esset in illam dignitatem quam habiturus erat, si non pecasset."

by Sapience: that the punishment must follow the sin; that man is incapable of atoning, yet must be redeemed; that another must be found to make his atonement; that God alone can do this, and that since God in His divinity cannot suffer, He must assume humanity. But since three should not do what one can do, only one is here needed, and it is expedient that this be the Son, the image of the Father, the Word, and the Middle Person of the Trinity. The Son denotes obedience, humility and patience; as the Son is full of charity, so is the Father of authority. It is fitter that the Son on earth pray to the Father to honor Him than that this be reversed; and better that He who in heaven is the Son of the Father by divine generation, be on earth the Son of a pure virgin,—and thus enable man as an adopted son to participate in heaven's bliss. The true image of God in becoming man will assume the lower image of God, for man was created in God's image. As the Word, He is the fulfilment of prophecies, and as the Middle Person, He can best reconcile the creature and the creator.[12]

All praise this solution and return to the Father, to whom they report the sentence passed. He breaks out into cries of grief that His beloved Son should be so tortured.

[12]Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentum in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi.* Lib. III, Dist. I, Quaest. I, Art. II. *De Incarnatione Verbi:*

"Utrum magis fuerit conveniens Filium incarnari vel Patrem vel Spiritum sanctum. . . . In propriis autem ipsius possunt considerari quatuor, scilicet quod Filius est, quod verbum est, quod imago, quod media in Trinitate persona. Secundum autem quod imago, convenientiam habet cum eo qui reparandus erat, scilicet cum homine, qui ad imaginem Dei factus est. . . . Secundum autem quod Filius est, . . . convenit sibi ad Patrem, et deprecatio, et satisfactio, et alia hujusmodi, quae in Patre auctoritatem demonstrant. Sed secundum quod in Filio intelligitur determinatus modus originis, convenit sibi nasci, ut qui in Divinitate est Dei Filius, in humanitate sit Virginis Filius, ut non sunt plures filii in Trinitate. Convenit etiam sibi; inquantum Filius naturalis est, ut per eum cujus est naturalis hereditas, alii in filios adoptentur, et coheredes fiant. Sed inquantum Verbum est, congruentiam habet ad officium praedicationis et doctrinae. . . . Inquantum vero est media in Trinitate persona, congruit ad ultimum effectum, qui est reconciliatio hominis ad Deum; decet enim ut qui est medius, etiam sit mediator."

and asks Justice to accept some other price; but she remains inexorable. The Father then yields, and in a noble apostrophe to man, tells him how loved and honored he is thus to be redeemed by the Son of heaven in lowly human vesture; and how, when all is done, the evil pardoned and repaired, only one return is asked,—man's love. The scene ends with the commission to Gabriel to make the Annunciation, and with the angels' chants of praise.

On the second day of the Mystère, Greban introduces a much shorter "Proces de Paradis," which occurs at the time of Christ's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. The Father, distressed at this suffering, pleads earnestly with Justice to remit some part of her sentence, since the Son has already suffered so bitterly during all His earthly life, and has never known joy, but only persecution and cruelty. But Justice is inexorable; "I ask no more than you promised."

Then Misericorde also pleads, that the anguish of the Garden in itself is more than enough to redeem man. This Justice grants, but for the example of love which Christ's death will furnish to man, insists that He go on and be nailed to the cross. The Father asks no more, but sends Michel to strengthen Christ in the Garden, and Gabriel to Mary, his mistress, who will sorely need his consolation.[13]

Again on the fourth day of the Mystère after the resurrection and ascension of Christ, the heavenly court is reassembled. This is done at the suggestion of the Father, who thinks Justice should be asked whether she is satisfied. At first the Son demurs, saying that He has fully satisfied all the demands upon which Justice insisted and that He feels no further obligation to her; but He yields at once to His Father's wish, and Michel is sent to summon the five dames.

When they reassemble, the Father recounts at length the dispute between Misericorde and Justice, the conclusions

[13]Cf. Bona Pacienza in *Jutgamen de Jhesus.*

reached, and the solution proposed by Sapience, and asks whether He has related it all correctly. Sapience assents briefly; Misericorde and Justice at length, each feeling it incumbent upon her to recapitulate the arguments of her "most reasonable" demand. The Father then tells Justice, if she feels that she has further claims to make, to declare them at once. She admits that Adam's great fault has been fully repaired. The answer seems grudging, and Jesus cries, "Justice, if you require more reparation, declare it, though you cannot have anything more perfect than what I have suffered." He proceeds to show how perfect was His reparation. Adam had delight in the Garden of Paradise, He was cruelly seized in the Garden of Olivet; Adam found the tree delightful and stretched forth his hands to it, the tree on which He stretched out His hands was grievous; Adam abused his power in vainglory, He humbled His and answered no word to His accusers; gluttony tempted Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit, this eating cost Him dear when on the tree He was given bitter vinegar and hyssop; Adam chose in haste and disobeyed, He in constancy chose and firmly obeyed the Father even to death. He describes in detail the cruel sufferings He bore and closes with the reproach, "Justice, what wish you more?"

Completely softened at last, Justice falls in adoration, while the other four call upon man to acknowledge the infinite love and favor which has been shown him when God invested His high divinity with human frailty. Endless love and unending praises are returns all too slight. Sapience now turns to the Father, asking that the discord be formally concluded by the fulfilment of the prophecy of David, who clearly foresaw the strife which would arise between the sisters, when he wrote Ps. 84: 11. At this, the four, with gracious speeches of love and amity, meet and kiss, and the Father calls upon the angels to make the heavens resound with harmony of sweet sounds.

Section V. Comparison of Deguilleville, Mercadé and Greban.

Comparing the three plots just outlined, certain broad similarities are at once manifest. In all three—though least prominently in Deguilleville—the "Proces" serves as a framework for the whole, supplying in the first instance where it occurs in each the motive for Christ's Incarnation, and in the last, closing His career by the scene of reconciliation and praise. This point is of great importance and would alone be sufficient to establish the indebtedness of the two dramas to Deguilleville. Moreover, though the first scenes in these three versions show considerable variety, the last take place in all under precisely the same conditions and are conducted in the same manner.

Secondly, in all three versions Verite leaves her traditional attitude of hostility to man, and shows a distinctly conciliatory spirit and willingness to act as intermediary, a survival perhaps of the part played by Veritas in Cæsarius' tale. If this is less true in Greban's *Passion*, even there her position is an advance upon the older conception.

Thirdly, in all, recourse is had to Sapience, who decrees that only by the death of Christ Himself can peace be restored.

Finally, certain arguments drawn from St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Anselm are common to the three: from Aquinas, the comparison of the sins of Adam and Lucifer, from Anselm, the statement of the inability of an angel to atone for man. But of these, some have already been employed in *Mascheroen*, with which Deguilleville in the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* shows a few possible points of contact. Besides these general likenesses, there are a number of phrasal similarities, though none of them are striking.

The only case in which there is an agreement between Deguilleville and Greban from which Mercadé is excluded is the use of the argument in each that Lucifer, having no

successor to suffer for his sin, may more justly be eternally condemned than his victim, man. But Greban may have drawn this argument directly from Aquinas. There are, however, several points common to Deguilleville and Mercadé, not employed by Greban. The most noteworthy of these is the action taken by the sisters in sending an intermediary, Verite or Sapience, before the King to plead for them while they await the answer, and the important part played by Charite[14] in securing the decision to redeem man. Her position as mother of Misericorde, Verite's disclaimer of authority to discuss Christ's purposes without express permission, the cry, "Alas, that bad apple, because of which I am summoned to bear the burden of man's redemption," the designation of Mary as fit hostelry for the Son of a King, and the emphasis laid upon Christ's earthly career as a pilgrimage, are other points common to these two versions.

If Mercadé is nearer Deguilleville on one side, on the other he is in closer contact with Greban. Both open the dispute by Misericorde's cry of longing for man's release, and in both Verite applauds her sister's eloquence and logic and Justice seeks to prevent the sinner's pardon by the reminder that earthly courts do not revoke their sentences. Many arguments common to the two result from the insistence on one side of the likeness of man's sin to Lucifer's together with the consequent demand for like punishments for both, and on the other side the repeated denial of these claims. In both it is argued that by the very weakness of man's substance it was to be expected that he would fall; Lucifer sinned in pure malignity, but man was beguiled. He, unlike Lucifer, has since repented and has already been sufficiently punished. Other arguments used in each are in reference to the desolate mansions in heaven and the futility of the creation of the earth unless man be redeemed. These arguments, it is true, are employed by different persons in the two dramas and they do not follow in the same order.

[14]Compare *Court of Sapience* for Charite's part there.

Section VI. Conclusions.

From all these comparisons it seems clear that Mercadé knew Deguilleville, and not unlikely that Greban may have worked from Mercadé,[15] gaining from him those points

[15]I claim this dependence of Greban upon Mercadé with some hesition, since it is not endorsed by Richard, and only doubtfully suggested by Gröber. The indebtedness to Anselm, *Mascheroen,* and Deguilleville, has not, I believe, hitherto, been recognized. The editors of Greban's *Passion* (see Intro., p. 20), in giving to Greban the credit of writing without much dependence on earlier works, make no mention of the Arras Mystère, but only of the collection of primitive mystères published by M. Jubinal. It is possible, therefore, that they did not know of Mercadé's work, or at least that they had not compared it with Greban's. Mercadé, like Greban, was a student at the Paris University and a "bachelier en theologie," but probably half a century earlier, since he accepted his charge at Corbie in 1414. I see nothing against the supposition that Greban while at the university learned of Mercadé's work, especially as his master there, Thomas de Courcelles, was a native of Picardy who might naturally boast to his pupil of his fellow countryman, Mercadé.

The earliest manuscript of Greban's mystère which we possess, that of 1473, is prefaced by a note in which this sentence occurs: "Et devez savoir que maistre Arnoul Gresban, notable bachelier en theologie, lequel composa le present livre a la requeste d'aucuns de Paris, fit ceste creacion abrègée seulement pour monstrer la difference du peché du deable et de l'omme et pour quoy le peché de l'homme ha esté reparé et non pas celluy du deable." From this I would argue that Greban virtually admits the existence of earlier mystères and justifies himself in adding another on the ground that his is written *solely* to show the difference in the sins of Adam and Lucifer,—a point but lightly touched upon by Mercadé.

The discussion of this difference may have been suggested to him by the *Mascheroen* from which he seems to have derived the incidents elaborated in the devil scenes. But he was too thorough a theologian not to quote the original theological source, Thomas Aquinas, for this and other points which he borrowed. In his prologue he writes:

> "S'arguerons que si, que non,
> comme Saint Thomas l'a traictié
> Soubtillement en son traictié
> sur le tiers livre de sentences."

In his dissertation *Ueber die romanischen Marienklagen* (Halle, 1893) Eduard Wechssler has declared that Greban's direct and constant source was the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.* But the statement is extreme. What points they have in common in this allegory of the Four Daughters are those which characterize the tradition generally. See *Romania* XXIII: 490.

Since the presentation of this dissertation I have read Roy's *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e^ an XVI^e^ siècle,* in which he proves conclusively (pp. 203 *et seq.*) by a comparison of the two

which the three works have in common. It is not necessary to suppose direct contact between Deguilleville and Greban; for the only point that they have in common which is lacking in Mercadé's Mystère is used by Aquinas, whom Greban cites as a source.

Greban, indeed, introduced many arguments not known to the other two, greatly extended the scale of the controversy, and inserted a third "Proces" at the time of Christ's agony in Gethsemane. But the two striking additions to the allegory,—the introduction of Sapience and the use of the "Proces" as a frame to the story of Christ's passion, both Mercadé and Greban owed to Deguilleville. As the inventor of these new elements and also of the rôle played by Charite,[16] Deguilleville's importance is manifest. Nevertheless, overshadowed by Greban's greater fame, both Deguilleville[17] and Mercadé disappear, and the later French mystères are modelled chiefly upon Greban.[18]

mystères scene by scene that Greban had read the Arras *Passion*. It is a matter of gratification to me to find my hypothesis confirmed, since I had not dared to put it forward with assurance without knowing more of the French mystères as a whole.

[16]I have already suggested that the *Mascheroen* may have furnished the conception of Christ's mother as advocate, although Deguilleville's treatment is different.

[17]In England, however, Deguilleville's influence reappears in the *Court of Sapience* and possibly in the *Castell of Perseverance*, for which see Chapters VIII and IX.

[18]One cannot fail to note the striking similarities between the "Proces" in Greban's play and the trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice*. In both the conflict is between the claims of justice and those of mercy. In both the question is submitted for decision to one famed for wisdom. Sapience, like Portia, for a time appears to side with Justice (Shylock), upholding the validity of the claim against the accused and the necessity of satisfying it. Verite and Pais, as friends of the accused, suggest means whereby man may escape (either by the imposition of long penance or by the vicarious suffering of an angel) even as Antonio's friend, Bassanio, offers to pay double the amount of gold due Shylock, and finally to suffer in his stead. Sapience (Portia) asks Justice (Shylock) if she will accept these offers; and when Justice refuses, she shows that the offers made in behalf of mankind do not satisfy the conditions of the sentence resting upon him.

Compare, too, the praise showered upon her wisdom as she declares the weighty terms of this sentence. Pais cries, 'Oh sovereign Sapience,

Dame of great authority, treasure of pure deity, nobly have you answered," and Verite says later, "Oh noble and divine judgment, blessed be what thou hast pronounced." But now Sapience, who had seemed to side wholly with Justice, shows her sympathy for Misericorde by declaring that though the sentence must be fulfilled, man may escape through the substitution of God's Son. As she explains her meaning, Verite praises her, saying, "You deliberate highly, no other could make so divine a proposition," and Misericorde adds "Sacred, blessed study by which such high science is reached." It is almost inevitable that in reading this, one should be reminded of Shylock's exclamations, "O, wise young judge, how I do honor thee," etc.

In the present state of our knowledge as to the sources used by Shakspere for *The Merchant of Venice*, it is, of course, impossible to put forward any theory to explain these similarities. They are, however, in my opinion, too striking to be dismissed as mere coincidences. It will be noticed that *Il Pecorone*, the analogue that approaches nearest to the plot of *The Merchant*, does not afford so close a parallel to Shakspere in this trial scene.

Chapter VI.

THE FRENCH MYSTÈRES SUCCEEDING GREBAN'S.

That Greban's *Passion* attained immediate popularity is attested not only by the number of manuscripts still extant, and by the fact that almost no contemporary reference to drama omits his name and praise, but also by the influence his work exerted upon later dramas until it was superseded by Michel's *Passion.*

Section I. Mystères Modelled upon Greban alone.

Probably first in order of time after Greban's *Passion* is the enormous *Viel Testament*[1] compiled about 1480. Greban had employed the "Proces de Paradis" not only at the beginning and end of his mystère, therein imitating Deguilleville and Mercadé, but also in the Gethsemane scene on the third day of the play. This use of the "Proces" as a background served as a model for the *Viel Testament,* where repeated colloquies between the sisters are introduced. They are used to emphasize almost every incident in the first part of the mystère, but occur less frequently later. Not only the repetition of these controversies, but also some of the arguments employed suggest Greban.

The first occurrence of the "Proces" is just after

[1]*Le Mistere du Viel Testament, Publié avec introduction, notes et glossaire par le baron, James de Rothschild.* Paris 1878-91. 6 vols.

The mystère as here edited by Rothschild is taken from a number of manuscripts, since no single one is complete (see Petit de Julleville, II: 352-377). He suggests that it may be a compilation from a number of earlier plays not by the same author, a supposition which explains certain gaps and conspicuous inconsistencies and the great lack of proportion in the whole. The compiler has probably transcribed what he found and added as a sort of bond of unity the "Proces de Paradis."

Adam's sin. There Justice demands his eternal condemnation. Misericorde opposes, and the discussion of the relative sin of man and Lucifer ensues. Justice declares them equally guilty, but is told that Lucifer in wishing to surpass God sinned beyond Adam, who would only be wise as He. She insists that man's sin is the worse because impelled by the lower motive, gluttony. Misericorde pleads that the fault is that of the woman and the serpent, and that man is very penitent. But penitence, Justice holds, is unavailing; the fact of the sin remains. God intervenes; the sisters plead with Him; and He, though wishing to hear Misericorde, upholds Justice and pronounces sentence as in the Biblical narrative. At the moment of expulsion from Paradise, however, Misericorde prevails upon God to have the cherubim promise to man some future grace. Even this Justice opposes. Later, when God tells of the oil of mercy and Justice objects to it, Misericorde declares that it would be unjust to punish the whole race for the sin of one, but Justice insists that the sin of one member infects the whole body.

The next three scenes in which the "Proces" occurs offer no points of resemblance to Greban, but the following four on the subject of the flood slightly suggest his treatment.

God repents that He made man; Justice in horror at the increasing and incredible sins of men, demands instant and terrible vengeance; and Misericorde prays for an opportunity for repentance before the flood's destruction, making constant excuse for man on the ground of his frailty. Somewhat later, God, pleased by Abram's virtue, decides that the time has come to lighten man's punishment. He will restore him by an infant born of a sacred virgin. Justice demurs that it will be difficult to find such an one, but when God reminds her of His Son she is pleased. Not so Misericorde, who grieves at the thought of the sacrifice. When God would have the prophets foretell the death of Christ,

she protests that this is "not death but torment," and pleads for some other means of purifying man than the crucifixion. Justice, however, will accept no other. From the time of God's decision to sacrifice His Son for man, most of the scenes dealing with the "Proces" are prefigurations[2] of Christ's life and death; such are, Abram's sacrifice, Joseph's cruel treatment at the hands of his brothers and his being sold for thirty pieces of silver, the slaughter of the Hebrew children from which Moses escaped, and Moses' deliverance of his people from captivity. Finally, suggestive of a passage in the closing scene of Greban's mystère is Misericorde's exclamation over the sovereign charity which induces Christ to assume the habit of humanity and her exultation in the felicity which will follow for man.

The whole work lacks unity. The author seems to have taken scenes from several authors and fitted them loosely together by the "Proces de Paradis" for which he was indebted to Greban.[3]

Another example of Greban's influence is seen in a play found in the Paris National Library in a unique copy of an

[2]These prefigurations, with others, are also mentioned in *Belial* and the *Jutgamen de Jhesus,* but in those cases without the addition of a "Proces."

[3]The fact that Greban calls his account of the creation "abrègée" and the many points of similarity to Greban's play, have led the editors of that play to suggest that Greban might also be one of the authors of the *Viel Testament* and that both works were founded upon an earlier play on the creation which he had written. This earlier play, they think, may also have been the source of a Troyes *Passion* where the fuller account of the creation is preserved. This Troyes mystère holds a position intermediate between the *Viel Testament* and Greban's *Passion,* since is follows the former for half of the first part, the latter for the second and third. Since I have not seen this work, I cannot be sure that it contains the "Proces" (see the edition of Greban by Paris and Raynaud, p. 25, and Vallet de Viriville: "Notice d'un Mystère par personnages representé à Troyes," in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Charles,* III: 446-74).

It does not seem to me probable that Greban composed so many long mystères, nor that, had he done so, a man so celebrated as he should have been accredited with only one of them, *Le Mystère de la Passion,* and the later work which he compiled with his brother, the *Actes des Apôtres.*

old book without date or name of author which reads, *Le Proces qui a fait Misericorde contre Justice, pour la redemption humaine, Lequel nous demonstre le vray mistere de l'annunciation nostre seigneur ihesucrist.*[4] The play opens with a curious scene, not elsewhere found in the mystères, between la Terre, Lun and Lautre.[5]

La Terre in a long soliloquy more pagan than Christian in tone and with many references to the classical poets, boasts of her activities and honors. She is interrupted by Lun and Lautre, who complain of their nakedness and demand an explanation. While La Terre is telling them of Adam's sin and mankind's loss of innocence the scene changes, disclosing Adam and the patriarchs in hell,—the scene with which Greban's *Passion* opens. From this point to the end, with a few slight omissions the scene is literally taken from Greban, but, by the displacement of one folio, the scribe has introduced some confusion, giving to Jeremiah a part of Misericorde's first long speech and to Misericorde the words thus wrested from Jeremiah. This error further augments the confusion by the introduction of David and Adam into the sisters' dispute.

Section II. Mystères Showing Influence of Greban and Bonaventura.

The plays thus far described have been modelled solely upon Greban for the scenes of the controversy between the sisters. I come next to a group of three plays—the *Concep-*

[4]See Petit de Julleville, II: 425.

The *Bibliophile Belgique*, VI: 68-70, Brussels, 1871, mentions a singular poem (written as a school exercise) by Pierre Bello, a priest at Dinant, printed at Namur, 1634, which, from the opening stanzas there printed, seems to be a revision of the French "Proces" now under discussion. Although the Namuraise poem was reprinted at Brussels in 1874, I have been unable to find any copy of it, but its title is almost identical with that of our mystere.—*Proces et Appointement de la Justice et Misericorde divine au parquet de Dieu sur la redemption du genre humaine.* (See Rothschild, Intro. to *Viel Testament.*)

[5]But see the English *Charter of the Abbey*, where a somewhat similar scene occurs.

tion, the Valenciennes *Passion* and the Rouen *Incarnation*— in which there is a combination of features borrowed from Greban and Bonaventura.

The first of this group, the *Conception*,[6] said to have been played at Paris as early as 1507, is full of long and diffuse speeches, which throughout are carefully balanced in length. The first scene reads like an amplification of the corresponding scene in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.[7] No new arguments are added to those employed by Bonaventura. The only change from Bonaventura's version is the introduction of a Devil scene at the point when Misericorde and Justice set out to find a sinless man who will consent to die as man's substitute. Time for their search having been allowed by this interpolated devil scene, the action continues as in Bonaventura's version to the end of the scene. The scenes which follow deal with the relations of Joachim and Anna, the laments of the fathers in limbo, and the Annunciation to Zacharias.

At this point a second "Proces" is introduced. Misericorde comes again before the Father begging for favor, only to be opposed again by Justice, who declares that it is merest justice that he who has done wrong should be punished, shut out from heaven, and enclosed in hell for his great outrage. To this Misericorde replies in the words used by Pais in Greban where the Father turns to her for her opinion, and she suggests that it would be a misfortune

[6]The full title reads: *Le Mistère de la Conception, Nativite, Mariage et Annonciation de la Benoiste Vierge Marie, Avec la Nativité de Jesuchrist et son enfance.* The earliest edition appeared in 1511. It has been successively edited by Trepperel, de Marnef, Lotrian and Pierre Sergent. For an account of editions Cf. Brunet, *Manuel,* II, 1967-71. Cf. also Petit de Julleville, II, 427, and Parfaict, *Histoire du Théatre Français,* Paris, 1745, I. pp. 76-84.

[7]Hartmann (ZfdA, XXIII, 186) endeavors to prove that this scene in the *Conception* rests directly upon Bernard's Sermon, and cites a number of parallel passages from the two, but, as it happens, these passages are also to be found in Bonaventura, whereas other points in this scene of the *Conception* which find a parallel in Bonaventura are not in his predecessor's sermon.

if the beauteous heavens were closed to man and many virtuous men and women were left to suffer without hope. From this point to the end of the scene the *Conception* agrees exactly with Greban.

The other play, showing dependence upon both Greban and Bonaventura,[8] is *Le Passion et Resurrection de nostre saulveur et redempteur Jhesucrist, ainsi qu'elle fut juée en Valenciennes, et en le an 1547, par grace de maistre Nicaise Chamart, seigneur de Alsembergue, alors prevost de la ville.*[9] The opening scene is taken directly from the introduction in the *Conception.* Then after the history of Joachim and Anna, which is interrupted by a glimpse of the grieving fathers in limbo and of the plotting devils, the "Proces" is resumed. God declares his purpose of granting to Anna a daughter, Mary, the glorious flower of virginity, who shall become the mother of the Redeemer. Justice admits God's power but questions whether it is just that the Redeemer should suffer baseness and affliction, as He must if he is born through man. Misericorde would have this avoided, but Justice insists that all the lineage of Adam must suffer misery, and Misericorde yields, hoping that when the time of suffering comes she will have found a remedy. An angel is sent with the glad news to Anna and Joachim, and the first day closes with their meeting at the Golden Gate.

On the second day, after the account of Mary's birth and presentation, the fathers are again seen mourning in

[8]Petit de Julleville, II: 422-24.

[9]Contained in MS. 12536 fr. (Anc. sup. fr. 5155) in the Bibl. Nat., Paris, an enormous series of plays arranged for twenty-five days from the plays of Greban, Michel and others.

Another Valenciennes *Passion*, sometimes quoted as containing this scene, is in the MS. Valenciennes 449 (anc. 421) which is described in the catalogue of that Library belonging to the series of French catalogues published by the government as a mystère for twenty days. *Copié abrègée du mystère, de Jean Morel le quel est un remaniement de celui d'Arnoul Greban.* I have been unable to see this manuscript, but the librarian at Valenciennes writes me that it does not contain the scene in question. (Rothschild, MS. 560; Mangeart, 421.) Cf. Petit de Julleville, II: 418-421.

limbo, and Oraison[10] is sent from them to Misericorde to beg her to go before God in their behalf. Misericorde promises to do her best for them and Oraison, and presents herself before the Father's throne. The pleading which follows is identical with that in the *Conception,* except that the name of Pais is changed to Charite.

In this outline I have assumed that the author of the Valenciennes *Passion* derived the material of his "Proces" at second-hand through the *Conception* instead of going back directly to Greban, the source upon which the *Conception* depended. This assumption seems to be established by a significant coincidence. In the second "Proces" of the *Conception* the speech which marks the junction with Greban is given to Misericorde instead of to Pais as in Greban's *Passion.* Now in the Valenciennes *Passion* also these lines are given to Misericorde. This, taken with the fact that the Valenciennes play at no point follows Greban rather than the *Conception,* makes it altogether probable that the latter was the medium through which the scene was derived.

In following the *Conception,* however, the author of the Valenciennes *Passion* has rearranged the scene somewhat. Instead of leaving it a single long scene as in his source, he has broken it into two. The first, ending at the point where the sisters learn from Sapience the solution of their difficulty, is followed by the epilogue which closes the second day's play. The third day is opened by the return of the sisters to God with a report of Sapience's solution. After the reluctant yielding of the Father to His Son's death,

[10]This new character, Oraison, the personification of the prayers and laments of the fathers given in other French dramas, is of interest in connection with a play which lies outside the limits of the monograph. This is *De eerste Blijscap van Maria* (ed Willems, Gent. 1845), given in Brussels in 1444 by a company of Antwerp players. There Bitter Ellinde, by her woes brought on by man's sins, moves the pity of Innig Gebet, who with her auger bores her way into heaven and persuades Ontfermicheit to plead for man's deliverance. A somewhat similar scene is that which opens the pleading in Fletcher's *Christ's Victories* (see Chapter IX), the characters there being Repentance and Faith.

the reconciliation of the sisters in accordance with David's prophecy is effected at once, instead of waiting as in Greban until after Christ's ascension. Oraison is then sent to bear the joyful news to the captives in hell, and the scene closes with the joy of the fathers and the rage of devils. The whole agrees, therefore, with the *Conception* except for the addition of the two short scenes concerning the annunciation to Anna and the mission of Oraison.

In these two plays, the *Conception* and the Valenciennes *Passion,* the indebtedness to Greban and Bonaventura is clearly seen, and the parts due to each are easily distinguished, but the Rouen *Incarnation,*[11] presented in 1474, offers a more difficult problem. Here is seen a fusion of different elements not easy to separate. The debt to Bonaventura and Aquinas is acknowledged by the author himself, evidently an ecclesiastic, who justifies the argument he employs by quoting his sources in the margins of his folios. But an outline of the plot will suggest that he knew also Greban's mystère.

The play is arranged for two days only, the first of

[11] *Mystère de l'Incarnation et Nativité de Notre Sauveur et Rédempteur Jesus-Christ, Représenté à Rouen à 1474.* Pub. d'après un imprimé du XVe siècle par Pierre le Verdier, Rouen, 1886. In the introduction of this edition, M. le Verdier says that apparently no manuscript of this mystère exists and that it has only one edition of which but three copies are extant. Of this a print was made by the Société des Bibliophiles Normands, and it is this print which le Verdier edits.

By a careful system of elimination, he arrives at a period between 1454 and 1474 as the time when the mystère must have been written, and he inclines toward the later date. Parfaict says that this work is dependent upon the *Conception,* but this le Verdier denies, declaring it to be formed on a wholly different plan. Nor does he find any passage which one could prove borrowed from the other mystères, nor any similarity not forced by the subject. The fact that the speakers in the "Proces" accumulate so many texts he regards as a proof of the originality of the work. The author is a learned ecclesiastic who quotes widely from the Bible, the Christian Fathers, the *Legenda Aurea* and the pagan philosophers, always citing his source in the margins. He also adds notes which are of interest, since they refer to previous mystères in Rouen now lost. The authorities quoted for the scene in question are Bonaventura and St. Thomas. Cf. Petit de Julleville, II: 430-37.

which contains the "Proces."[12] This opens with the prophecies of Christ's advent and the story of the altar in honor of the coming King built by Octavian when he hears the sybil's prophecies. Then follows the lament of the fathers in limbo and their prayers for redemption. After an account of the sacrifice in the new temple of Apollo, "est Paradis ouvert, fait en maniere de trone et rayons d'or tout en tour. Au milieu duquel est Dieu, en une chaire paree; et au coste dextre de lui Paix et sous elle, Misericorde. Au senestre Justice, et sous elle, Verite; et tout en tour d'elles neuf ordres d'anges les uns sur les autres." The pleading is opened by the four archangels, followed by the nine orders, with arguments taken from Bonaventura's opening chorus of angels. The marginal note quotes this passage from Bonaventura, and then a second note gives the rest of the quotation, the pleading between the four sisters.

The angels' pleas ended, Misericorde presents reasons why God is bound to listen to her, if he would fulfil the Scriptures. Moses in Exodus declares, "Deus misericors, clemens, multe miserationis," and Isaiah adds the golden words, "Miserationum Domini recordabor." Jeremiah gave a fruitful lesson, "Non irascar in perpetuum." Daniel also wrote, "Custodiens pactum et misericordiam," and later the good Abacuc says "Misericordie recordaberis," while David spoke of God's mercy here and there a thousand times, "Miseracors et miserator." So she could find in Scripture a hundred other instances, but these should suffice. Moreover, the angels cry for pardon for man, and peace between God and man. Following this long speech is a sort of antiphonal hymn of entreaty by Misericorde and Paix in which the refrain is "Alas, Lord, drive me not away from this lovely company of angels."

God replying to Misericorde, says that Verite and Justice deserve equally to be heard. Thereupon Verite ex-

[12]See Petit de Julleville. II: 430. I: 302-3, for analysis.

presses her disapproval of Misericorde's plea for one who had sinned against God in breaking a command so light and easy to keep, and who, not satisfied with the beautiful and pleasing place appointed for him, had dared in his presumption to aspire to be like God. She grants Misericorde's good will, but thinks it mistaken. "To yield to Misericorde," she says, "will be my overthrow." Misericorde answers, "I in turn must be destroyed if man be finally hurled to hell, as Verite demands with cruel rigor." Verite quotes God's sentence of death to man when eating the apple. If he escape, God's word becomes untrue, and she will be ruined.

Now Misericorde urges that the sentence can be kept and yet man be saved; for that sentence implied only corporal death whereby the corruptible body should be separated from the soul. Thus Verite in demanding eternal death[13] would defeat the end for which God created man. The sentence was comminative only, not definitive, as can be illustrated by Jonah's prophecy of destruction to the Ninevites, which was remitted for those who were penitent. Many men have been virtuous and so deserve escape from the condemnation; such, for example, was Abraham, who was willing to sacrifice his son at God's command. Justice replied that Abraham was sufficiently rewarded in the great wealth with which he was blessed; but Misericorde, taking her argument from the axiom that the end should be better than anything leading up to it, shows how worthless is earthly bliss if the end be misery.

God now calls upon Justice to speak, and she proceeds to demolish Misericorde's carefully constructed argument in behalf of mercy. "Misericorde says much of mercy, but I hear nothing of justice, though it is written, 'Justitia plena est dextra tua.' She was foolish to quote 'Misericors Deus,' for after that is written 'ac verax,' and 'qui reddis iniquitatem patrum in filiis et nepotibus.' Next, I remember the words she took from Isaiah, but just before is, 'Ego qui

[12]Cf. note on Anselm, Chap. IV, n. 5.

loquar justiciam.' And there is no distance between His word and deed who made the world by His word. Then she quoted from Jeremiah, 'Non irascar,' but omitted 'Loquar iudicia mea cum eis!' She quoted Daniel, but not the words before her phrase, 'Deus magne terribilis!' Afterwards she took Abacuc's 'Misericordie recordaberis' without adding 'cum iratus fueris.' And when she spoke of David's word 'misericors,' I remember she left out 'et justus.' In short, my sister, in all His works you and I are together."

Misericorde is pained by this attempt to twist her words, but still maintains that man may have pardon, not by merit, as Justice scornfully interjects, but by divine mercy. Justice would combat this by showing that man's sin was like Lucifer's, but this point Misericorde refutes by pronouncing the six distinctions between their sins.[14] Worsted here, Justice persists: "I have still an argument. To satisfy Justice some one must die; for remission without satisfaction is impossible." Misericorde assents. "But he has nothing with which to give satisfaction;" continues Justice, "for his offence is infinite." Here Paix intervenes and three times beseeches them to drop a controversy, so unfitting to sisters. From this point to the end of the scene the text follows Bonaventura; the Father writes the sentence concerning "bona mors," Paix reads, and Misericorde and Justice go out in search of a sinless man.

In the next scene the devils, alarmed, take council and send Astaroth to earth, and Verite, seeking an innocent man comes to Rome in time to witness the sacrifice to the idols there. Discouraged, she wends her way to Jerusalem as a last resort, the place in all the world most sacred, but her quest is vain. In the temple she hears the high priest complaining that his profits from the oblations are no larger, and admitting that, to obtain the dignity of his office, he bribed Herod with one-third of his goods. In despair of success, and with sorrow for the grief among the angels

[14] See Chap. V, n. 11.

if Misericorde has not prospered better than she, Verite returns to Paradise.

Meanwhile Misericorde calls upon the angels for help, reminding them of the joy that will be theirs if their ruin may be restored and heaven's seats refilled. Her words bring perturbation. Gabriel urges Michel as prince to assume the undertaking. Raphael and Uriel recognize their incapability of so high a charge. Then Michel, impelled by the others, humbly answers, that, while they all desire Adam's redemption more than they can say, there is not one of them who feels he has sufficient power, virtue, and love to make satisfaction for Adam's sin. Here occurs another antiphonal passage, Misericorde asking ever, "Who will it be?" and the others answering in turn, "Alas, I know not one of great enough dignity and sovereignty." Misericorde turns away sorrowing at the grief there will be in heaven if Justice has not been more successful.

The sisters meet; and again the antiphonal effect is repeated. Three times they greet each other in this way, "I am come my sister." "Alas, what cheer?" "And you?" "But you?" "Have you found none?" When finally they report how ill they have fared, all are in bitter grief, but Paix reproaches them for lack of understanding. At length the Father says that He will send His Son to earth, and tells the pains He must there suffer. Hymns of praise from the sisters and the angels follow this announcement. Paix declares that thus God, like a perfect workman, makes all perfect. As no house is perfect till the last is joined to the first, so Christ, the first created, by joining himself to man, the last, completes the divine work. To this Misericorde adds that it is a part of God's goodness that nothing should lack the good of which it is capable, wherefore it is fit that man now receive the blessing. Justice says, "And as it befits divine wisdom that satisfaction be made for every offence, so it behooves God to do what man could not." Finally Verite approves that divine wisdom which assumes

that fallen nature should be restored to its pristine honor, which is only made possible by union with God. She suggests then the propriety of their fulfilling David's prophecy that they should meet together and kiss. They gladly accord, and the whole ends with chants of praise.

From this account it is seen that the general plan of the "Proces" in the Rouen *Incarnation* is taken in its entirety from Bonaventura. But it is expanded by copious quotations from the Scriptures and from Aquinas, the latter, as I believe, adopted because of their previous use by Greban. Most of the passages showing agreement with Greban, it is true, are those drawn from Aquinas, yet the fact of the similar application of these passages in Greban's mystère and in this one seems to me significant.

My analysis of the plot yields the following results. After the opening scene, which is original, comes one suggesting Greban in the laments of the fathers in limbo. It is followed by another original scene. The borrowing from Bonaventura begins at this point with the angels' prayers and continues to Verite's assertion of the inviolability of God's sentence. The text is expanded, however, by a number of original passages:—Misericorde's accumulation of texts to prove God's mercy, a counter accumulation by Justice, and Misericorde's discussion of the meaning of the sentence of death. The references to the purpose of man's creation and the escape of virtuous men from eternal punishment suggest Greban, as does Verite's denunciation of man's lack of gratitude for the beautiful place in which God placed him and her assertion of the likeness of man's and Lucifer's sins. This assertion is disproved by the six distinctions which Greban quotes from Aquinas. Nor does the likeness to Greban end until Justice refuses to yield before satisfaction has been given her and insists that no satisfaction is possible for an offence which is infinite. With the intervention of Paix a return to Bonaventura's version is effected. The only other insertion of importance is the scene intro-

duced to allow an interval for the search of Misericorde and Justice for a substitute for man. The antiphonal responses of the sisters are rather expansions of hints given by Bonaventura than insertions of new matter.

Section III. *La Vengeance Nostre Seigneur.*

The dramas thus far discussed in this chapter have been classified in two groups, those influenced by Greban alone, and those showing the influence of both Greban and Bonaventura. *La Vengeance Nostre Seigneur,* an anonymous[15] play which remains to be mentioned, is independent of either. It is further separated from the other plays by the fact that the debate is here given a unique application. Since it had no influence on other versions, however, *Le Ven-*

[15] *La Vengeance Nostre Seigneur par personnages.* Antoine Verard, 1491. Bibl. Nat. Paris. See Gröber II. I. p. 1229 and de Julleville II: 45-60 f. For full description see L. Paris: *Toiles peintes et Tapisseries de la Ville de Reims ou la mise en scène du Théâtre des Confrères de la Passion,* Paris, 1843. Richard, however, in the introduction to his edition of the *Passion de MS. 697 Arras,* already described as Mercadé's *Passion,* says that he does not print the *Vengeance* of that same manuscript, because it is practically the same as the *Vengeance* printed by Verard in 1491. The *Vengeance* in MS. Arras 697 is a signed work of Mercadé. If it be true, that the two plays on the *Vengeance* are essentially the same, one may assume that Mercadé is the author of this *Vengeance* printed by Verard. If so, a remark made by Justice in this print is of value as tending to confirm Mercadé's authorship of the *Passion* in MS. Arras 697. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see the Arras manuscript in order to discover whether the same remark is there. It occurs where Justice is demanding vengeance against the Jews. She says she will make for her first allegation Adam's transgression, which condemned all his posterity to death and captivity. The condemnation, however, had been revoked through pity of humanity and to end the discord between God and man. This had been accomplished at a past "Appointment" when at the supplication of Paix and Misericorde it was determined that Jesus should redeem humanity. Therefore Justice says she does not base her present demand for the execution of the Jews on this first transgression. This is plainly a reference to an earlier play in which the debate occurs in connection with Christ's Passion, and as such is the case in the *Passion* of MS. 697 Arras, and as this is followed by a *Vengeance* it seems not unreasonable to assume that the present reference is to that *Passion* and that this linking of it to the *Vengeance* implies a common author, Mercadé, for the *Vengeance* and *Passion.*

geance, though curiously interesting, can have but scant notice here. In the prologue Josephus and Egissipus are cited as authorities for the facts. The subject of God's vengeance upon the Jews was a very popular one, and it is frequently developed in both religious chronicle and drama, but in no other of the cases which I have examined does the debate between the sisters enter.[16]

The debate, which is very long, is opened by Justice's demand for the utter destruction of the Jews, the occasion of her outbreak being the gross corruption of the high priests and their indifference to the sacrilegious dancing and rioting of the Jerusalem girls and youth before the temple. Misericorde opposes, and God commands each to state her arguments at length, appointing Verite and Paix as judges. They do so, and Justice wins. Having gained her demand that the Jews be destroyed, Justice proceeds to describe the manner of their punishment in three terrible sentences. These Misericorde seeks, but unsuccessfully, to annul as too terrible and inhuman. God asks Verite and Paix for their opinions as to the merits of the case. The former, of course, sides with Justice, the latter with Misericorde; Paix adds the pleas of human frailty and of strong and subtle enemies which are so common in the mystères. The debate is transferred to these two, Verite forcing Paix to concessions, point by point, until the condemnation of the Jews is complete. God then pronounces sentence, granting to Justice all her claims and to Misericorde hope for those who repent and are converted. To induce their penitence, He will cause many signs and wonders, a promise which much comforts Misericorde, who hopes that all may be thus terrified into turning from their sins. With this the scene ends, a scene which may have been suggested in its mere germ by the judgment scene already described in the *Processus Belial.* Its development is, however, wholly original.

[16]See instances in Petit de Julleville or Gröber.

Section IV. Summary.

To sum up what has been brought out by this account of the growth of the allegory in the French drama, four names have been repeatedly cited as centers of influence: Bonaventura for the angels' pleading and explanation of the Son's peculiar fitness to redeem man; Grosseteste for the feudal elements; Maerlant[17] for the introduction of the Devil motive which seems to enter the mystère through the *Mascheroen;* and Deguilleville for the transformation which produced Sapience and Charite. Of these Bonaventura and Grosseteste are directly dependent upon Bernard. Maerlant upon Hugo. Deguilleville combines from all earlier sources.

From Deguilleville descended, either directly or, more probably, through the medium of Mercadé, Greban, the chief center for the dramatic development. Here we find devil scenes, which though detached from the controversy between the four sisters, yet preserve many of the elements which mark these scenes in the *Mascheroen;* a prayer for redemption preceding the "Proces de Paradis," though here voiced not by the angels as in Bonaventura, but by the prophets and patriarchs in hell; and the appeal to Sapience borrowed from Deguilleville. The justification of the Son's death was probably also suggested to Greban by Bonaventura, although in the arguments employed he has recourse rather to Thomas Aquinas. From St. Thomas also comes the discussion of the relative sin of man and Lucifer, which was also employed by the *Mascheroen* and Deguilleville, though at less length.

Closely connected with Greban's Passion are the *Viel*

[17]The *Mascheroen*, of course, is only a revision of Maerlant's *Merlijn*, but it is closer to the French devil scenes. This acknowledgment of indebtedness to Maerlant is provisional only and subject to the limitations established in the fourth chapter; namely, that Maerlant be credited with the full development of the devil motive in connection with the debate between the sisters only until some earlier version be discovered. One can hardly doubt that such an one either in Latin, Spanish, or French once existed.

Testament, the Troyes *Passion,* and the *Proces qui a fait Misericorde contre Justice.* Equally close is the *Conception* for its main scene, but this mystère adds another taken directly from Bonaventura. Dependent upon the *Conception* is the still further expanded Valenciennes *Passion,* which keeps both the scenes from Bonaventura and Greban that its predecessor has, and adds two short original ones. But now Greban's influence almost disappears.

Preponderantly dependent upon Bonaventura is the Rouen *Incarnation,* which, although it is primarily based upon Bonaventura, adds original scenes and employs freely arguments from Greban.

All of the plays thus far mentioned represent the "Proces" as a controversy which results in the incarnation of Christ. But the Provençal mystères which are merely dramatizations of the *Belial,* and the *Vengeance,* which may have been suggested from the same source, deal with other questions,—the sentence pronounced upon Christ, His judgment of the whole world at the last day, and the destruction of the Jews. These last plays mark the decadence of the allegory in France; it still survived, however, in a few morality plays which will next be examined.

Chapter VII.

THE FRENCH MORALITIES AND GROSSETESTE'S INFLUENCE UPON THEM.

When one turns to the dramatic treatment of the allegory of the Four Daughters of God in the French moralities, it is the influence of Grosseteste rather than that of Bonaventura or Greban that is discovered. But this influence is introduced so indirectly that it is not at first perceived. It has already been pointed out that the versions which followed Grosseteste are usually narrative rather than dramatic in form; now it will be shown that Grosseteste exerted an indirect influence upon the drama also through the medium of a tale in the *Gesta Romanorum*[1] based upon the *Chasteau d'Amour.*

This story in the *Gesta* was mentioned in the chapter dealing with Grosseteste as one of the versions dependent upon the *Chasteau,* but an analysis of its plot was postponed until this point.

[1]*Gesta Romanorum,* ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, p. 350-4. See also ed. by S. Herrtage (E. E. T. S. ext. ser. XXXIII, 1879), pp. 132-35. In a note on page 470, Herrtage adds a notice of two versions of the allegory of the Four Daughters which I have not been able to see; an English poem by W. Forrest in MS. Harl. 1703 fol. 82b, and a Latin *Disputacio inter Misericordiam, Veritatem, Justitiam, et Pacem de restitutione hominis perditi* in MS. Reg. 6 E III, fol. 16b. The latter is identically the same version as in the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 34763 fol. 63. Finally, I have learned (through Dr. Brown) of two manuscripts which seem to contain this allegory from the *Gesta Romanorum* detached from the others of that collection. The first is M.S. Douce CLXIX, fol. 3, *De quatuor sororibus, scilicet, misericordia, justicia, veritate, et pace.* The title of Balliol Coll. MS. CCXXVIII (sec. XV), No. 22 (fol. 278b) reads: "*De quodam rege qui habuit quatuor filias; sc. Misericordia, Verite, Pax, et Justice.* As I have learned of these notices since this dissertation was presented, I have not been able to discover whether they are the same as the tale in *Gesta Romanorum.*

Section I. The Allegory in the *Gesta Romanorum*.

That the variant in the *Gesta Romanorum* is derived directly from Grosseteste, there can be little doubt. In it one finds the same feudal setting, the King with four daughters, the son exceeding all others in wisdom and every lovely quality, and the faithless servant. But the last element is wholly transformed, there being here two offenders, as will be seen in the following outline from which I omit the introduction, since it is like that in all the versions of the Grosseteste type.

The King sought a suitable wife for his son and chose the beautiful daughter of the King of Jerusalem; but she after a time was seduced by a trusted servant of the King's son, into whose charge had been given the young wife. When her sin was discovered, she was divorced, deprived of all her honors, and sent away by her sorrowing husband. Soon she fell into such poverty that she had to beg her bread from door to door. When her husband, upon hearing of this, was so moved to pity that he sent a messenger to bring her back, she, though wishing to return, dared not come, even though the messenger assured her that his master was above the law, so that he could safely defy it in receiving her again. Still fearful, she begged that he himself would come and give her a kiss of forgiveness.

The King, who had been informed of his son's action, convened a council of all his officials, at which it was determined to send a wise man to bring home the penitent wife, but no one could be found in the kingdom willing to undertake the mission. Her husband, hearing of her bitter grief when this was reported to her, went to his father and offered personally to go to free her from her woe and bring her back with him. The father was pleased at this and answered: "Go in thy strength and bring her." But the elder sister, Justitia, was angered when she heard this, and, coming to her father, she declared that the sentence of divorce and banishment had been just, and that if the recreant were

restored, she herself would no longer be the King's daughter. Veritas spoke to the same effect. Misericordia, on the contrary, threatened not to remain the King's daughter unless mercy were shown the sister who had already suffered so grievously. At the sight of the discord between her sisters, Pax fled the land. Veritas and Justitia, drawing their swords, presented them to the King with the demand that the guilty woman be killed. Misericordia, however, snatched the swords away, crying that her sisters had ruled long enough, and that the time had come for her to be heard, a claim which so impressed Justitia, that at her wish their brother was called in to arbitrate their dispute.

He, expressing his distress at his sisters' discord and the flight of Pax, declared his willingness to suffer for his wife. Turning to Misericordia, he asked: "If my wife, after her restoration, sins again, will you again plead for her?" Her answer, "Not unless she is penitent," seemed to satisfy him, for he commanded them to cement the restored peace with a kiss. Then he went forth from his kingdom, made war for his wife, and brought her back with all honor. "Et sic ambo vitam in pace finiverunt."

The author at the conclusion of his story adds an exhaustive commentary in explanation of each point in it. Of these additions, one is of importance because of its application in the play *L'Amour Divin*. The Son of God, runs the commentary, declared his willingness to assume incarnation for man, and asked Justitia if that would not suffice. "No," answered Justitia. Then said the Son, "I will suffer hunger, and thirst, temptation and sorrow, will mingle my blood with my sweat," but again Justitia said "No." Next He told her that He would be flagellated, derided, and deserted; then that He would be bound to the cross; finally that He would die, and, rising from the dead, ascend to heaven, there to prepare a place for His bride. Justitia, obdurate till the last, then broke forth into praise at this exhibition of love.

From the foregoing analysis the dependence of this story in the *Gesta Romanorum* upon the *Chasteau* is evident. Not only does it contain the same feudal setting of the King, his incomparable son and four daughters and his faithless servant, but in many minor points it recalls Grosseteste's poem. The sisters accuse each other of unsisterly spirit in the zeal of each to uphold her own authority at the expense of the others, and they threaten the father that they will cease to remain his daughters unless their requests be accorded. Pax, distressed by the controversy, flees the land; and the King's son goes forth to make war upon the enemy, and thus ends the discord and restores Pax.

In the unavailing effort to find some one who will accept the mission of bringing home the unhappy wife, there is a reminiscence of the fruitless quest of Misericorde and Verite in Bernard's version. But in the transference of interest from the disobedient servant of the *Chasteau* to the faithless wife of the *Gesta,* the latter is original. The new turn here introduced may, however, have been suggested by the sixteenth chapter of Ezekiel, where is described God's endless love for Jerusalem, her monstrous adultery, and the grievous judgment pronounced upon her, with the hint of mercy at the end.

Section II. *L'Amour Divin.*

This tale from the *Gesta* became the direct source of *L'Amour Divin,*[2] a play by Jean Gaulohe, which, according to a note[3] appended to the manuscript, was licensed to be printed at Troyes, July 26, 1601. The play is lacking in originality, and is little more than a dramatization of the story just outlined. The names of the persons involved are

[1]*L'Amour Divin—Tragicomedie Contenant un bref discours des Saintes et Sacres mystères de la Redemption de l'humaine nature. Par Jean Gaulohe, à Troyes chez Claude Briden.* Copied in *Collection Soleinne* XI, No. 3, MS. fr. 9306, Bibl. Nat. Paris.

[2]Fol. 161.

self-explanatory except for L'Astree, Chemis, and Eleone, who are the representatives of Justice, Peace, and Mercy respectively.

In the first scene, the King extols his own power after the traditional fashion, and recites the praise of his various daughters. To Physique, whom he especially loves, he will give a place in a beautiful garden where she may live in joy; and as a guardian to protect her from attacks of enemies he will send her Lucerin, a sage and subtle servant. We then see Physique rejoicing in the beauty of her new possessions, until Lucerin enters with feigned words of condolence that she should be so imprisoned by her cruel father and deprived of the one fruit which could give her wisdom and immortality. Together they set out to find this fruit.

The second act opens with the King's denunciation of Lucerin, who is exiled to the desert of the world, there to suffer untold pain till he shall long in vain for death. Then the scene changes, and Physique is heard lamenting her sin and praying for pity. She dares not plead with her father or her elder sister, and even through her dearest sister Eleone can hope for only partial pardon, happy if she may live at home as the lowest servant.[4] Now she must labor for her bread.

Meanwhile Eleone in deep grief because of the exile of Physique, her other half, with whom she had divided every thought until Lucerin had estranged her, goes to her brother Amour, who is so wise and powerful that he will know how to devise help. She tells him that Physique has confessed and deplored her sin and so wins his support. A messenger is sent to tell Physique that her brother and sister are going to plead for her return. She is incredulous at first, and fearful of the strong influence of Astree and Verite against her, but is persuaded to a more hopeful view.

The fourth act contains the long suit of Amour for his sister. He begins, "Father, when I think of Physique's

[4]Cf. the Prodigal Son.

extreme suffering I cannot contain myself. Some way must be found to restore her; therefore, I beg you to revoke your sentence. Since no other will bear her punishment, let me release her." While the King is expressing his willingness to have her back and his pride in his son's nobility, Astree begins a sharp dispute with her brother, a dispute in which Verite and Eleone also join. On the one side is alleged the King's desire to forgive, the concessions due to ties of kinship, Physique's repentance; on the other, Physique's vileness and impotence to recover from her offence, and the necessity of upholding justice. Finally Eleone says, "You speak in vain; she will soon return, you'll see," to which Astree answers, "I'll prevent it with my shining sword." "No," replied Eleone, "You will lose that; for you have reigned too long." Astree as a last resort declares that Physique cannot return without paying the ransom, but this Amour promises to pay.

Then ensues a laconic dialogue between the two, of which the chief points may be thus summarized. Astree warns him that he may be slain. Amour: "I am ready to take her mantle." Astree: "Then your case is assured." Amour: "I will suffer a thousand affronts for her." Astree: "That will win her." Amour: "I will suffer cold." Astree: "Father, for that I am appeased." Amour: "And famine." Astree: "At that moment you will retrieve her ruin." Amour: "I will be bound to a column." Astree: "Thus you guarantee her person from evil." Amour: "I will be nailed hand and foot to the cross." Astree: "Humanity will therefore be freed from death." Amour: "Blood will flow to earth." Astree: "'Twill appease a bloody war." Amour: "I will yield my soul to my father." Astree: "My heart glows with a flame of love." Amour: "My side will be pierced." Astree: "To purge the world." Amour: "I will descend to inferno." Astree: "But win a royal crown. Clearly Physique may be restored, since your love is so perfect."

The fifth act depicts the return of Amour, who has suffered all the torments which he promised to undergo, and who, restored to his throne, would have his sisters formally united in peace under the law of Chemis, the sister who represents Pax in older versions.

The ensuing dialogue has no bearing upon our allegory. Its burden is the plaint of Verite that in the new reign of peace, her power in France is lost. She is comforted in part by the promise that Lucerin shall be rigorously punished.

From this summary it will be seen that, except in the fact that Physique is the sister of the King's son instead of the wife, *L'Amour Divin* is identical in plot with the *Gesta Romanorum*. The only changes are the direct presentation of the traitorous conduct of Lucerin, which in the *Gesta* is merely mentioned, the different attitude taken from the outset by Astree when Amour describes the torments he is willing to endure for Physique, and the local touches in the last act where Astree must yield her sway in France to Chemis. The scene of reconciliation, while implied in the Latin story, is not there fully developed. Its introduction in *L'Amour Divin* suggests the probability that Gaulohe knew Deguilleville's, Greban's, or some other version where the scene occurs.

Section III. The *Moralité de Nature*.

In connection with the two plots just compared, it is interesting to examine an earlier morality which may have been known to the author of *L'Amour Divin*. In this, the *Moralité de Nature et Loy de Rigeur*,[5] the central figure is Nature, or Humana Natura, to whom, of course, Physique in the later play corresponds. The play opens with the lament of Nature over her sad condition because of her sin,

[5] *Nature et Loy de Rigeur, Moralite a VI Personnages*, ed. by Leroux de Lincy et Francisque Michel. (*Recueil de Farces, Moralités et Sermons Joyeux*, Paris, 1837, No. III.) Also in Ms. 24341 fr. Bib. Nat., Paris, 16th century, and in Emile Picot: *Theâtre Mystique de Pierre du Val et des Libertins spirituels de Rouen*, 1882.

to whom Loy de Rigeur brings no comfort, as she emphasizes the heinousness of her sin and its hopelessness of help. The scene then changes and shows Divin Pouvoir proclaiming his power. Amour, full of compassion, asks permission to relieve the believing and penitent sinner. This his father, Divin Pouvoir, gladly grants and he sends a messenger, Loy de Grace, to comfort Nature with this hope. Nature can hardly believe such good news, but after Loy de Grace has said that God himself will effect the release, she rejoices greatly. Loy de Rigeur seeing her joy, comes forward and asks anxiously what is purposed. When the messenger answers that the corrupt body is to be changed to one of perfect purity, she denies that it can have any end but death, because of Adam's sin. A sharp dispute ensues between the two, who represent Justice and Mercy, the former insisting that all are polluted by the first offence, the latter declaring that Loy de Rigeur wastes time and words in defying what God has chosen to accomplish through His own Son. At this Loy de Rigeur is forced to yield through her admiration of such devotion, but she mourns that henceforth her own power is lost, since peace will return. The Annunciation to Mary follows.

Although this morality is much simpler and shortened in plot, its likeness to the *Gesta* and *L'Amour Divin* is obvious. In all are the scenes of the remorseful sinner comforted by a messenger from Amour promising relief, the father's rehearsal of his own power, Amour's spontaneous offer, the controversy it gives rise to, and the final glad yielding of Justice. Not in the *Gesta*, but common to the other two are the declaration that Justice only wastes time by her resistance to Mercy and the regret of Justice at finding her power gone.

Section IV. *Le Laz d'Amour Divin.*

Another earlier play suggests the tale from the *Gesta*, though but slightly, the thoroughly mystical poem *Le Laz*

d'Amour Divin,[6] which according to a study made of the Rouen theatre by E. Gosselin was there played about 1500.[7] It is divided into two parts, only the first of which has any reference to the subject of this monograph.

In this, Charite, substituted here for Mercy, pleads with Jesus to come to the solace of L'ame who has long yielded her heart to Him and is longingly waiting for His coming. She tells Him there is no excuse for longer delay and bids Him observe the lesson of Spring and turn His thoughts to love.[8] Jesus in reply to Charite declares His readiness to go to His spouse. Accordingly He sends Charite to tell her that He is coming to dwell with her and change her mourning to joy, but He warns her that she must first make herself lovely by much weeping and penitence. He will come in a garment dyed with His own blood, and to prove His love will suffer shame and reproach and anguish for her.

Charite hastens to L'ame with the message, but finds her apathetic at first, her heart cold with fear and misery, and incredulous of such joy; but when she kisses her on the mouth, saying, "Receive the blood of Jesus and renew your joy," L'ame is thrilled to great love. Charite then tells her how to prepare herself for the espousal. She must bathe herself in the tears of penitence, put on a robe of azure covered with little flowers of innocence and edged with sable to prevent vainglory, wear a girdle of pearls to denote chastity, lace her arms in memory of Christ's passion, and cover her head in humility. By the sea, she will find a pure marguerite to give her espoused in token of her innocent

[6] *Le Laz d'Amour divin a viij personnages cest assavoir Charite, Jesucrist, Lame, Justice, Verite, Bonne Inspiracion, Les Filles de syon, Les pecheurs . . . nouvellement imprime a rouen pour Thomas Laisne demeurant au dit lieu.*

[7] E. Gosselin, *Recherches sur les Origines et l'Histoire du Theâtre à Rouen avant Corneille,* Rouen, 1868.

[8] This passage is developed at length in the manner of the Song of Solomon 2:8-13. Indeed, the whole play in its general tone, somewhat suggests this Song, though I do not know of other specific points of contact.

soul, a sapphire of great beauty as a sign that she will be loyal to death, a ruby to show her constant meditation on His passion, and an emerald as symbol of her glowing love.

Having finished her instructions, Charite returns to Jesus to report. Justitia, upon hearing of this, is alarmed at Charite's assumption of authority, which so threatens her power, and is roused to defiance. It seems preposterous to her to consider for a moment Jesus' union with a soul so full of weakness and so prone to sin, nor is she convinced by Charite's assurance that this one is purged to loveliness. She next objects: "There is no dwelling on earth but is too poor and rude to lodge Jesus. What worthiness has L'ame to become the Lord's beloved?" "Piety and humility and the desire to acquire grace and merit," replies Charite. Nevertheless, Justice still thinks it infamous for the sovereign Lord to stoop to one so low. Now Verite, too, declares her opposition, since there is no one in all the world who is not in continual warfare against God. Charite calls this unfair; for it applies to her seditious enemies, not to her friends. Still Verite will not yield her point, but repeats that all are evil and that to leave one's vice for a little while avails nothing in God's count. Charite, feeling that the discussion has gone far enough, declares that the strife must end; for Jesus has expressed His willingness to espouse L'ame. She then says to Jesus, "I pray you, take and keep this soul that loves you." Jesus replies with a vow to receive her and accomplish all her will, and L'ame is heard crying, "Love, come to me, who gives her heart to you. I wait in my chamber, amassing flowers of virtue." With the union of Jesus and L'ame the first part ends.

I said this play was slightly suggestive of the story in the *Gesta Romanorum*, but the resemblance consists only in the general conception of Christ's determination to come to the solace of the soul to which he is espoused and of the opposition to this purpose excited in Justice and Verite. The longing of the soul for the coming of her spouse, His

readiness to go on hearing of this and His dispatch of a messenger to announce His coming, her trembling doubt and later joy and the horror of Justice at the thought of the degradation for Jesus in union with the soul are points of contact. But there the likeness ends. There is no hint of any definite special sin on the part of L'ame, such as causes the exile in the Latin story, but only the burden common to all humanity. Indeed, L'ame is represented as rather better than most mortals and as having long before yielded her whole heart to Jesus. She waits for Him as for a lover rather than as for one who comes to release her from physical suffering and exile, as in the *Gesta Romanorum* and the earlier versions generally. This is the tone of which I spoke before, borrowed from the Song of Solomon, which it also suggests in its luxuriance of symbolism. The idea of the marriage of Christ and the soul is found in patristic literature as early as the fifth century in the writings of Cæsarius of Arles.

Section V. Summary.

The study of these three plays and the Latin story upon which they are based, has shown that the play latest in time, *L'Amour Divin,* is the only one which follows the *Gesta Romanorum* absolutely, while the *Moralite de Nature* and the *Laz d'Amour* exhibit only a general likeness of theme with occasional points of closer contact.

Although the allegory in the *Gesta Romanorum* is clearly derived from the *Chasteau d'Amour,* there is no obvious connection between this poem by Grosseteste and the plays to which the *Gesta* in turn gave rise. A certain similarity of tone, however, is perceptible. As the *Chasteau* introduced into the allegory a worldly element,—the picture of a feudal court, and more personal interests in the actors, —so the *Gesta Romanorum* version and the plays founded upon it carry the tendency further, reducing the importance

of the controversy between the sisters to center the interest upon the hapless soul whom Love comes to solace. But with this growth of the human interest, the allegory of the Four Daughters reaches its end so far as the French drama is concerned.

Chapter VIII.

THE ALLEGORY IN THE ENGLISH DRAMA.

As we have seen, the allegory of the Four Daughters furnished a frequent theme for the French mystères[1] and moralities. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to see how small a part it plays in the English drama. Curiously enough, in the great English cycles it is introduced only once, where it appears as the first part of the play on the *Salutation and Conception* in the so-called Coventry, or Hegge, cycle. Among the moralities, however, it fares slightly better, as their fondness for allegorical subjects would lead one to expect. To judge from the announcement in the prologue, our allegory would seem possibly to have been in the oldest English morality known, *The Pride of Life*.[2] Unfortunately, only a portion of the text remains, so one can only speculate in regard to its existence. The allegory is also found in what is on the whole the greatest of the English moralities, *The Castell of Perseverance,* and, in a somewhat changed rôle, in the fourteenth century political morality, *Respublica.*

The problems presented by the form of the allegory in the *Salutation* and the *Castell of Perseverance* are so intimately connected that we may best consider these plays together. Although the origins of both the *Salutation* and the *Castell of Perseverance* have received some study by scholars, so far as the versions of the allegory of the Four Daughters are concerned the sources have not been thoroughly investigated. In the case of the *Castell of Perseverance* no definite source has been established: in that of

[1]Likewise for the German passion plays, though these lie outside the bounds of the present monograph.

[2]See A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England,* Quellen und Forschungen, LXXX: 8.

the *Salutation,* so far as I am aware, the only immediate source that has been suggested is the "Council of the Trinity" in the English *Speculum Vitae Christi,* pointed out by Hone.[3] With these English dramatic versions I wish to compare a version of the allegory found in the fourteenth century prose treatise, *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost,*[4] which offers some special resemblances.

Inasmuch as the resemblances between the *Charter* and the *Salutation*[5] are particularly close, it may be well to begin by placing these two in parallel columns, and to postpone for the present the consideration of the *Castell of Perseverance.*

Section I. The Allegory in the *Salutation* Play Compared with that in the *Charter of the Abbey.*

The *Charter* gives an account of a place called Conscience where God founded His Abbey under the charge of twenty-nine ghostly ladies, the Virtues. A foul tyrant, Satan, having succeeded in gaining entrance to the abbey, drives away its inmates. This was when Eve listened to the serpent. Adam and Eve, in shame of their nakedness, seek the abbess, but cannot find her. They go to Wit, who tells them that the abbey has been destroyed through the eating of the apple.[6] At this point the parallel begins.

[3]See Chap. III, Section II.

[4]C. Horstmann: *Richard Rolle of Hampole,* London, 1896, *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost,* No. 10, Vol. I, 337 ff., esp. 349-352, MS. Laud. 210, University Coll., Oxf. 97 (in Suffolk dialect). In MS. Vernon (ca. 1380 A. D.) the *Charter of the Abbey* forms a part of the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost,* while in other manuscripts the two allegories are found near together. From this juxtaposition the theory has been advanced that the former as well as the latter was written by Richard Rolle of Hampole. However that may be as to the latter, the dialect of the *Charter* is not Hampole's.

[5]Ed. Halliwell: *Ludus Coventriae* in Pub. Shakespeare Society, London, 1841. See also Pollard's *English Miracle Plays,* Oxford, 1904, pp. 44-46 and 191.

[6]This incident is interesting in comparison with a similar scene in the French *Proces qui a fait Misericorde,* etc., a scene which has hitherto been considered unique, see Chap. VI.

The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost.

After vain search for the abbess Adam and Eve die, and go to hell, and not they only but all who follow them, "þe whyche kemen aftur þat be foure þousande sex hundred & foure ȝer," till God had pity on them and came down into the world for "þre and þritty ȝeer." After Adam's death came many prophets and wise men, who sought the abbey and abbess in vain, among others four good men and true, David and Solomon, Isaiah and Jeremiah, "& I pray ȝou listenið what þey seyden."[7]

* * * * *

Isaiah "seyde þus
"*Vtinam dirumperes celos & descenderes*, wolde god, he seyd, þou woldest bresten heuene & come adoon,"

* * * * *

Then Jeremiah "made a reuful mone & seyde þus: '*Ve michi misero, quoniam addidit dominus dolorem dolori meo; laboraui in gemito meo*, wo me wrecche, he seiþ, þat god haþ eked more sorowe to my sorowe. * * * *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam & oculis meis fontem lacrimarum, & (die ac nocte) interfeccionem filie populi mei*, a, he seiþ, who schal ȝeuen me water to myn heued, & who schal ȝeuen a welle of terris to myn eyen, & I schal wepen for þe maydens þat ben þus gooñ away, boþe day & niȝt."

* * * * *

magna velud (mare est contritio tua,

* * * * *

The Salutation and Conception.

The *Salutation* opens with a statement by Contemplacia of man's desperate case. "Ffowre thowsand sex undryd foure ȝere I telle, Man...hath loyn ȝeres in the peynes of helle," Though granting that he deserves to lie there forever, she prays for pity.

"Have mende of the prayour seyd by Ysaie,"

* * * * * *

Wolde God thou woldyst breke
thin hefne myghtye,
And com down here into erthe;
And levyn ȝeres thre and threttye,

* * * * *

A! woo to us wrecchis that
wrecchis be,
ffor God hath addyd ssorowe to
sorwe;

* * * * *

A! quod Jeremye, who xal gyff
wellys to myn eynes,
That I may wepe bothe day and
nyght?

* * * * *

[7]The greater part of this treatise, the search for the abbess and her attendants, I omit as irrelevant to the discussion in hand. I also omit such parts of the *Salutation* as are mere amplification of what has been said.

Me þinkeþ þi sorowe is as grete as a see. * * * "*Cecidit corona capitis nostri, ve nobis quia peccauimus*, I ne can nouȝt ellis seyn, he seiþ, but, þe fairest flour of al oure garlond is fallen away; alas, alas & weloway, þat euere we dede synne."

As grett as the se, Lord, was
Adamys contryssyon ryght,
ffrom oure hed is ffalle the crowne,
Man is comeryd in synne, I crye
to thi syght,
Gracyous Lord! Gracyous Lord!
Gracyous Lord, come downe!

Contemplacio's entreaty for pity is seconded by the Virtutes, whose office it is to present to God the supplication of the prophets and patriarchs. They beseech him to show mercy and, by letting man dwell with the angels, to restore Lucifer's place in heaven. Since man has repented he deserves pity as the obstinate Lucifer does not.

Moved by the wretchedness of man and by the ceaseless prayers of the contrite souls, the prophets and angels, God declares that the time of reconciliation is come.

When God had heard these prophets, he had great pity and bethought himself how to deliver man's soul out of its sorry prison and reestablish the abbey.

[He called a council of the Trinity, for which, see below.]

And þanne were almiȝty goddis douȝtren þere, þat is to seye Mercy & Treuþe, Riȝtfulnesse & Pees, þe whiche harden seyen þat mannus soule schulde be delyuered out of helle-pyne, & þei comen alle to-gedir aforn god almiȝty. & þanne seyde Truþe þus: "*Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti*, A, lord, scho seyde, þou hast ȝit eueremore loued wele me þat am þi douȝtre, and þanne, seyde Truþe, I pray þe for-sake nouȝt me.

But this decision moves Trewthe to opposition.

Veritas. "Lord, I am thi dowtere, Trewthe,
Thou wilt see I be not lore,
Thyn unkynde creatures to save
were rewthe,
The offens of man hath grevyd
the sore.
Whan Adam had synnyd, thou
seydest yore,
That he xulde deye and go to
helle,
And now to blysse hym to restore
Twey contraryes mow not togedyr dwelle.

þou seydest þat whattyme þat man ete of þat appul, þat he schulde dieye & goñ to helle; þerfore ȝif þou delyuerest man þanne out of þat prisoun, þou destroyest me, & þat were no skil, *Quia veritas domini manet in eternum*, for whi goddys treuþe schulde dwellen euere-more wiþouten ende.

Thy trewthe, Lord, xal leste withowtyn ende,
I may in no wyse ffro the go,
That wrecche that was to the so unkinde,
He may not have to meche wo.
He dyspysyd the and plesyd thi ffo,

Þerfore, leue lord, scho seyde, lat man be stille i*n* helle, & forsake nouȝt me." & Þanne seyde Mercy: "*O, pater misericordiarum & deus tocius consolacionis, qui consolaris nos in omni tribulacione nostra*, A, Þou fader of mercy, scho seyde, & god of al co*n*fort, Þou Þat confortes alle Þing i*n* ang*er* & in woo, haue mercy of mann*us* soule Þat liþ bounden in pr*is*ou*n* Þat is helle, & brynge h[i]m i*n* to blisse.

Thou art his creatour and he is thi creature,
Thou hast lovyd trewthe, it is seyd evyr mo,
Therefore in peynes lete hym endure.

Misericordia. O ffadyr of mercye and God of comforte,
That counselle us in eche tryb-ulacion,
Lete ȝour dowtere Mercy to ȝow resorte,
And on man that is myschevyd have compassyon.
Hym grevyth fful gretly his transgressyon,
Alle hefne and erthe crye ffor mercy.
Me semyth ther xuld be non excepcion,
Ther prayers ben offeryd so specyally.

Quoniam dixisti, in eternum seruabo illi misericordiam, for why, scho seyde, Þou seydest Þat Þou schuldes kepe to hym Þi mercy wiþ-outen ende. & Þerfore, ȝif Þou be trewe, Þou schalt haue mercy of mann*us* soule."

Trewthe sseyth she hath evyr be than,
I graunt it wel she hath be so,
And thou seyst endlesly that mercy thou hast kept ffor man,
Than mercyabyl lorde, kepe us bothe to,
Thu seyst *veritas mea et misericordia mea cum ipso*,
Suffyr not thi sowlys than in sorwe to slepe,
That helle hownde that hatyth the byddyth hym ho,
Thi love man no lengère lete hym kepe.

& Þanne seyde riȝtfulnesse: "Nay, nay, scho seiþ, it may not ben so: *Quia iustus dominus & justicias dilexit*, for why, lord, scho seiþ, Þou art riȝtful & Þou louest riȝtfulnesse; & Þerfore Þou ne mayst not riȝtfulliche sauen mann*us* soule, it is riȝt & skil Þat it haue as it haþ disserued. *Dominum qui se genuit dereliquet, & oblitus est dei creatoris sui*, he forsoke god Þat haþ forÞe-Ibrouȝt hym, & he, lord, for-ȝat Þe Þat maydest hym of nouȝt; & Þerfore it is skil & resoun Þat he Þat

Justicia. Mercy me mervelyth what ȝow movyth,
ȝe know well I am ȝour syster Ryghtwysnes,
God is ryghtfful and ryghtffulnes lovyth.
Man offendyd hym that is endles,
Therfore his endles punchement may nevyr sees;
Also he forsoke his makere that made hym of clay,
And the devyl to his mayster he ches,
Xulde he be savyd? nay! nay! nay!

haþ forsaken þe lord of al pitee & mercy, þat he neuere haue of þe neiþer pitee no mercy.

& þerfore, leue lord, scho seiþ, lat mannus soule be stille as it is, for þat is skil & resoun; & ellis me þenkiþ þou hast forsaken me, & þat schuldest þou not doñ: *Quia iusticia eius manet in seculum seculi*, for why, holy wryt seiþ þat þi rigtfulnesse schal lasten in to þe worldis ende." & þanne seyde Mercy to rigtfulnesse: "A, leue suster, let ben & seye not so, it were neiþer rigt ne skil þat god schulde kepen þe & forsaken me: *Quia misericordia eius super omnia opera eius*, for why only goddis mercy is abouen al his werkes, *Et misericordia eius ab eterno & vsque in eternum*, & goddis mercy was wiþ-outen begynnyng & schal ben wiþ-outen endyng. & þerfore, gif god forsoke me, he schulde forsake boþe my sister Truþe & þe, & þat were neiþer rigt ne truþe. & þerfore, leue lord, scho seiþ, to sauen vs alle þre, haue þou on mannus soule boþe mercy & pitee." & þanne seide Pees to here þre sistren: "*Pax domini exsuperat omnem sensum* &c., Goddis pees ouergoþ eueriche maner wiit. þougt it be so, sche seiyt, þat Truþe seiþ a grete skile why mannus soule schulde not be saued, & Rigtfulnesse seiþ also, neuerþeles me þenkeþ þat Mercy seiþ alþerbest, þat man schulde be saued, for why ellys, scho seiþ, schulde god forsaken gow al þre, boþe Mercy, & Rigtfulnesse [& Trewþe] & þat were grete reuþe. & not only, sche seyde, he schulde þus forsaken gou þre, but he schulde also forsaken me: for why as longe as man soule is in helle, þer schal ben discord bytwene gou þre; Rigtfulnesse & Truþe schol willen to haue hym so

As wyse as is God he wolde a be
This was the abhomynabyl presumpcion,
It is seyd, ge know wel this of me,
That the ryghtwysnes of God hath no diffynicion.
Therffore late this be oure conclusyon,
He that sore synnydly stylle in sorwe,
He may nevyr make a seyth be be resone,
Whoo myght thanne thens hym borwe.

Misericordia. Syster Ryghtwysnes, ge are to vengeabyl,
Endles synne God endles may restore,

Above alle hese werkys, God is mercyabyl,
Thow he forsook God be synne, be feyth he forsook hym never the more.
And thow he presumyd nevyr so sore,
ge must consyder the frelnes of mankende,
Lerne and ge lyst, this is Goddys lore,
The mercy of God is withowtyn ende.
Pax. To spare gour speches, systeres, it syt,
It is not onest in vertuys to ben dyscencion,
The pes of God ovyrcomyth alle wytt,
Thou Trewthe and Ryght sey grett reson.
gett Mercy seyth best to my pleson,
ffor yf mannys sowle xulde abyde in helle,
Betwen God and man evyr xulde be dyvysyon,
And than myght not I Pes dwelle.

þere stille, & Mercy schal willen to haue hym oute; so þat pees schal ben amongys ȝou forsaken. þere schulde also, ȝif man were stille in helle, ben a discord by-twene god & man, by-twene man & man, by-twene man & hymself: so þat I, þat am pees, schulde a ben forsaken ouer-al, & þat were no resoun. & þerfore doþ after my conseil, seide Pees & acord by-twixen ȝou þre, bytwyne hymself & man, by-twyne man & aungel, & by-twene man & man, & ordeyne sich a weye þat he miȝt kepen vs stille alle foure, boþe Mercy & Truþe, Riȝtfulnesse & Peese, & h[e]m þouȝte þat scho seyde best, & prayden alle to þe fadur of heuene þat he schulde so doñ.

Therefore me semyth best ȝe thus acorde,
Than hefne and erthe ȝe xul qweme,
Putt bothe ȝour sentens in oure Lorde,
And in his hyȝ wysdam lete hym deme.
This is most fyttynge me xulde seme,
And lete se how we ffowre may alle abyde,
That mannys sowle it xulde perysche it wore sweme,
Or that ony of us ffro othere xulde dyvyde.

Veritas. In trowthe hereto I consente,
I wole prey oure lorde it may be so.
Justicia. I Ryghtwysnesse am wele contente,
ffor in hym is very equyté.
Misericordia. And I Mercy ffro this counsel wole not fle,
Tyl wysdam hath seyd I xal ses.
Pax. Here is God now, here is unyté,
Hefne and erthe is plesyd with pes.

And he seyde: "*Ego cogito cogitaciones pacis & non afflicionis* &c., I þenke, he seyde, þouȝtis of pees & not of wickednesse. I schal, he seiþ, kepe ȝou stille alle foure, & I schal sauen m*a*nnus soule & brynge hym to blisse. I schal also, he seiþ fynden vp þe abbesse of þe holy gost & maken aȝeyn here couent & here place, betere þan eu*e*re it was."

ffilius. I thynke the thoughtys of Pes and nowth of wykkydnes,
This I deme to ses ȝour contraversy,

If Adam had not deyd, peryschyd had Ryghtwysnes,
And also Trewthe had be lost therby.

Trewth and Ryght wolde chastyse ffoly,
ȝiff another deth come not, Mercy xulde perysche,
Than Pes were exyled ffynyaly,
So tweyn must be ȝow fowre to cherysche,
But he that xal deye ȝe must knawe,
That in hym may ben non iniquyté,
That helle may holde hym be no lawe,
But that he may pas at hese lyberté.
Qwere swyche on his prevyde and se,
And hese deth for mannys dethe xal be redempcion,
Alle hefne and erthe seke now ȝe,
Plesyth it ȝow this conclusyon.

Veritas. I, Trowthe, have sowte the erthe withowt and withinne,
And in sothe ther kan non be fownde,
That is of o day byrth withowte synne,
Nor to that dethe wole be bownde.

Misericordia. I, Mercy, have ronne the hevynly regyon rownde,
And ther is non of that charyté,
That ffor man wole suffre a deddly wounds,
I cannott wete how this xal be.

Justicia. Sure I can fynde non sufficyent,
ffor servauntys unprofytable we be eche one,
Hes love nedyth to be ful ardent,
That for man to helle wolde gon.

Pax. That God may do is non but on,
Therfore this is be hys avyse,
He that ȝaff this counselle lete hym ȝeve the comforte alon,
ffor the conclusyon in hym of alle these lyse.

ffilius. It peyneth me that man I mad,

That is to seyn peyne I must suffre sore,
A counsel of the Trinité must be had,

[He[8] ordeyned a counseil of þe holy trinite in þe blisse of heuene, of þe fadur & of þe sone & of þe holy gost, & seyde: "ȝe weten wel, he seyde, we maden mannus soule to oure lickenesse, [Man's loss of the abbey] * * * * * * * * he haþ ben in þat prisoun longe I-noȝ, haue we pitee on hym, he is as hit were on of vs, maked to oure lickenesse." & alle þe holy trinite graunted þat it schulde so be. But, he seyde, who þat schulde doñ swyche a dede, hym be-houed for to be swyche on þat were beholden for to doñ hit, & also þat he miȝte doñ it; but, þer was no þing þat miȝte delyuere hym but ȝif it were god; & þerfore who so schulde do þat dede he most be boþe god & man: & so miȝt it noon be but ȝif it were oon of þe þre persones in þe holy trinite; almiȝty goddis sone schulde come doun in to þis world, & ben I-born of a mayden & becomen man.]

Whiche of us xal man restore.
Pater. In ȝour wysdam, son, man was mad thore,
And in wysdam was his temptacion,
Therfor, sone, sapyens ȝe must ordeyn herefore,
And so how of man may be salvation.

Filius. ffadyr, he that xal do this must be bothe God and man,
Lete me se how I may were that wede,
And sythe in my wysdam he began,
I am redy to do this dede.

Spiritus Sanctus. I the Holy Ghost of ȝow tweyn do procede,
This charge I wole take on me,
I love to ȝour lover xal ȝow lede,
This is the assent of oure unyté.

& whan his douȝtren harden þis, þei were glad & myrie: and aswiþe *Misericordia & veritas obuiauerunt sibi, iusticia* &c., "Mercy & Truþe metten hem togedere, Riȝtfulnesse & Pees weren kyste & maad at on."

Misericordia. Now is the loveday mad of us fowre fynialy,
Now may we leve in pes as we wer wonte:
Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi,
Justicia et Pax osculatae sunt.

The rest of the treatise is an account of how Christ refounded the abbey.

Then Gabriel is sent with three several messages from the Father, Son, and Spirit to make the Annunciation to Mary.

[8] I have transferred this council of the Trinity, from the place where it occurs in the *Charter*, as noted above in my outline, to this point, in order to bring out more clearly the parallel with the *Salutation*.

On comparison of these versions with the earlier forms of the allegory it may easily be determined, I think, that both ultimately belong to the family of the *Meditationes*. In the first place, the dependence on Bonaventura rather than directly on Bernard is indicated by the fact that in both the *Charter* and the *Salutation* the introduction of the four daughters is preceded as in Bonaventura by laments of prophets over man's unfortunate state (the *Salutation* further agrees with Bonaventura by adding the laments of the angels). Again, both these English versions introduce the discussion which originated with Bonaventura as to which person of the Trinity should undertake the work of redemption. This latter detail also serves to show that the English versions were not following Ludolphus, for it will be remembered that in his *Vita Christi* this discussion was omitted. On these grounds I conclude that the *Charter* and the *Salutation* must be derived ultimately from the *Meditationes*.

Now, if we refer to the speeches of the sisters, we shall see that, up to the point where Peace persuades them to carry the dispute to the throne of God, there are very special resemblances between these versions. In both, these speeches are more expanded than in Bonaventura and introduce some theological argumentation. Many of the new points are the same in both. From these likenesses in points not found in the *Meditationes*, it may be inferred that the authors of the *Charter* and the *Salutation* did not base their accounts independently upon Bonaventura's treatise. This would invalidate the hypothesis mentioned at the beginning of this chapter which Hone suggests of the dependence of the *Salutation* upon the *Speculum*. Obviously, therefore, either the *Salutation* must derive directly from the *Charter*, or both the *Charter* and the *Salutation* must be using a common source which is itself in turn derived from Bonaventura.

Against the first supposition it may be noted that in the *Charter* the allegory of the Four Daughters has been thrust

into another allegory, and in this process it has been somewhat disarranged. Whereas in the *Salutation* the events follow in the normal order, in the *Charter* the discussion as to which person of the Trinity should redeem man has been transferred to near the beginning of the allegory, thus giving rise to the debate between the sisters rather than concluding it as usual. Notice again that in the *Charter* the four daughters are introduced with some abruptness. Finally, it should be observed that the allegory, as it appears in the *Charter,* does not introduce the annunciation of Gabriel, though this was the case in Bonaventura, and is also true in the *Salutation.* In spite, therefore, of the resemblances between these two versions at many points, it is difficult to believe that the *Salutation* was derived from the *Charter.*

Section II. Outline of the Allegory in the *Castell of Perseverance.*

Before proceeding further in the attempt to define the relationship between these English versions, it will be necessary to take account of the form of the allegory in the *Castell of Perseverance,*[9] which seems to stand in some close relation to the versions which have just been compared. In this well known morality the allegory of the Four Daughters appears in the closing scene. At the Death of Humanum Genus, Bonus and Malus Angelus engage in controversy for possession of his soul. At this point, according to the stage direction, the four daughters of God enter. I outline briefly the scene which follows:

Mercy, having heard the despairing cry of Man's soul, as it is borne off to hell by Malus Angelus, appeals to Rytwysnes to show compassion, since by Christ's death remission of sin had been granted. Rytwysnes answers,

[9]Furnivall and Pollard: *The Macro Plays,* E. E. T. S. ext. ser. XCI, 1904. This play Pollard dates about 1425. See also A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes,* 4th ed., Oxford, 1904, pp. xlv-xlviii and 64-76.

however, that, although Christ's mercy covers all man's misdeeds, it can be granted only to those who forsake their sins. As man has brewed let him drink; the devil shall pay him his meed. A man may not sin all his life and at death crave mercy by the rood. That would result in strife and great abuse. This judgment is confirmed by Trewþe, who declares that she is ever present at man's death, holding the scales to weigh his good and evil deeds. Always just and true, she allows nothing to hurt any soul but its own misdeeds. This soul by its avarice has doomed itself to the pit of hell. Pes now protests against dooming man to hell. "For his love that died on tree, let us save Mankynde from all peril. If ye twain put him to distress, it would make great heaviness to us, Mercy and Pes. Let us go to God and pray him to deem this case."

Accordingly they proceed to the throne of God. After salutations have been exchanged, Trewþe begins: "Lord, as thou art crowned King of Kings, let me, thy daughter dear, never fail, *Quia veritatem dilexisti.* For if Mankynde be judged by right and not by mercy, how should he be saved, since he died in deadly sin? Unless he be damned, I am shamed. Too late, in dying he cried for mercy. Let him drink as he brewed! If late repentance should save a man, whether he wrought wickedness or good, then everyone would be bold to trespass in the hope of forgiveness. He has sinned against the Holy Ghost; that sin thou wilt never release, *Quia veritas manet in eternum.* On earth man had wealth, pleasure, and good counsel, yet he forsook God. Wherefore let him burn in hell, or I shall have no place in thy judgment." Then Mercy speaks: "O great father, God of consolation in tribulation, merciful God in Trinity, I too, am thy daughter, as thou knowest. Let me not be lost in thy judgment of man. Grant that Mankynde may find me. Had Adam never sinned I should have had no place on earth, nor would'st thou have been born and crucified. Though he has done more evil than good, if he dies in con-

trition the least drop of thy blood can save him. Therefore grant him salvation, *Quia dixisti 'misericordiam amabo.'*" "Righteous King," interrupts Rytwysnes, "thou hast loved me ever, night and day, as well as my sister. *Justicias Dominus justicia dilexit.* To acquit man from pain would be to go against thine own word. Often he has forsaken thee and betaken himself to the devil, so let him lie in hell's lake, damned forever. When he was born he was brought to church, washed with baptism, and he promised to serve thee alone; but when he came to man's estate, he forgot thy behests and thy benefits, and that thou had'st bought him with thy precious blood. He forsook thee and his Good Angel's governance, put away the virtues for the seven sins, and lost his five wits. Then Death tripped him in his dance. Too late he confessed, too little is his contrition. To receive his soul is to wrong Trewþe and me."

Once more Mercy pleads with Rytwysnes: "Dear sister, have mercy! Let us help save Mankynde. If he is damned, my estate must be less. I, God's youngest daughter, am above all his former works. I and my sister Pes will ever pray to obtain Mankynde's pardon. For God's mercy is without beginning or end." Trewþe repeats her assertion that Mankynde does not deserve mercy, for while he lived he would never help the poor at their need. Finally Pes asks God to grant her boon that she may not be compelled to flee, but may evermore dwell with Him. "Since man was created at Lucifer's fall to restore the tenth order in heaven, he ought to be saved, though Trewþe and Rytwysnes would leave him in woe. Now we all stand at discord, but my counsel is that we come together in accord and kiss one another. (Here Ps. 84: 11 is introduced in the margin instead of at the end as is usual.) If Trewthe and Rytwysnes have their will, Mercy and Pes must sorrow; hence let there be love between us, let us turn from vengeance and become man's friends, and pray devoutly to God that mankind may find grace at doomsday." God is pleased at this issue

of the strife, since He thinks the thoughts of peace and not of affliction. Now that the sisters are united, He will yield to their prayers and not condemn man to torture, as he deserves, but bring him to bliss endlessly to dwell in heaven. To secure perfect happiness, He will mingle henceforth with His might all peace, some truth, some justice and most mercy. Having thus spoken, He sends the daughters to release Mankynde from the Fiend, and bring him to heaven's bliss. With the reception of the soul in heaven the morality ends.

Section III. The Relation Between the Versions in the *Charter*, the *Salutation*, and the *Castell*.

If the version of the allegory in the *Castell* be compared carefully with those from the *Charter* and the *Salutation,* it will be seen that from the time that the sisters carry their dispute to the throne of God there are certain special resemblances between the three. In all three cases the controversy is opened by Truth (in most other versions by Mercy) and in all, the succeeding speeches follow in the same order, with the exception of a short argument introduced by Truth in the *Castell* just before Peace makes her appeal for reconciliation among them. Moreover, the speeches themselves are like in their distinction from the Bonaventura controversy through their theological argumentation. In addition to their general likeness in character, these speeches are even more closely connected in many passages by similarity of phrasing, at times agreeing almost verbally. The *Castell* and the *Charter* are particularly close in this respect, especially in their retention of Latin quotations, though they add the English translations. To be sure, the speeches, which in the *Charter* and the *Salutation* were comparatively short, are greatly expanded in the *Castell* by both repetition and the insertion of new arguments. Yet it is difficult to

see how the resemblances which have been pointed out could have been fortuitous. We are thus driven to the supposition that these three versions of the allegory derive from a common source.

If now we place side by side the contents of the three versions, it will be seen that they fit together in rather a curious fashion:

Castell.	*Charter.*	*Salutation.*
	Laments of Isaiah and Jeremiah.	Laments of Isaiah and Jeremiah (presented by Contemplacio).
		Laments of angels (presented by Virtutes).
Preliminary debate		
Debate before God's throne. Reconciliation at the request of Peace.	Debate before God's throne. Reconciliation at the request of Peace.	Debate before God's throne.
		Search by Mercy and Truth for someone to redeem man.
	Promise of God to refound the abbey by incarnation.	Promise of God to redeem man by incarnation.
		Gabriel sent to make annunciation.
Release of Humanum Genus from Malus Angelus. Description of last judgment.		

It will be perceived now that the *Charter* is the middle version. With the exception of the controversy before God's throne, the *Castell* never runs parallel with the *Salutation*, though both the *Castell* and the *Salutation* present other parallels with the *Charter*. Moreover, the *Castell*, in both the introduction and the conclusion diverges radically from the other two. This divergence is easily explained by the fact that the *Castell*, being a morality play, does not use the

allegory to introduce the incarnation. Accordingly, it was impossible for its author to preface the allegory by the prayers of prophets and angels. Again, inasmuch as he is dealing with a period after the death of Christ, he cannot close the allegory with the annunciation. The preliminary debate between the sisters which appears in the *Castell* only may easily represent an expansion of the bare statement which Bonaventura makes that there was a great controversy between Mercy and Peace against Justice and Truth, before he begins to quote from Bernard. It is interesting to note that the same expansion into a preliminary debate is found in the French mystères, thereby suggesting that it may have stood in the original source.

By this process of comparison we may arrive at some notion of the general outline of the common original, and it will be seen that in the order of the allegory it did not differ materially from *Meditationes,* though amplifications must have been made in the speeches of the four daughters. It is not impossible that this hypothetical source may have been dramatic. The somewhat forced introduction of the four daughters in the *Charter*, "& þanne were almiȝty goddis douȝtren þere þat is to seye, Mercy & Treuþe, Riȝtfulnesse & Pees," reads somewhat like a stage direction. It is generally admitted that the traces of French influence in the *Macstricht* play (see Chap. V, n. 4) imply its derivation from a French mystère now extant. It would be interesting to conceive of such a mystère as the same as the hypothetical source constructed from the three English versions just studied. As many of the mystères now extant contain all the scenes which a combination of these three versions would furnish,—*i. e.*, the laments of prophets and angels, the preliminary debate, the debate before God's throne, the annunciation and incarnation, and finally, after the passion of Christ, a last judgment,—it might be implied that these were all in that hypothetical source. I do not by any means put this forward as a theory to be accepted, but merely by way of suggestion.

Section IV. The Allegory in *Respublica.*

The allegories in the *Castell* and the *Salutation* are the only English dramatic versions in which the traditional form of the controversy between the Four Daughters is found. In the sixteenth century, however, an interesting variant of the earlier theme appear in *Respublica,*[10] a political morality written to express the sentiments of the Catholic party at the time of Mary's accession. In this play the sisters no longer engage in controversy, but act in perfect harmony. Yet their speeches contain distinct reminiscences of those in the conventional versions. Moreover, the quotations from the Psalms are also introduced. This morality, therefore, may be regarded as a true, though decadent, version of our allegory, and as such may find place in the present discussion.

Avarice, as chief Vice, with his assistants Adulation, Insolence, and Oppression, plot how best to rob Respublica. They assume the names of Policy, Honesty, Authority and Reformation in order to cloak their evil, and thus disguised lull the weak and rather wearisome Respublica into false security and dependence upon their governance. People, a brusque and clownish fellow representative of the oppressed peasantry, is less easily deceived, but he, too, somewhat doubtfully yields to their sway. All goes well for their plot. They increase in wealth and power while the country sinks into greater and greater wretchedness. Then come the four daughters of God, who open Respublica's eyes to the fraud practised upon her and who with the aid of Nemesis (Queen Mary) free the country from its oppressors.

The part of the sisters begins in the fifth act where Misericordia enters with a hymn of praise, which, in its

[10] *Respublica. A. D. 1553. A Play on the Social Condition of England at the Accession of Queen Mary*, ed. Leonard A. Magnus (from Mr. Gurney's Unique Macro MS. 115), E. E. T. S. ext. ser. XCIV, 1905; A. Brandl: *Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakspere*, Strassburg, 1898, Quellen und Forschungen, No. LXXX: lvii-lx, 281-358.

account of God's greatness and mercy, suggests the scene with which so many of the religious dramas open, where similar declarations of His power are made by God himself. This is interrupted by the approach of Respublica, bewailing her utter misery in words which inevitably remind one of the laments of the fathers in hell in the French mystères or of Mercy's opening prayer for them in other versions.

> "O Lorde, haste thowe for ever closed up thine eare?
> Wilt thowe never more the desolate praier heare
> * * * * * * * * *
> I graunte that myn offences have so muche deserved
> But for whom, save sinners, ys thye mercie reserved?"

Mercy comes forward and rejoices Respublica by promising aid, then goes in search of Truth. As they return, Mercy is saying, "I daresae Respublica thinketh the tyme long," to which Truth replies, "Who can blame her?"

> "but as meate and drinke and other bodylye foode
> is never found to bee, so pleasaunte nor so goode
> As whan fretting hongre and thirste hathe pincht afore;
> So after decaye and adversytee overcome
> welth and prospiritee shalbe double welcome."

At Mercy's request, Truth then declares the state of the case and how it may be remedied by the dismissal of the false-seeming ministers. Mercy adds, "Peace and Justice will descend to keep you quiet and defend you." Peace and Justice at this moment enter and kiss in token, as the former says, of their joining to make perfect bliss. To this Justice adds: "And let us never be sundered any more." The four sisters assure Respublica that they will restore and establish her honor. Justice will dwell with her to redress what is amiss; Mercy, to temper rigor where there is hope of reform. In the last two scenes, a sort of trial is held in which the Virtues uncloak the masquerading ministers of Respublica and force them to confess. The dialogue in this scene is

vigorous and pointed, Avarice, with no little wit, seeking to defend himself and hold his accusers up to ridicule. He mocks them for leaving heaven, whence Justice and Mercy say they have come.

"Dwell ye in heaven and so madde to come hither?"

and again,

"Why, what folke are ye that cannot heaven endure?"

Therefore Truth declares herself sprung from earth, and as Avarice is incredulous, confirms it by the "Booke," "veritas de terra orta est." Avarice complains of her, though larding his speech with flattery, that she is friend to few. Earlier in the play he had characterized her to his companions,

"as unhappie a longtounged girle as can be
She bringeth all to light, some she bringeth to shame
She careth not a grote what Manne hath thinke or blame."

The characterization suggests the earlier poems of the Grosseteste group or the *Court of Sapience*. The whole deceit being laid bare, Nemesis would pronounce sentence, but here Mercy, true to her name, becomes pitiful, and pleads for the very offenders she has helped to unmask.

"Ladie Nemesis, now have yee Occassion
And Matier to shewe youre commiseracion
It is much more glorie and standith with more skyll
Lost shepe to recover, then the scabye to spill."

Justice is alarmed and insists that the punishment should be strictly executed.

"Severitee must putt men in feare to transgresse."

Mercy still pleads "If there were no offenders, wherefore might Mercy serve?" and Avarice cries delightedly,

"Stike harde to it, goode swete Ladie Compassion."

Nemesis ends the impending quarrel by declaring that each of the sisters shall have some part of her desires. "Neither all nor none shall taste of severity, but such as Truth shall show deserving it." After the apportionment of these punishments, the play ends with an invocation to God and Queen Mary.

As this summary shows, the plot varies too greatly from the accepted theme to make it possible to discover a definite source. Indeed, it is probable that the introduction of the four daughters into the play was suggested to the author through his general knowledge of the tradition rather than by any particular version. If the author of *Respublica* was Nicholas Udall, as Dr. Magnus, its editor, believes, there would be nothing improbable in the supposition that he was acquainted with the allegory in various forms.

Section V. Conclusion.

The influence of the allegory of the Four Daughters upon extant English moralities is confined, so far as I can discover, to the *Castell of Perseverance* and *Respublica*. Gayley[11] states that the Four Daughters appear in the morality *Mankynd*. I suppose he is referring to vv. 816-839, but the allusion is obscure. A short dialogue between Love and Justification at the end of the morality play, *The Life of Repentance of Marie Magdalene*,[12] written by Louis Wager in 1566, has sometimes been quoted as another example of our theme. But it does not seem to

[11] *Represent. Eng. Comedies*, New York, 1903, p. lxxvii.

[12] *The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene*, by Lewis Wager, Reproduced from the original edition of 1566-7, F. I. Carpenter, Chicago, 1904.

belong to this subject at all. There is practically no debate. Love and Justification merely explain to the Magdalene the meaning of Christ's words of forgiveness, making her understand that she had been forgiven solely through the favor of Christ, since she absolutely lacked any merit or power in herself to pay the debt of her sin. Considering that only two of the sisters are here introduced, and that the statements put into their mouths are the veriest commonplaces of Christian doctrine, there seems no reason for recognizing in this dialogue any dependence upon our allegory.

As the result of our examination of the allegory in its connection with the English drama, it must be said that neither in the morality nor the miracle plays of England did the Four Daughters enjoy any such popularity as they found in the mediæval drama of France. It is quite possible, however, that this allegory would have reached its crowning expression in the English drama, had John Milton carried out his original plans. At all events, it is interesting to know that the dramatic possibilities of this theme appealed to him. For this information we are indebted to Dr. Johnson. "It appears," he writes in his *Life of Milton,*[13] "by some sketches of poetical projects left in manuscripts and to be seen in a library at Cambridge (Trinity College, Cambridge) that he had digested his thoughts on this subject into one of those wild dramas which were anciently called mysteries; and Philips had seen (Philips, 12mo, 1694, p. 35) what he terms part of a tragedy beginning with the first ten lines of Satan's address to the Sun. These mysteries consist of allegorical persons; such as Justice, Mercy, Faith." Dr. Johnson informs us further that Milton drafted two plans for this "Tragedy or Mystery." In the first plan, as he quotes it, the sisters appear only once, and then in a way foreign to the usual tradition. The reference to the sisters

[13]Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets,* New York, 1861, I, 138-40.

—or at least to three of them—reads: "Justice, Mercy and Wisdom debating what should become of man if he fall." This is surprising enough, for it suggests the form of the tradition in the *Midrash.*

The second plan approaches more the traditional form. After sketching the fall of Lucifer and of man, it continues, "Man next, and Eve having by this time been seduced by the serpent, appears confusedly covered with leaves. Conscience, in a shape, accuses him; Justice cites him to the place whither Jehovah called for him, . . . Adam then and Eve return; . . . Justice appears, reasons with him, convinces him. . . . He is humbled, relents, despairs; at last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity; instructs him; he repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The chorus briefly concludes." In certain ways this sketch suggests Deguilleville or the *Castell of Perseverance;* in others, the *Moralite de Nature.* The probability is that Milton knew a number of versions of the allegory.[14]

[14]That Goethe also contemplated the use of some features of this allegory in his *Faust* is implied by a note in *Paralipomena* to the Fifth Act of *Faust.* Here he tells us that he had thought of making Mephistopheles conduct a "Proces" in Heaven to defend his right to Faust's soul. (See F. Paulsen, *Schopenhauer, Hamlet, Mephistopheles,* Berlin, 1900, p. 201, note, also Strehlke, *Paralipomena zu Goethe's Faust,* p. 133, and the Loeper-Hempel ed. of Goethe's works, XIII, p. 252.)

Chapter IX.

MISCELLANEOUS ENGLISH VERSIONS.

Section I. *Piers Plowman.*

The English versions which remain to be mentioned are less amenable to classification than those hitherto studied, so I must mass them here somewhat miscellaneously. The first of these in point of time is *Piers Plowman,*[1] in which the passage where the allegory of the debate appears is peculiar in that it is made the prelude to the Harrowing of Hell.

The writer in his vision sees a maid come walking out of the west. She is called Mercy, and is "benign and buxom of speech." At the same moment her sister, a comely creature called Truth, comes softly walking out of the east. As they meet, Truth asks the meaning of the din and the darkness, the light and the flame before hell. Mercy answers, "It betokeneth mirth." She says that Christ's death at midday has caused the eclipse and the light. This is to blind Lucifer while man is drawn from darkness. "For patriarchs and prophets have preached of this often, that a Man shall save man through a maiden's help, and what was lost by a tree, a tree shall win back." Truth, disdainfully incredulous of this "tale of waltrot," bids her sister hold her tongue; for who is once in hell never comes out. Mildly Mercy answers, "I hope they shall be saved; for as venom destroys venom, so shall this death, I dare wager my life,

[1] *Piers Plowman*, see Skeat's edition of the three texts with notes, glossary and introduction in E. E. T. S., Nos. XXVIII, XXXVIII, LIV, LXVII, LXXXI; Skeat's Clarendon Press two-volume edition, 1887, and *Observations sur la Vision de Piers Plowman* by Jusserand, 1879 and 1903. The debate between the sister occurs in Passus XVIII of text B, Passus XXI of text C.

destroy all that death destroyed first through the Devil's enticing."

An interruption occurs here, for Truth sees Righteousness, who "knows more than we both," come running out of the "nip of the north," and from the south Pees comes playing, richly clothed in the gay garments of patience. After these have met and greeted one another, Pees answers the question as to whither she is wending her way. "I go to welcome those whom for many a day I might not see because of the shadows of sin,—Adam and Eve and the others in hell. Moses and many more shall have mercy, and I shall dance thereto. Do thou so also, sister; for Jesus jousted well, joy begins to dawn. Love that is my darling, sent me letters that Mercy and I should save mankind, and that God hath granted us to be man's security forever after. Lo, here is the patent 'In pace in idipsum.'" "What sayest thou!" cries Righteousness indignantly, "dost thou believe that light can unlock mighty hell and save man's soul! Sister, never think it! At the beginning God himself gave the doom that Adam and Eve and all who followed should die and dwell in pain ever after if they ate of the tree. Adam ate of the fruit, and forsook both the love of our Lord and his lore, and followed what the fiend taught. I accord with Truth that their pain be perpetual and no prayer help them. Let them chew as they chose, and chide we not, sisters, for it is bootless bale, the bite that they ate!" Peace, however, is not disheartened by this outbreak, but continues: "And I shall prove their pain may have end, and woe unto weal may turn at last. Had they known no woe, they could not know weal; for no wight knows what weal is who never has suffered, nor what is hunger who has not lacked. If there were no night, no man could perceive day; nor could a rich man lying in ease, know woe without death. So God became Man of a maid to save mankind, suffered Himself to be sold and to feel the sorrow of dying. God, of His goodness, set the first man, Adam, in solace and sovereign mirth; then

suffered him to sin and feel sorrow; then He took man's nature to show what He suffered in three places,—heaven, earth and hell,—what all woe is, what all joy. Thus shall it fare with this folk. Their folly and sin shall teach them what languor is and bliss without end. None know what is well, til wel-a-way teaches them."

At this point Book approaches and tells how all the elements proclaimed Christ's power. While he is yet speaking, Truth exclaims: "I hear and see a spirit speak to hell and bid open the gates!" A dramatic account of the harrowing follows in the manner of the early English *Harrowing of Hell*. This ended, Pees "pipede of poetes a note," on the theme, "After sharpest showres . . . most sheen is the sonne."

> "'Trewes,' quoth Treuth, 'thou tellest soth, by Jesus!
> Cluppe we in covenant, and ech of ous cusse other!'
> * * * * * * * * * *
> Tyl the day dawede these damseles daunsede
> That men rang to thy resurrecciouu and with that ich awakede."

The question of the sources of this scene in the *Vision of Piers Plowman* is a vexed one. A number of sources have been suggested by Skeat, ten Brink and Jusserand, which I will quote in order. Professor Skeat,[2] in editing the poem, says that the sources for the Passus in which the debate scene appears are the Bible, Grosseteste, and the Gospel of Nicodemus. He adds, "Besides these, the author constantly shows that he had in mind some actual representation of the circumstances; so that the reader must throughout consult the Coventry mysteries." Ten Brink,[3] also, says that the author without doubt knew Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour*. But I have found it impossible to discover pronounced likeness to Grosseteste or indeed to any other

[2]Skeat, Pt. IV, p. 395.
[3]Ten Brink II: 443-4.

version of the altercation of the sisters. The occasion is wholly different; the sisters meet just after Christ's crucifixion and dispute concerning His proposed release of His followers from hell. In this respect it faintly suggests the opposition of Satan to the harrowing of hell which is the occasion of the "Processus Belial" described in the fourth chapter, but there is no similarity in treatment. While not denying that the author may have known Grosseteste's poem, I think he might equally well have worked from Bernard or Bonaventura.

Another suggestion, made by Jusserand,[4] is that *Piers Plowman* was influenced by Deguilleville. He cites a number of instances which seem to show contact between the two poems, but none of them have any connection with the scene of the debate. To me the work seems to stand apart, an example of the originality and power of its author, who could so transform the material beneath his hand as to prevent recognition of the particular source of which he had availed himself. In my perplexity as to the whole matter, I have merely presented the scene, leaving it to some one else to decide what affiliations with other versions may exist.

If the question of the sources of the debate scene in *Piers Plowman* is difficult to determine, that of its influence upon later versions of the allegory is scarcely easier. But a few possibilities present themselves. I will first consider certain points of apparent contact between this *Vision of Piers Plowman* and the *Castell of Perseverance*.

Ten Brink[5] has called attention to the similarity of the situation in the attacks on the Castle of Perseverance and on Holy Church, though he fails to notice that in the two accounts the outcome is not the same. It has been further suggested that the author of the morality may have taken

[4] J. J. Jusserand: *L'Epopée Mystique de William Langland,* Paris, 1893, pp. 209-214.

[5] Ten Brink: *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur,* I: 456, and II: 443-4.

a hint from the Castle Caro in *Piers Plowman*. Dr. Furnivall[6] quotes this hypothesis from Professor Churton Collins, but dismisses the connection as too slight to be considered. To the resemblances pointed out by these scholars, one or two others may be added. In the refrain so often employed by Justitia, "Let him drink as he brewed," it is possible to detect a reminiscence of the lines in *Piers Plowman:*

> "For-thie let hem chewe as thei chose, and chide we nat, susteres,
> For hit is a botles bale, the byte that thei eten."

Again, one may find a possible suggestion for Misericordia's declaration that without sin there would have been no place for her, in the long speech of which the theme is: "For haddle thei wist of no wo, wele hadde thei nat knowe." Except for these slight hints, which, in my opinion, are not sufficient to warrant us in affirming dependence, it is difficult to see a connection between the morality and *Piers Plowman*.

As in the *Castell of Perseverance*, so in a few other later English versions of the allegory, it is possible to fancy a slight dependence upon *Piers Plowman*.

A reminiscence of the encounter of the sisters at Christ's grave as described in *Piers Plowman* may possibly be discerned in the first lines of Lydgate's *Poem on the Prospect of Peace* in MS. Harl. 2255, which seems to have been composed about 1443.[7]

> "Mercy and Trouth met on a hih mounteyn.
> Bright as the sonne with his beemys cleer.
> Pees and Justitia walkyng on the pleyn,
> And with foure sustreyn most goodly of ther cheer,
> List not departe nor severe in no maneer—"

[6]The *Macro Plays*, p. xxxix.

[7]Wright: *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History* London, 1891, II: 209.

The rest of the poem is merely political, though expressed in terms of religion. Another possible borrowing by Lydgate is the reference to death destroying death, as venom conquers venom in his *Life of our Lady.*

The defence of Mercy in the *Court of Sapience,* as losing her might without sin, just as physic is bootless without sickness, or drink without thirst, may have been inspired by the justification of woe in *Piers Plowman* for its efficacy in making weal appreciated.

Section II. *The Court of Sapience.*

Another version of the allegory is to be found in the *Court of Sapience,* a poem of the early years of the fifteenth century, which was long, though I believe mistakenly, ascribed to Lydgate.[8] As in *Piers Plowman,* the popular device of the vision is employed as the setting for the poem. Like Langland's vision again, this poem, though it offers convincing proof of its author's originality, is a skilful composite of elements borrowed from many sources. This is

[8]Professor Schick, in his edition for the E. E. T. S. of the *Temple of Glas,* pp. cx, cxi, and cxvii discusses the *Court of Sapience.* There he expresses his conviction that it is the work of Lydgate, but he has since changed his view, persuaded by a study of its diction, versification, and general tone. MacCracken (*op. cit.* p. 216) mentions the *Court of Sapience* among the doubtful poems for which he does not want to express an opinion. A discussion of the whole matter is about to appear in a dissertation prepared by one of Prof. Schick's students, Joseph Jaeger, which will be valuable as an aid to the determination of the question. An edition is promised to the E. E. T. S. by Dr. Borsdorf.

Meanwhile, judging only from a comparison of this allegory, as it appears here and in the *Life of Our Lady,* certainly Lydgate's work, I cannot think it possible that the two were written by the same man. They have absolutely nothing in common in tone or manner. Moreover, it would be strange for the writer to treat the same subject twice, drawing his material, at one time from Bernard, at the other from Bonaventura, as in that case we should be compelled to suppose. As to its date, Dr. Schick thinks it may have been written about 1403, certainly before 1420.

For manuscripts and prints, see the *Dictionary of National Biography.* This study is based upon Wynkyn de Worde's print, his copy of which Mr. Jaeger kindly placed at my disposal.

true, not only of the scenes which introduce the Four Daughters, but also of those parts of the poem which lie outside the limits of this study. Before proceeding to discuss the sources from which our allegory is borrowed it will be necessary to have an outline of the version in the *Court of Sapience* before us.

This poem presents the dreamer looking for Dame Sapience, whom, after a long search in a dark wilderness, he encounters, attended by her followers, Intelligence and Science. While he rests from his long travel, she offers to tell him of her labors and the mediation which she has just effected. With this her story begins, as in Grosseteste, with the account of the King, his four daughters, Son, and disobedient servant who must suffer imprisonment, flaying, killing, and devouring from the four tormentors to whom he is delivered.

Mercy, looking down into the prison, and seeing her beloved servant in misery there, is heartbroken. Weeping, she unlaces her sunny hair, rends her clothes, and falls at her father's feet, crying, "Oh merciful King of Kings and Father of Pity, have mercy on thy servant, or death will wound my heart. Remember that I am sovereign over all thy works, thy child and gem, and grant my boon. See how I kneel dishevelled; tears rain from my eyes, my lips and cheeks are pale, my throat strained with sighs. Turn my distress to cheer by granting me the prisoner, since he is penitent."

Truth asks what is meant by these prayers, and the father having related the case, she violently contends against any change in the original sentence. Nor is she moved when Mercy says, "You are sovereign on earth only, I in heaven." Again Mercy seeks to justify her demand by declaring that the purpose of her creation had been that she should restore heavenly bliss. If she were to die, the heavenly realm would be vain and empty, its court destroyed.

Truth, unmoved, goes to summon her sister Right-

wisnesse, who cannot be swayed by high or low to spare in judgment. She enters, fearful to behold, but of goodly seeming and beaming with light, and ranges herself with Truth. Her argument is the ingratitude and crass stupidity of man, whom fear of punishment or love for the bounty shown him should have incited to keep the command. On earth he had enjoyed a place full of every delight, and sovereignty over all. Nothing that could be desired for heart's ease or life's sustenance, had been denied him. That he had been traitorous in the face of all this bounty should deprive him of hope of mercy.

Here Peace enters, who is more perfect and full of grace than Phœbus himself. Greatly distressed by the strife between her sisters, she exclaims that the Kingdom will be desolate, Mercy doomed to death and herself to exile, unless this be appeased. "To sustain the realm," she says, "we four must be of one opinion and suffer no debate to threaten its tranquillity. My father styles himself the Prince of Peace, and the chief commendation of the realm is that it is one of peace. With strife I will not dwell, but if I be driven away, the realm is ruined forever. Yield the trespasser to Mercy, whose office it is to redress wrong. Without trespass, she would lose her might, like physic without sickness, salve without sore, or drink without thirst. Truth, on the contrary, can reign as princess without falsehood, Right have sovereignty without injury, or I without war; but Mercy has no power, except there be trespass. I counsel, therefore, that we obey Mercy and end the dissension; for as clerks say, little things grow with peace and great things wither away with discord." Truth and Rightwisness, however, refuse their assent, and going before the father, more urgently renew their demands for punishment.

From this point, the setting supplied by Grosseteste's version disappears, though arguments from that are still used, and the action is boldly transferred to heaven. The transition is effected by allowing Sapience to interrupt her

story to explain to the dreamer that the King is God Almighty, his daughters the virtues annexed to His Godhead, and the servant Adam.

She then renews the tale at the point where Mercy, seeing her sisters' obduracy, falls in a swoon, and Peace in ecstasy of pity cries, "Alas, I am forever exiled. Oh God, have mercy on my sister lying in a swoon, on whom Truth untrue has pronounced sentence of death. I cannot remain, but must wander forever through 'holt and heath.' Farewell, desolate household; farewell Mercy, over whom vengeance doth prevail. Cherubim gyve thine armor; Cherubim, banish thy glory; thrones, away with melody. Though judgment should not be executed without me, Truth has accused man and Rightwisnesse has condemned him. Woe to debate that never can have Peace. Woe that Rightwisnesse has no equity and Truth no charity, that the judge may not save the guilty. Farewell, Saturn, Jove, Mars and Phœbus, Venus, Mercury and shining lady of the night. I was your guide, but now must go away. Oh cruel Mars, thy tempestuous fury thou mayst now show, and Jupiter rain darts of fire. Now let hot strive with cold for victory, moist with dry; for Peace is gone. Farewell, broad country, Father, realm." Peace vanishes.

The sovereign joy of heaven, brother to Mercy, seeing this woeful case, sends hastily for Sapience and says, "Oh Sapience, help with counsel in this need: for Peace is gone and Mercy lies in swoon. Alas, the heavenly realm is desolate unless Mercy reign and Peace return."

Sapience replies, "Oh Master, hard is the case and high must be the help that can accord the sisters now opposed, two against two: for whoever would unite them must perform the will of all."

To this the Son answers, "But who can best please them all and give to each her will? We are three Persons in one Godhead: one of us will make this accord, but which?"

Sapience gives decision for the Son and establishes it in three ways. The first refers to the fear which awe of the Father would inspire in Mercy and Peace, and the unwillingness with which Truth and Rightwisness would accept the Holy Ghost, since He was Mercy's friend. Her second point concerns man's sin, directed not against the Father's might, nor the goodness of the Holy Ghost, but against the Son's wisdom. To Him, therefore, falls the answer to the challenge.[9] Third, whoever would take man's guilt and die for him, must be the son of man. In the Trinity there is but one Son.

Sapience further defines the Son's position with statements which, though different from those in the later French Passion play by Greban, yet suggest them. In speaking of the Trinity, she says one may call the Son full of wisdom; the Father, of might; the Spirit, of goodness. A father is a term of age, impotence and debility; a son, of youth, courage and stability.

Yielding to the case so clearly presented by Sapience, the Son determines to die that man may live. To this decision He is also persuaded by the angels, who, deeply compassionate of man's fate, come with all the heavenly college to plead for him.

They present their petitions in three divisions, or hierarchies, and the arguments they use are again those of Bonaventura, but expanded freely. The plea of each hierarchy ends with the refrain,

> "For now is time of Mercy and Peace
> And time is come that vengeance cease."

[9]Compare Anselm: *Cur Deus Homo*, II:9, Migne CLVIII (1853). "Est et aliud cur magis conveniat incarnari Filio, quam alliis personis: quia convenientius sonat Filium supplicare Patri quam alliam personam alii" (cf. Greban).

"Item: Homo, pro quo erat oraturus; diabolus, quem expugnaturus; ambo falsam similitudinem Dei per propriam voluntatem praesumpserant. Unde quasi specialius adversus personam Filii peccaverunt, qui vera Patris similitudo creditur. Illi itaque, cui specialius ut injura, convenientius attribuitur culpae vindicta, aut indulgentia."

The Son sees that His Father is moved by these pleas, and wishing to strike while the iron is hot, kneels and begs to be allowed to settle the cause. The Father replies, "Sweet, sweetest Son, I am entirely glad of Thy behest. But it repents me that I made man; for Thou must bear his penance." Then the Son goes to Mercy, raises and kisses her, and embracing her says, "Sweet Mercy, Princess of Bliss, why arrayed in salt tears? I am that wight that shall end your sorrows and bring again Dame Peace. Behold, I am your champion; for your sake I will suffer passion, to restore man and make immortal what was mortal. Full manfully will I bear pain and think on you as my own lady, when I fight in arms and win the victory. To Truth and Right I'll give their desire at full and annul all guilt."

Joyously Mercy replies, "Oh sweet, most sweet brother, all my knight, and very cause of my heart's rest, where shall I gather might to reward you? I know not how best to thank you, but, oh, Prince worthiest, command me as your own and as you lyst."

Thus all was well and each kissed the other.

At Christ's Ascension, He brings Mary with Him to heaven, that she may ever plead for man, and presents to her Mercy to receive as her child. To Mercy He says, "Fair Sister, I have brought to you with double honor, man for whom you prayed. With my blood have I bought him, that Truth and Right may have no cause to complain. Even if he resort again to sin, unmindful of my Sacrifice, yet can you obtain your desire; for my mother will come and ask a boon, pleading for him by my great sufferings and her own cruel sorrows." He gives in full the long speech which Mary will make in such a case, but as it has no parallel in other versions of the allegory, I omit it.

The Son then turns to each of His other sisters, to ask if they are fully satisfied, and with their protestations of praise and love, the first book of the *Court of Sapience* ends. The second has no bearing on this subject.

The indebtedness to Grosseteste and to Bonaventura is clear enough; from the one the angels' pleas and the reasons why the Son is the most fitting Person of the Trinity to accomplish man's salvation; from the other the feudal setting, the threats of death and exile which Mercy and Peace advance, and Peace's assertion of her own and Mercy's importance and the wrong of forming a judgment without their concurrence. No less obvious is the debt to Deguilleville. The appeal to Sapience for council, her selection of the Son as the one to die, and the second meeting with the sisters after the Ascension, are all borrowed from Deguilleville's third poem, *de Jesucrist,* a summary of which I have already given. (See above, Chapter V, Section II.)

In combining these various sources, and preserving withal his own individuality and charm, the author has shown no little literary skill. The style throughout is fresh and vivid, the action varied and the descriptions sensuous and vital. The author's predilection for classical allusion is often apparent, and especially in the farewell lament of Peace. The spirit of chivalry, present throughout this poem, is most marked in the passages between Mercy and her Brother, where He, electing Himself as her champion, promises to fight for her as His lady. The poem, on the whole, is one of the most charming of the versions of the allegory.

Section III. Versions of the Allegory in Example Books.

Before leaving the fifteenth century I may note also the occurrence of a story in the English example book, curiously entitled *Jacob's Well,*[10] in which the Four Daughters are introduced, though the fact that there is no debate or strife between the sisters makes the connection of this story with our theme somewhat doubtful. Nevertheless I mention it

[10] *Jacob's Well,* E. E. T. S., No. CXV, orig. ser., Chap. XLI, pp. 255-6.

here as implying at least a general familiarity with the allegory of the Four Daughters. The story in *Jacob's Well* is quoted from "Alexander episcopus mindenensis."[11] A wicked scholar dreamt that he was roaming about on a field during a thunderstorm. He went to the House of Righteousness, to the House of Truth, and to the House of Peace, but none would receive him. Yet Peace advised him to find her sister Mercy, and Mercy saved him from the tempest that he might henceforth serve her. The character which Peace gives to Mercy is that common to all the versions hitherto discussed, "She is evermore redy to helpyn alle wretchys at cryen to here for helpe."

Section IV. Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*.

For the next instance of our allegory in English literature we are carried down to the time of Shakespeare. It is found in a poem written in 1610 by Giles Fletcher, the full title of which reads, *Christ's Victory and Triumph in Heaven and Earth over and after Death*.[12]

The general theme of the poem is the Redemption. The scene is laid as usual before God's throne, where Mercy is heard to "lift up the music of her voice to bar eternal fate;" which Justice no sooner hears than opposes. A long description of Justice, her qualities and her retinue, follows, and then comes her speech against showing mercy to man, whom she araigns in a long indictment of which I quote only a part.

> "His body dust; where grew such cause of pride?
> His soul thy image; what could he envy?
> Himself most happy if he so would bide:
> Now grown most wretched, who can remedy?
> He slew himself, himself the enemy."

[11]Perhaps Alex. (Petit) de Balscot, Bishop of Meath (Mindensis), who died in 1397. See Gams *Series Episcoporum*.
This story is found also in the *Alphabet of Tales*, E. E. T. S., orig. ser., CXXVII, Part II, p. 338.

[12]First published in 1610 in an edition of poems of Giles Fletcher by his brother Phineas. Included in A Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain, Edinburgh, 1793, IV, 496-519.

His sin, without excuse, should be punished without mercy.

> "I crave no more, and thou can give no less,
> Than death to dead men, justice to unjust."

Her accusations ended, heaven's hierarchies burn with zeal against man, but then, like sunshine after storm, Mercy again displays herself. A description of her beauty and attributes follow, after which Fletcher, leaving the heavenly scene for a moment to turn to earth, shows Repentance bowed in misery because of man's fate.

> "Crouching upon the ground, in sackcloth trussed;
> Early and late she prayed, and fast she must,
> And all her hair hung full of ashes and of dust."

Sitting thus in utter wretchedness, weeping and beating her breast, she would have been wholly prostrate had not the "fair damsel" Faith upheld her. Mercy from heaven beholding these in their dark valley, sends one of the graces to comfort them, and herself hastens to annul the effect of Justice's arraignment.

She begins her prayer fervently, "Father, if thou hast no joy but to reward desert, reward at last the devil's deceit and let him die." One thing for which Justice had inveighed against man, was his idolatry. This Mercy deplores, but thus excuses:

> "The reason was, thou wast above their reason.
> They would have any gods rather than none."

She then pleads man's weakness,—"He was but dust" and God's power to restore his handiwork. She asks, "If all must pay the debt of death, who will incense thy temple, or crown the sacrifice at the altar? If only they who are worthy might see thee, none could ever do so. But what man hath done, man shall undo, since God to him is grown so near a kin." With growing enthusiasm she describes

Christ's birth and mission and the blessedness which that should bring to man. As she ceases

> "the mighty thunder dropt away
> From God's unwary arm * * * * * * * * *
> * * * * * * * * and all to Mercy bow'd
> Their broken weapons at her feet they gladly strow'd."

The poem is at once much fuller and freer than Kennedy's.[13] No attempt is made to follow a model, and the arguments are too vague and general to permit recognition of a definite source. Two points, however, recall former versions: the first, the minuteness of the descriptions of the personal appearance and qualities of Mercy and Justice, recalling similar stress in the *Court of Sapience;* the other, the account of Repentance and Faith, who under the name of Bitter Ellinde and Innig Gebet had already figured in the Dutch play, *De eerste Blijscap van Maria.* That Fletcher should have known the *Court of Sapience* is not too much to assume, since that seems from the number of manuscripts known, to have been a popular poem in its day. Yet the mere fact that both gave detailed pictures of Mercy and Justice need not imply borrowing, and the fact in itself is of no importance. But the employment of the pity excited by the grief and wretched state of Repentance as an incentive to Mercy's pleading is more unusual. In fact, I know it only in the *Eerste Blijscap;* and though I hesitate to say that Fletcher knew this play, yet the similarity of motives would seem to suggest it. It is true that in the Valenciennes *Passion* described in the sixth chapter, Oraison corresponds in a way to Faith here, but that mystère lacks the picturesque figure of Repentance who is described by Fletcher in the same way as is Innig Gebet in the *Blijscap.* On the whole, however, *Christ's Victory* is an independent treatment of a well known tradition.

[13]See above, p. 46.

Section V. Drummond's *Shadow of the Judgment.*

I bring to a close this list of miscellaneous English versions with the mention of William Drummond's unfinished poem, *The Shadow of the Judgment.*[14] Drummond's poem appears to be closely related to the scene just outlined from *Christ's Victory.* Indeed, one is inclined to regard it as a distorted imitation of this portion of Fletcher's poem. Charity, Justice and Truth come fleeing from wicked earth to heaven to tell of the outrages perpetrated against them on earth, and to plead for vengeance. Preparations for the last judgment begin, but the poem breaks abruptly off. It suggests the contemporary poem of Fletcher's in its characterization, but is lacking in any dispute, Charity being here one of man's accusers.

Section VI. Summary.

With the conclusion of this list of miscellaneous versions our survey of the history of the allegory in English literature is completed. Looking back now over the array of English versions presented in this and previous chapters, we shall hardly fail to recognize the important place which the story of the Four Daughters holds in the literary history of England. At the very beginning of the thirteenth century it made its first appearance in English in *Vices and Virtues.* By the middle of that century it had been developed in England into the feudal allegory, *Chasteau d'Amour,* by the English Bishop, Grosseteste. In the early years of the fourteenth century Grosseteste's story was retold in English in the *Cursor Mundi* and was also incorporated into the *Gesta Romanorum,* a collection which, though in Latin, was probably compiled in England. A little later in the same century

[14] William Drummond: *The Shadow of the Judgment*—in (Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain) Anderson's Poets, v. IV: 669, Edinburgh, 1793.
Poetical Works, ed. Turnbull, London, 1856, pp. 182-196.

versions of the allegory are found in the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and in *Piers Plowman*. With the beginning of the fifteenth century English versions multiplied. Moreover, the allegory at that time began to affect the miracle and morality plays. Even after the change of religion in England this story of the Four Daughters still lingered, and narrowly missed being made the basis of a dramatic poem by England's great Puritan poet. From first to last the popularity of this allegory[15] continued for four centuries. It is doubtful if any other allegory can parallel this record in the literature of England.

[15]Besides the evidences of popularity afforded by literature one may refer to the tapestries at Hampton Court depicting the scene, which are mentioned by Professor Pollard (Macro Plays, E. E. T. S., ex. ser. XCI, introduction).

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

The materials here gathered for an historical study of the Four Daughters of God have been drawn chiefly from the literatures of France and England. By including also Italian, Spanish and German versions of the allegory these materials would be swelled to far larger proportions. Indeed, the complete history of this allegory, which took its origin not later than the tenth century in the Midrash, cannot even now be written, for it is not yet extinct, but survives in Germany in folk-plays of the present day.

In the course of its remarkably long career the allegory has assumed a wide variety of literary forms. In prose it is found in commentaries on scripture, in homilies and example books as well as in the various Lives of Christ. In verse it occurs in both didactic and narrative poems, sometimes as an episode, again as the main theme of the poem. Its most important influence upon literature, however, was that which it exerted in the field of the drama, where it was introduced into both miracle and morality plays.

Another noteworthy feature in the history of the allegory is the variety of settings in which the strife between the sisters is framed. These settings range in time from the Creation to the Last Judgment. In the Midrash and the few German works mentioned by Heinzel and Scherer the scene of the strife was laid at the creation of man. In a number of dramatic versions—the *Viel Testament* and several German plays—the scene immediately follows the fall of man. In the majority of the versions, however, the strife of the Sisters is connected with the Incarnation. Nevertheless, even in these there is not perfect agreement. While in most cases the debate directly precedes the birth of Christ, in the Provençal *Jutgamen de Jhesucrist* and in the middle debate scene of Greban's *Passion*, the pleading

of the Sisters is introduced at the close of His ministry and its object is to prevent, if possible, the necessity of His death. In others the action is postponed still later. Thus *Piers Plowman* represents the scene as occurring just after the death of Christ, and the *Merlijn* group make it follow the Harrowing of Hell. Other versions detach the scene wholly from the incarnation and ministry of Christ and transfer it to the Judgment. Sometimes the centre of interest is the question of the fate of an individual man at his death, as in the vision literature represented by Cæsarius, or the same question in reference to Mankind as a type, which is the theme in Deguilleville. The *Vengeance* scene, as its name implies, deals with the judgment upon the Jews for their crucifixion of Christ, while the last part of the *Belial,* some German plays founded upon this, and the second Provençal play are concerned with the general judgment of man at the last day. The relationships brought out in the course of this investigation can perhaps be best illustrated by the chart which I add. As a generic grouping of the versions, it, of course, is incomplete, since it is confined to the versions which have been considered in the preceding pages.

In conclusion, I pray the indulgence of the reader in the words of the author of one of the earliest versions, in MS. Arsenal 3460:

> "Seignor, ne maies en despit
> Por che se iai de sens petit
> O'ai contee cheste hystoire
> Car ie lai trouve en escrit."

and assert with Greban my openness to correction:

> "S'erreur disons ou expliquons
> des maintenant la revoquons,
> soubmettans nos fais et nos signes
> a vos corrections benignes
> ou a ceulx qui parceu l'aront
> ou qui mieulx faire le scaront."
>
> *Passion* de Greban. Prologue Final et Total, II. 34551-34564.

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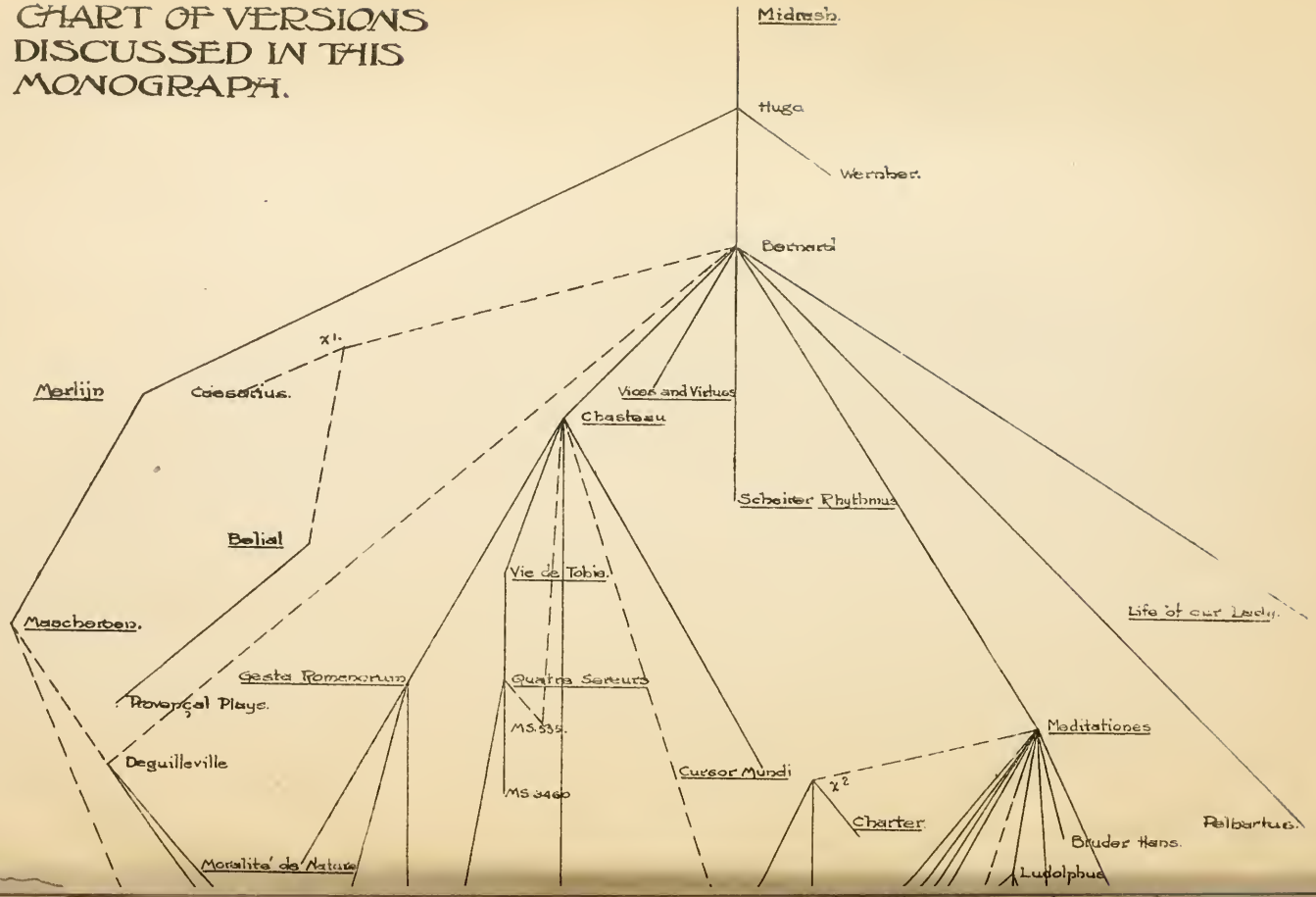
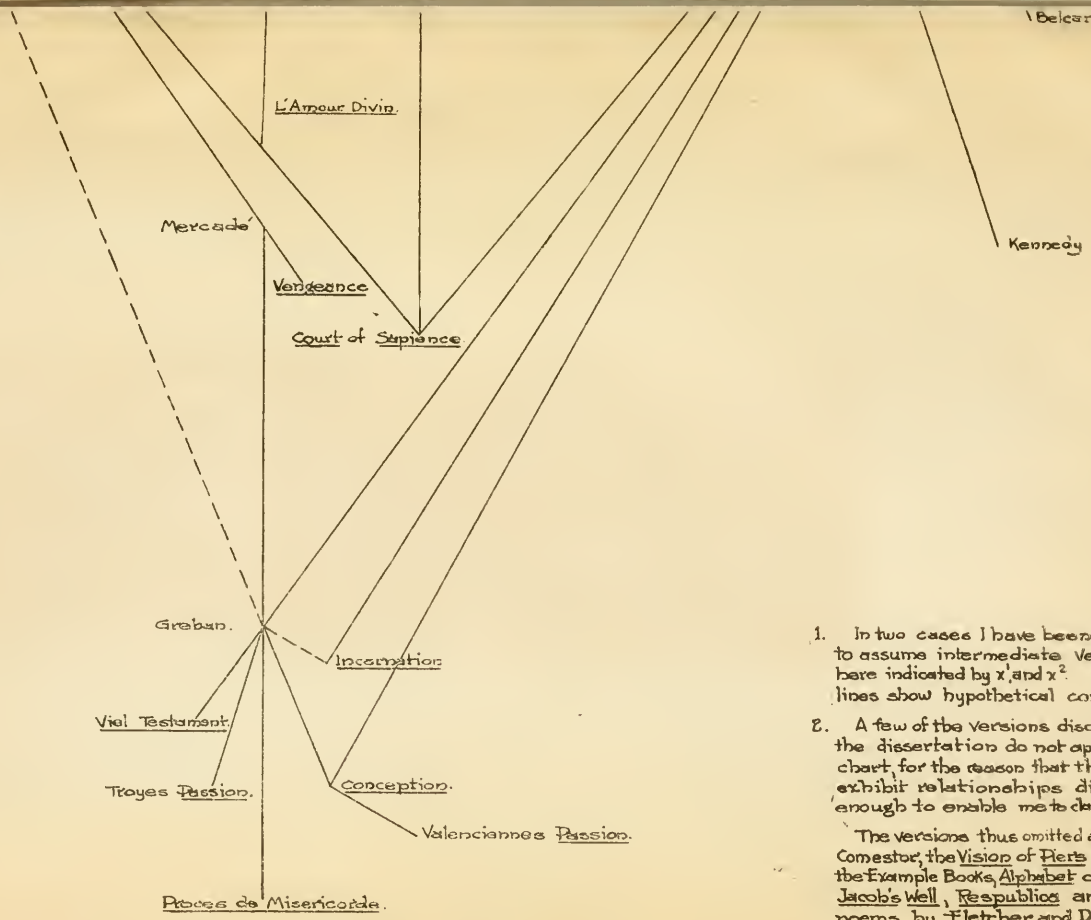


CHART OF VERSIONS DISCUSSED IN THIS MONOGRAPH.
Midrash.
Huga.
Wernher.
Bernard
χ1.
Merlijn
Caesarius.
Vices and Virtues
Chastaau
Schoiter Rhythmus
Belial
Vie de Tobie.
Life of our Lady.
Maschorben.
Gesta Romanorum
Quatre Sereurs
Provençal Plays.
MS. 535.
Meditationes
Deguilleville
Cursor Mundi
χ2
MS 3460
Charter
Pelbartus.
Bruder Hans.
Moralité de Nature
Ludolphus



1. In two cases I have been obliged to assume intermediate versions—here indicated by x^1 and x^2. Dotted lines show hypothetical connection.

2. A few of the versions discussed in the dissertation do not appear on the chart, for the reason that they do not exhibit relationships distinct enough to enable me to classify them.

The versions thus omitted are those of Comestor, the Vision of Piers Plowman, the Example Books, Alphabet of Tales and Jacob's Well, Respublica and the poems by Fletcher and Drummond.

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